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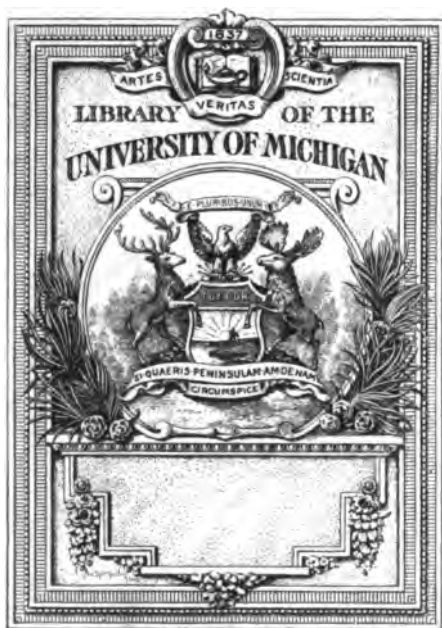
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THE

MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. VI,



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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. VII.

The Reign of Shâh Safi II, or Soleymân.

AS soon as *Abbâs* was dead, the lords, who were 7 Shâh, about him, sent advice thereof to his eldest son *Safi* Soleymân, or *Sefi*, by the *Topiji Bashi*, who is general of the man, musketeers, and *Mirza Bayad*, chief of the astrologers. As soon as they came to the door of the Harâm, they desired to speak with the mother and her son; who, as usual, believed them arrived on some dismal design. But they were perfectly freed from their fears, when, on the prince's coming forth, they fell at his feet, and saluted him king, declaring the death of his father. On this, *Sefi* immediately tore his garment, according to custom: he likewise observed another usage, which is, that as soon as the new Shâh, after much entreaty, quits the Harâm, he throws himself on the ground at the door of it; then, rising, sits down on his heels, while one of the lords, sent to notify his accession, girds the sabre about his waist, saying these words: *May it please your Majesty to remember your slave, who has the honour to gird you with this sword.* This done, he goes and orders the trumpets

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B

pets

*Form of
inauguration.*

A. D.
1667.

No coro-
nation.

He falls
sick.

Supersti-
tious
customs.

pets to sound, and drums to beat; on which notice, all the people in the morning run to the palace-gate, crying out *Padishâh salamalek*, that is, *I salute thee emperor*

THIS is all the ceremony used when any king of *Persia* ascends the throne; for, says our author, I never saw any crown set upon the head either of *Shah Abbâs* or *Shâh Seif*. They do no more than gird on the *simetar*, as in *Turky*; and put on the cap or bonnet of the *Sofi* (A), which is very richly set with jewels, but has not the least resemblance of a crown. And it is with the same ceremony of the sword and cap, that the *Great Mogol*, the king of *Vizâpâr*, and king of *Golkonda*, are inaugurated.

SHAH *Seif* II. some time after his coming to the throne, fell dangerously sick; nor had he before ever enjoyed a perfect state of health. It is the custom of those eastern countries, that, on such an occasion, all the court-lords, and governors of provinces, bestow a sum of money, according to their inclinations, usually in gold; which they put into a bason very richly set with precious stones, and bear it three times over the king's head, pronouncing these words, *Padishâh bashena olfun*; that is, *this money is offered for the health of the king's head*. If the *Shâh* recovers, all that money, to which both himself and his *Harâm* add very liberally, is given to the poor: but if he dies, it is put into the treasury, and they get nothing. The 20th of *August*, 1667, was the critical day of his distemper, and every one thought that he would have died; hereupon all the grandees went to the *meku*, or *mosk*, called *Babarun*, which is without the city, to pray for his health; and gave amongst them near 1000 tomans to the poor. Next day they commanded the *Armenian* Christians to pray for the king's recovery; which they did, both clergy and laity, on the side of the river between *Isfahân* and *Julfa*. They also sent their *Kalenter*, with 50 tomans in gold to wave over the king's head: but, instead of the *Persian* formula, they only say, *Beray te fadduk*, *destined to alms*.

THE danger being over in a few days, they endeavoured to restore the *Shâh* to a thorough state of health: but, as he continued in a languishing condition, he began to ascribe it to the ignorance of his physicians; some of whom met with but indifferent entertainment on the occasion. The rest, in fear of the like treatment, thought it time to look about them; and, reflecting that *Persia* was at the same time afflicted both with famine and the *Shâh's* sickness, concluded it must needs

(A) That is the *Taj* described, vol. v. b. 7. c. 1. in the reign of *Shâh Ismael*; which serves in place of a crown.

be

A. D.
1668.

be the fault of the astrologers, who had mistaken the propitious hour for his ascending the throne. As they pretended no less skill than the others in the art of fortune-telling, they proposed that a lucky minute should once more be fixed, in which the ceremony of his inauguration should be renewed; and that he should change his name. The king and his council being pleased with this expedient, the physicians went to work with the astrologers to find out the first unlucky day; which, according to their rules, would certainly be followed by a fortunate one.

WHEN the day came (B), they set a Gawr, or fire-worshipper, descended from the *Rustâms*, who were antient kings of Persia, upon the throne; with his back against a wooden figure, which represented him to the life. After this, all the great lords came and did him homage, according to his order, as their king; which ceremony lasted till the favourable hour arrived. This happened a little before sun-set; at which time an officer of the court came behind, and cut off the head of the wooden image, while the mock king took to his heels and fled. Immediately after, the Shâh appeared in the hall; where being reinvested with the Taj and simetar, he ascended the throne, and took the name of *Solimân*. By acting this farce he seemed to take a new possession of the regal dignity, by expelling a pretender who had usurped the same; claiming a right, as descended from the antient kings, who reigned before the time of *Mohammed*. From that time, the Shâh recovering, and the famine decreasing, the physicians grew in high repute; and the astrologers were cast out of favour, excepting two or three of the most skilful^a.

ONE of the first actions of this prince, which we meet Ali Kôli with, is his taking into favour *Ali Kâli Khân*, who had been Khân *bag* general of the *Persian* armies. This *Khân*, who was of a *nisbed*; daring spirit, and could not forbear speaking with too much freedom, had been banished three or four times from court on that occasion. Hence he was called the king's lion, who was chained up when the Shâh had no business for him, and was let loose when there was any thing for him to do. The last time he was exiled, he was kept five or six years in a fortress, without ever stirring out of it. But at length, having a fair tongue, he prevailed on the governor to let him go a hunting

^a TAVERN. l. v. c. 1. p. 200, & seq.

(B) This second coronation 1668. *Kämpfer Amenit. exot.* fell on the 20th of March, N.S. *Fascic. 1. Relat. 13. p. 43.*

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1668.

with him. At his return, with the help of some of his servants, he seized his keeper, and gave him the bastonado so severely on the feet, that he almost killed him; telling him withal, *That it was to teach him his duty, not to let a man go, whom the king had committed to his charge.* Sháh Sefi (or Soleyman), hearing of this, though very young, was desirous to see *Ali Káli Khán*; and, notwithstanding the endeavours of the grandees to hinder his return, ordered him to be set at liberty, with a better allowance to live upon.

restored to
favour;

Two or three days after, the king sitting in council, the whole assembly was amazed to see *Ali Káli Khán* enter; who, approaching his majesty with a profound reverence, told him, *That the lion, being now let loose, was humbly come to kiss his hands.* Hereupon the king fell a laughing; and, casting a favourable glance upon him, said, *he had done well.* Nor was it long e'er *Soleyman*, finding him no less pleasant in conversation than able in the field, made him generalissimo of his armies, as he had been in the reign of his father Sháh Abbás. When the courtiers saw *Ali Káli Khán* so well received, every one was forward to testify joy for his return. They sent him horses, mules, camels, rich carpets, and every thing else fit to furnish the house of a nobleman. But all this while he wanted money; and, because he could not meet with it among the *Persians*, he was forced to have recourse to the *Armenians*, of whom he desired to borrow five or six hundred tomans: but they refused to lend him any such sum.

humbles
the Arme-
nians.

SOON after, the king taking a walk to *Julfa*, *Ali Káli Khán* put it in his head to go see the great cathedral belonging to the *Armenians*, where several bishops and monks resided. The Sháh, entering into the church, where the bishop stood ready at the head of the clergy to receive him; and seeing all things new and strange, as being but lately come out of the Haram, asked his favourite what sort of people those were, clad in such an extraordinary manner? *Ali Káli Khán* told him they were devils. *Devils!* says the king, *What,* added he, *dost thou bring me into a house of devils?* *Soleyman*, by this means incensed against the *Armenians*, resolved to force them to turn *Mohammedans*. But the Khán, who was a *Georgian*, repenting that he had raised the king's indignation to so high a pitch; and believing their conversion would be no advantage to him, contented himself with frightening them: which was enough to bring the *Armenians* on their knees, to intreat his intercession in their behalf; a favour which, as he ordered it, cost them 10,000 tomans to the king, and 4 or 5,000 to himself.

ONE

A. D.
1668.Villainy
discourag-
ed.

ONE day *Ali Kuli Khân* presented two handsome youths, with very delicate voices, to the king; who, being pleased with their singing, expressed a concern, that he could not have that satisfaction in his Harâm. The Khân, upon this, sent for a *French* surgeon, promising him a great reward, if he could cut the youths, and save their lives. The surgeon for lucre undertook the jobb, and performed a perfect cure: but although the Shâh was by this means highly gratified, yet the surgeon got nothing for his wicked action: for *Ali Kûli Khân* died soon after, without paying him; and being advised to present a petition to the king by the *Meter*, this lord asked him, if he would turn *Mohammedan*? and, being answered in the negative, bid him *be gone, like a rascal*; telling him withal, *that he did not think the religion of the Christians had permitted such acts of villainy*. The case of the two youths was the more deplorable, as they had been promised in marriage by their parents; who, on hearing of their children's misfortune, came from *Kâsbân* to *Isfâhân* to weep over them: which being observed by *Soleymân*, to appease their affliction, he gave them pensions during life^b.

WE find very little in the authors before us relating to the *Uzbek* military transactions of this Shâh's reign: who indeed was very averse to war; insomuch that he suffered many insults from the *Uzbek Tatars* with impunity. This, which may justly be ascribed to his effeminacy, *Kempfer* imputes as a virtue in him; alleging in his favour, that he chose rather to let one province be harrassed by those robbers, than, by revenging the injuries, or provoking them, expose many provinces to the like depredations. On the same principle he excuses *Soleymân's* pusillanimity, with regard to the *Dutch*; who having with their fleet taken from him the island of *Kismis*, near *Ormuz*, in the *Persian* gulf, he not only pardoned the offence, but even granted their demands; being unwilling, says the same author, to punish a whole nation for the fault of a few men, committed out of their own country.

HOWEVER that be, he was not so complaisant to the *The Kofaks* *Kofaks*, as he was to the *Uzbeks* and *Dutch*: for, in the year 1667, *Stenko Radzin*, general of those people, having ravaged the shores of *Kilân* and *Mazânderân* on the *Caspian* sea; a considerable army was sent against them, under the direction of certain astrologers, who were to point out the lucky day and hour for fighting: in fixing which, much time was lost. The *Kofaks*, who were then in an island on the coast of *Lenkorân*, being acquainted with their superstition

^b TAVERN. l. v. c. 8. p. 218, & seq.

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1677.

practised on such occasions, counterfeited a flight in two of their largest ships; which they made to float about in the sea, as if they had not pilots on board to conduct them. By this stratagem they drew their pursuers, who thought themselves sure of the victory, into an ambuscade laid in the island, and cut them off all to a man. The *Persians* put to sea in ships chained one to the other, to the end that the waves should not separate them; and that they might hinder the enemy's escape, by surrounding them with their vessels. But this contrivance proved their ruin: for the first ship, heavy laden with arms, being sunk, drew down the second with its weight; that the third, and so on; while those on board were hindered by the darts of the enemy from unfastening their respective vessels. About 10,000 *Persians* fell a sacrifice, on this occasion, to the imposture of the astrologers. As to the *Kosâks*, their whole number was not above one thousand, as our author was told by persons who were present at the action.

Grand
procession.

BESIDES this war against the *Kosâks*, we meet with no remarkable publick transactions of any kind during this reign; excepting a procession, and a great hunting; which latter will be mentioned hereafter on another occasion. The procession was made at *Isfâhân* on the 23d of *September*, N. S. 1677. Nothing, says *Tavernier*, could be imagined more magnificent: all the richest furniture was brought out of the exchequer into the *Meydân*; the gold buckets to water the horses; the golden vat, out of which they take the water; with the buckles, harness, and nails of gold to which the horses are tied. After the king had played at mall, and shot at a goblet on the top of the mast in the middle of the square, he went and sat in the *Divân*, which is over the gate called *Ali Kâpi*, where he had the pastime to see the wild beasts fight; such as lions, tigers, bears, bulls, and rams. But that which seemed most admirable to our author, was, to see a man stand upright on the saddle, while the horse ran full speed: this he did thrice the whole length of the *Meydân*, although he happened to fall the first time.

Soley-
mân's
sickness;

SOLEYMAN, towards the close of his reign, became greatly afflicted with the gout; which confined him to his bed two whole years. During this time, being attended solely by eunuchs, these people had an opportunity of insinuating themselves into his favour to such a degree, that, when he recovered, he raised them from that contemptible

° KEMP. Amen. Exot. Fascic. 1. relat. 3. p. 56, 58. ° TA-
VERN. ubi. supr.

state,

state, in which they were before, to honours and powers ; which at last proved fatal to his posterity *, and occasioned that great revolution under his son and successors, which put an end to the race of *Shāh Sāfi*, as will be related in the next chapter. A. D. 1694.

SOLEYMAN died on the 29th of *July*, N. S. 1694, in the 48th year of his age, and 29th of his reign ; when, by the indiscretion of his first physician, his death became public, contrary to custom, before his successor was seated on the throne. His corps was conveyed in a herse to a chapel a league from *Isfahan* ; from whence it was carried to *Kom*, there to be interred with his ancestors †.

THIS prince, as to his person, was very tall and slender (C) ; person and very handsome and majestic : his visage long, lean, and dress ; palish ; his forehead high and open ; eyes large and blue ; his looks cheerful and modest ; his complexion exceeding fair, and nose a little hooked. He had a handsome mouth, and full lip ; his whiskers strait, and of a moderate length ; his beard cut short, made black by art, and ending at his ears : his carriage graceful and easy ; his voice low, but masculine enough. His walk was grave and very upright ; he rode slowly, and continually cast his eyes about him, looking very steadfastly at strangers ; but with a mild countenance. His dress was always plain, of yellow or red silk, and much inferior to that of his ministers ; from whom he was distinguished only by the *Taj*, fastened behind him on his right side : on the same side he wore a dagger, and from his neck hung the privy-seal down upon his breast ‡. According to *Chardin*, no man could well have a more robust constitution. At the *Nazar's* feast before-mentioned, to shew his strength, after shooting with the bow, he took cups of enamelled gold, about the thickness of a crown-piece, and with one hand squeezed them flat, one after the other. This thing, which seems almost incredible, our author has been

* See *KRUSINSKI's* hist. of the late revolution in Persia, vol. 1. p. 81. † *LE BRUYN. Trav. Pref.* vol. 1. c. 42. p. 210.

‡ *KEMPF. ubi sup.* p. 43, & seq.

(C) *Fryer* says, p. 353 of his travels, that *Shaw Schelymon* (as he writes the name) had a good presence, and no mean capacity ; unless that, by indulging his body, he had made it gross, and thickened his understanding ; that he was tall and fleshy ; so that when he moved, or laughed, all the muscles of his shoulders, as well as ribs, moved together. Perhaps he was fallen away when *myself* saw him.

A. D.
1694.

neglects
affairs;

often a witness of. -At another feast he took a quince, and squeezed it with his fingers till the juice was all out^h.

SOLEYMAN never applied himself to the affairs of government, but left it wholly to the care of his prime minister: who might be said to have possessed the royal power; while the Shâh, quite negligent and ignorant of every thing which passed, enjoyed only the title and honourⁱ. This remark of *Kempfer* is confirmed by other travellers (D), particularly our Doctor *Fryer*; who farther observes, that, in 1678, being wholly taken up with his debaucheries, he had not stirred out of his palace for eleven months, nor on any occasion shewed himself in public^k.

grows de-
bauched;

IN the beginning of his reign he discovered worthy inclinations: but when *Chardin* arrived at *Isfahan*, in 1673, he found the court very much changed from what it was in his first voyage, and in great confusion. Almost all the grandees, who filled it in the time of *Abbâs II.* were either dead, or disgraced; and the royal favour ingrossed by certain young lords, who had neither generosity nor merit^m.

prodigally
covetous;

BESIDES his neglect of government, he is by most authors charged with several vices; particularly, covetousness, drunkenness, and cruelty. According to *Kempfer*, he was, at the beginning of his reign, very munificent, and even extravagant, in his gifts to favourites and flatterers: but, finding the revenue did not answer his expences, he fell into a contrary extreme, to a degree of sordidness unbecoming a prince (E). He reduced the salaries of some widows of the blood to about sixteen pence a day, or took them wholly away; and kept the highest places a long time vacant, for sake of possessing the profits himselfⁿ. When this disease of covetousness took possession of *Soleymân*, is not marked by our authors; but it seems to have been later than the year 1674,

^h CHARD. tom. 1. p. 255. tom. 3. p. 149.
ubi supr. p. 60. ^k FRYER. Trav. p. 349.

ⁱ KEMPF. Ibid. p. 354.
^m CHARD. tom. 1. p. 219. ⁿ KEMPF. p. 47, & seq.

(D) *Tavernier* says, when he was at court (about 1673), he only diverted himself with his wives in going a hunting, leaving the affairs of state to his ministers: and that he would not be seen sometimes for ten or twelve days together; during which time there were no

petitions to be preferred, nor complaints made. *Tav. Trav.* l. v. c. 1. p. 201.

(E) *Fryer* makes the very same remark, p. 349; adding, that he begrudged the common expences of his palace. P. 354, he charges this Shâh with abominable extortion.

in which we meet with an instance of great bounty, if not A. D. 1694.
profuseness.

THE sash windows of the queen-mother's apartment being out of order, a glazier was sent for to mend them ; and, though exposed to the snow and piercing cold weather, wrought himself, as well as made his men work, with great diligence. The Shâh, who saw him trembling with cold, notwithstanding his exercise, was so well pleased ; that, when the work was finished, he took off his own upper coat, made of sable skins, worth 500 pounds, and put it on the glazier's back. In consequence of this honour, he was much caressed at court ; and it was said, the king bestowed on him above 200,000 crowns, in lands, houses, and pensions °.

SHAH *Soleymân* was greatly addicted to liquor ; and, for several years past (reckoning from 1673) was drunk almost every day. P. Nor was he ashamed to expose his debauchery to the eyes of his subjects.

AT a feast given by the Nâzer, in September 1673, he spent the whole night in drinking, shooting with the bow, and other exercises : with which, and the good cheer, he was so tired, that at day-break he was forced to be carried to his palace, being able neither to ride, nor stand on his legs. The grandees, who had been at the same banquet, were so weary and drunk, that the greater part of them, not being able to sit on their horses, ordered themselves to be laid down on the bulks in their way home ; which the Nâzer being informed of, he sent soldiers to stand round them, that none might come near, or see them, in a condition so dirty and unworthy of their quality †.

IT was reported that, after he had drank so much that he could scarce stand, he was able to drink a large flask, holding more than a gallon, of *Shirâz* wine, before he was quite drunk ; and as soon as he arose out of bed, he returned to his debauch before he came to himself. If he happened to be sober when he got up, he paid a visit to his women ‡.

SOLETMAN committed great excesses in his drink ; and often gave very cruel orders. He took a sort of aversion to Sheykh *Ali Khân*, his prime minister, and one of the greatest men of his time, for refusing to drink wine. That minister always excused himself, not only on account of his age, and dignity of prime minister, but as he was more strictly obliged to the observance of religion, by the titles which he bore of Sheykh and Haji. These were sufficient reasons for

° CHARD. tom. iii. p. 147.

‡ Ibid. tom. i. p. 220.

† Ibid. p. 225.

‡ FRYER, p. 349.

A. D. 1694. his declining liquor : however the Shāh, vexed to see that he was the only lord who would not drink wine, often gave him abusive language, and one time struck him several blows. He ordered cups of wine to be thrown in his face, at his head, and on his clothes ; loading him with a thousand indignities of the same nature, when he was in liquor. For all this, *Soleymán* held him in the greatest esteem, on account of his perfect attachment to the good of the state, his virtue, and great qualities *.

abuses the
Wazir

SOME time after this, the king, being as much in liquor as he well could be, ordered wine to be given to *Sheykh Ali Khán* ; on his refusal, as usual, he commanded the cup-bearer to throw it in his face ; which was done accordingly. At the same time, rising up, he went towards that minister, and looking him in the face with an air of ridicule, *Grand Wazir*, said he, *I can no longer suffer you to keep your senses here, while we are all drunk : a drunken man, and one who does not drink at all, pass their time but ill together. If you will divert yourself with us, and give us pleasure in your company, you must drink as much as we have done.* The minister, on hearing this order, fell at the feet of the Shāh ; who, finding that he excused himself on the score of religion, said, *It is not with wine that I intend you shall be drunk ; drink of ká-kenar* : which is an infusion of the juice of poppy, much more intoxicating than wine itself. *Sheykh Ali Khán*, not being able to stand out any longer, drank several cups of that liquor, and soon fell drunk upon the cushions. The king shouted for joy, on seeing him in that condition ; and for two hours together did nothing but laugh and jest at him, with his favourites ; who were as drunk as himself. After this, he commanded one of them to carry a cup of wine to his prime minister, imagining that he would drink it, without knowing what it was ; but he was so fuddled, that they could not get him to move. The king, laughing all the while, cried to him, *Grand Wazir, this is what will bring you to yourself.*

for not
drinking ;

his cru-
elty ;

NOT many days after, *Soleymán*, in his liquor, put a much greater indignity on *Sheykh Ali Khán*, ordering one of his gentlemen, who shaved him, to take off that minister's beard ; which, on account of religion, he wore long. The Wazir whispered the chamberlain not to cut it so close as to let the skin be seen ; which he unfortunately complying with, the Shāh ordered his hand to be cut off upon the spot, for not punctually obeying his command. Mean time the prime

minister,

A. D.
1694.

minister, pierced to the soul with this enormous affront, and almost beside himself, went out from the king's presence without taking leave. Next morning, the Wazir not appearing at the usual hour, *Soleymân*, who easily guessed the cause, sent for him. The minister set forth the grievousness of the injuries he had received, and how much dishonour they reflected on the *Shâh* himself, in such pathetic terms, to the lord who brought the message; that the king sent for him a second time, gave him his hand, and not only promised to make him amends for the many insults offered to his person, but also swore never for the future to drink to such excess as he used to do¹.

WHETHER the *Shâh* kept his promise, does not appear; *barbarous order* it is likely he did not: for although the prime Wazir came to court, yet he did not care to act in that capacity; as is obvious from the following account, which affords an instance of his cruel orders. In 1673, while *Ghardin* was at *Ispâhân*, *Soleymân*, being in liquor, fell in a passion with one who played on the lute; and, because he did not like his music, ordered his favourite *Nâsr Ali Beg*, the governor of *Ervân's* son, to cut his hands off: in pronouncing this sentence, he threw himself on a heap of cushions to go sleep. The favourite, considering this cruel order as the mere effect of liquor, contented himself with reprimanding the musician for not studying to please his master better. But the *Shâh*, awaking an hour after, and seeing the lute-player touching his instrument as before, enraged with the young lord no less than the musician, orders the grand master of his palace to cut off the hands and feet of both of them. The grand master falling at his feet to intreat grace for the favourite, *Soleymân*, in a fury, calls to his eunuchs and guards to execute his sentence on all three. Lucky for those unhappy mortals, *Sheykh Ali Khân*, the late first minister, happening to be present, fell at the *Shâh's* feet, kissed them, and implored their pardon. The king upon this, pausing a little, said, *You are very rash, to hope that I will grant your request: I, who cannot prevail on you to resume the post of prime minister.* The prostrate *Sheykh* immediately replied, *Sire, I am your slave, and will always do what your majesty shall command me.* This speech appeased the king, who pardoned the condemned persons, and next morning sent a *Kalaat* to *Sheykh Ali Khân*; who thereupon resumed his place of *Etemâd addawlet*, which had been vacant four months².

¹ Id. tom. iii. p. 245.² Id. tom. i. p. 220.

A. D. 1694. His women and domestics often felt his cruelty, by un-
heard-of tortures. As a proof of this, when his tents were
removed in any of his journies, the mangled bodies of peo-
ple were found on the spot where they were set up; and
when our author was at *Ispâhân*, about 1678, scarce a day
passed but some of his attendants in the palace lost either their
lives, or else some limb: which punishments he inflicted for
the slightest mistakes *; whereof we shall produce a few in-
stances.

maims his
officers

on slight
occasions;

ONE night, in 1675, being in an ill humour, he ordered
a colonel to be bastonaded so severely, that he died in two
days. The same night, in his way back from a feast to
which he had been invited, the chief of his link-carriers
going at some distance before, for fear lest the sparks should
fly in the Shâh's face, as the wind was high; that prince,
who was drunk, not considering the reason of it, said to that
officer, *Is it out of shame or ill-will to serve me, that you
march so far before?* and at the same time ordered the hand
of that dog, as he called him, to be cut off: in giving this
barbarous command, he stopped to see it executed, and then
went forward. All the lords were struck with fear on this
occasion; yet were obliged to put a good face upon it,
while *Soleymân*, looking at them one after another, to increase
their fright, breaks out in these terrible words: *I will this
day let the blood out of the bodies of two dogs, whom I have
borne with too long.* The prime Wazir before-mentioned was
supposed to be one of the two; and in effect had lost his
head that day, if the *Korchi Bâshi*, or general of the army,
although that minister's enemy, had not interceded for his
life at the risque of his own †.

punishes a
favourite; IN the same year some persons, who had been greatly op-
pressed by *Sefi Ali Khân*, governor of *Eriwân* and *Armenia*,
having petitioned Shâh *Soleymân* against him; *Nâsr Ali Beg*,
the Khan's son, who was the king's chief favourite, being
highly incensed for this attempt against his father, and seeing
them at the palace-gate as he was going out one day, gave
them very injurious language; which they returning, he had
the rashness to strike them with his cane, and draw his
sword. At this they set up so loud a cry, that the king heard
it; who, being informed of the cause, fell in a great passion;
*Has this dog, says he, the insolence to draw his sword in my
palace against these miserable people, whom his father's tyranny
has forced to come and demand justice of me? go cut off the
band which has been guilty of such an audacious action.* This

* FRYER, p. 349.

† Id. tom. iii. p. 242.

command



command was immediately executed. Presently after, the king retired to his Harám ; where coming to himself in a little time, he appeared sorry that he had given the order.

THIS prince's severity so far may be considered as no other than an act of justice ; and his relenting, as a mark of compassion : but sure what follows can admit of no excuse. The news of *Náfr Ali Beg's* misfortune being quickly spread through the palace, his relations and friends, many of whom were there, seemed quite distracted at it. Among the rest, one of his sisters, a young and beautiful lady, became mad as it were with rage. Not content to tear herself violently, she ran to the king ; and, loading him with bitter invectives, attempted two or three times to fly at him with her hands. The king at first pardoned the sallies of the fair creature's passion ; but finding his threats could not oblige her to desist, he, with a brutal rage, ordered her to be burnt alive : which horrible sentence was executed on the spot, by binding the tender victim in a chimney, and placing faggots about her, to which they set fire.

SOME time after, *Soleymán* missing one of his best dancers, and being informed, that *Náfr Ali Beg* had entertained her in his house ; he was no less surprised to find that his disgraced favourite could be so merry, when his life was in danger, than at a loss to think where he should get money to live so voluptuously, since all his effects had been confiscated. For although these dancers are common to any who hire them, yet the expence of only one amounts to near ten pounds a night. On questioning the dancer, she told him, that the *Beg* was supplied by his mother : at which *Soleymán*, being much incensed, but more by her running into praise of that lord, commanded all *Náfr Ali Beg's* women to be prostituted in the public stews. They were already set on asses, with their faces bare, and towards the tail, in order to be carried thither ; when, being informed, that his wives were women of quality, and his slaves very beautiful, he commanded them to be brought to his palace.

THE relations of *Náfr Ali Beg*, willing to make use of the favourable disposition, which the *Sháh* seemed to be in, begged of the grand squire, who is one of the principal eunuchs, to intercede along with them for their kinsman. The good-natured eunuch, upon this application, brought them into *Soleymán's* presence ; where they fell at his feet : but that prince, to their great confusion, flew into a passion at what ought to have moved his pity ; and said to the eunuch,

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Thou dog, wilt thou, not give me time to settle my anger; let him be flay'd alive this instant. Which dreadful sentence was immediately executed on the poor unhappy intercessor: but the eunuch, being advanced in years, soon expired under that horrible punishment².

gets so
death

IN this instance we find the mediation of his officers cruelly punished; in the next we shall see the neglect of it highly condemned by this prince. The same evening that Shâh Soleymân had so profusely rewarded the glazier, as before related, he fell to drink with the principal lords of his court: among whom there happened to be *Khostrû Khân*, viceroy of *Mâzanderân*, and general of the musketeers, a brave man, and one of the best officers in the army. The Khân, who had drank hard, becoming at length as drunk as the Shâh himself, drew near to him; and, after asking leave for his slave to speak, said, *the troops encamped in the neighbourhood, exposed to the snow and the bitter wind, were in a very poor condition; and therefore he was of opinion, that it would be better to distribute 200,000 crowns among them, than on a mechanic, whose fortune would be sufficiently made with one hundred pounds.* Soleymân, though in liquor, was offended with the liberty which the Khân took to direct him; and, threatening him for his presumption, fell asleep on the cushion which he leaned on. An hour after, the king, awaking, began to drink again, and ordered wine to be filled out for *Khostrû Khân*. On being told that the Khân had retired, he was provoked at that further liberty; and commanded *Manfûr Khân*, another of his generals, to go and cut off his head.

Khostrû
Khân;

IT is customary, when the king of Persia gives such orders in his drink, for the court lords to fall at his feet and implore pardon for the offending party: but this happened not to be the case of the unfortunate *Khostrû Khân*, who had a great many enemies; and, what was still worse, *Manfûr Khân* was one of the principal. This lord immediately went and took a black slave with him to do the execution. *Khostrû Khân* was gone to sleep in the apartment of his women, when a servant came to tell him *Manfûr Khân* wanted to speak with him from the king. *Ah! it is my head*, said he, *which the Shâh wants, since it is my enemy whom he hath sent on the message.* Accordingly, as soon as he came forth, *Manfûr Khân* said to him, *The king has sent me to fetch your head; fall upon the ground.* And while *Khostrû Khân* expostulated the matter, the other bid his black take off the Khân's girdle, and tie his

² FRYER, p. 211. & seq.



arms. *Khôsrô*, finding himself seized, intreated *Manfôr* to forbear a few moments ; the slave begged the same favour for him also : but *Manfôr Khân*, who mortally hated that great man, told the black if he delayed one instant, he would have him slay'd alive. Hereupon the general was thrown down, and had his head cut off : but the execution was scarce over, when an officer of the king arrived with a counter-order.

SOLEYMAN, who was very much grieved for this and *re-Khân's* death, testified his concern a few days after : for at *pentis* ; another debauch, having commanded the hand of one who played upon the lute to be cut off, because, being intoxicated with liquor, he could not hit the tunes right, all the lords of the court fell at his feet to beg pardon for him. At which the king, as in a fury, cried : *Ab ! traitors, it was for the brave Khôsrû Khân that you ought to have interceded, and not for such a wretched dog as this, a player on the lute : 'tis you who have been the causes of his death* ^a.

THIS prince, who on some occasions punished severely the slightest faults, at other times suffered great offences to pass ^{suffers} with impunity. Soon after, at a debauch, where most of the great men were drunk, the lord high-chamberlain, and *Manfôr Khân* before mentioned, happened to give one another abusive language. Hereupon the king said to the prime minister : *Khân, why do you suffer them to quarrel thus in my presence ?* The minister answered, *Please your majesty, where my king is, it is not my business to speak.* *Soleymân* replied, *Why don't you drive them out ?* Upon this, the Wazir going to push them out by the shoulders, the grand chamberlain stood his ground, crying out : *It is my post to be near the king ; you may kill me at his feet if you please ; but I will not go out before my master.* The Shâh, who could drink no more, upon this arose and went into the Harâm. It is there where every thing which has passed is repeated, and resolutions are accordingly taken. In this place it was ^{in his presence} represented to him, that, in case he suffered such insolences, ^{sence} the great lords would not fail in a short time to pluck the crown from his head ^b. And indeed it may as well be wondered, how they durst venture to take so great liberty with so rigorous a prince, as that he should let such a liberty go unpunished. Although drink might have emboldened the lords, it can hardly be imagined that fear withheld the king.

^a FRYER, p. 147, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 148.

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1694.

Soleymân
Khân's
escape;

ABOUT the same time, Shâh *Soleymân* committed another piece of cruelty, more savage than the former, although inflicted on a meaner subject. The year before, he had sent one of his domestic officers to take off the head of *Soleymân Khân*, viceroy of *Kûrdestân*; who, he was informed, held a secret correspondence with the Pashâ of *Bâghdâd*. This execution was to be performed at the house where the Kalaat, or vest, is received; about two miles from the Khân's residence: but he, being informed of the design, when the officer arrived, sent him word: *that the astrologers judged the hour to be unlucky; and that he desired him to come to the palace till a more benign aspect took place.* The messenger, to avoid giving the viceroy any suspicion, immediately repaired thither; and was entertained very nobly with music, dancing, and a splendid banquet. But having been plied with wine till he became drunk, and was put to bed; two hours after the viceroy made his escape in the night. The officer, at his return, was directed by the grand Wazîr, whose son-in-law the viceroy was, to tell *Soleymân*, that the Khân was fled, before his arrival in *Kûrdestân*.

kills an
officer;

THUS the affair stood for more than a year; although at length, one night having drank hard, he called for that officer, and questioned him again upon the subject: but could get nothing from him more than he had told him at first. The king, vexed at this, ordered wine to be served him with the rest of the company; imagining that the likeliest way to get the truth out of him. However the officer still stuck to his text; affirming that the viceroy was fled before his arrival at the place of his residence. Hereupon the Shâh, with a frown, asked him, *on whom he depended?* He answered, *on the prime minister.* And *whose slave are you?* replied the king. *Your majesty's,* said the officer. *How comes it then,* returned the Shâh, *that, being my slave, you have neglected to execute the order which I gave you, to take off the head of Soleymân Khân: you must either bring it me, or leave your own here.* And having spoken these words, he rose up, drew his sabre, and hacked the poor officer to pieces at the feet of the prime Wazîr, who stood up. At the same time, looking stedfastly at that minister, and the other grandees on each side of him, said, with an angry tone; *I have then ungrateful traitors about me, who eat of my salt: but this sword shall cut all their perfidious heads off.*

wounds
Mansûr
Khân;

SOLEYMÂN continued drinking to such excess, that people wondered he did not burst; and his cruelty increased

so with his debauches, that almost every time he drank proved fatal to some of the great lords of his court. At last it came to *Manfûr Khân*'s turn to feel his severity. The *Shâh* being a hunting three leagues from *Kazbîn*, fell to drinking on the fourth day; and, when he could drink no more, bid the general of the musketeers get that instant on horseback; for that he had a mind to return to the city. The *Khân* told him, *it was then eleven at night; that as he was not expected in Kazbîn, nothing was prepared for his reception*; adding, *that it would not consist with his dignity to enter the city so abruptly at such an hour*. *Soleyman*, incensed at that opposition to his will, drew his sword, and saying, *Dog, as thou art, hast thou the impudence to gainsay thy master?* made a stroke at him, which would have cleft his head in two, if he had not warded it off with his hand; which yet received a great cut as well as his turban; half of which fell to the ground.

THE general upon this treatment only told the *Shâh*, *That he was so drunk he knew not what he said; but if he had been so unfortunate as to incur his majesty's displeasure, he might order him to be killed without staining his sacred hands with the blood of such a dog as he was*: he added, *that he would stab himself to the heart*. The king, instead of making any reply, ordered him to be taken away, and his wound to be dressed. Three days after he sent him a royal habit and two hundred tomans, to let him see that he was as much in his favour as before⁴. These instances shew how difficult it is to behave towards an arbitrary prince, who has no settled rule of action, but is governed by caprice and an unsteady humour. *Soleyman*, who at one time suffered *Manfûr Khân* to give another lord abusive language in his presence with impunity, at another time attempts to kill him for offering to administer proper advice.

KE MP FER represents *Soleyman* in a different light from other authors; but from his own shewing, favours him too much. He says that, excepting his avarice and venery (F), he was one of the best of princes; and particularly extols him for his piety, justice, and mercy. With regard to this last article, he cites two or three instances; one is of the

⁴ FAYER'S Travels, p. 185.

(F) He suggests elsewhere, p. 46, that *Soleyman* left off women and wine early; saying, that on his recovery, he lived more temperately.

lady (*Nāsr-Āli Beg's* sister) whom he did not punish, notwithstanding she refused to accept of the husband he ordered for her, and spoke very ill of him (G) : but that author does not mention his cruelty to her sister, whom he burnt, as before related, for much the same offence. Another is of his sending to recall the officer sent to take off the head of the governor of *Lār*, in 1687, for not giving him timely notice of the arrival of *Soltān Akbar*, son of the *Great Mogul* ; who, being in rebellion, and defeated by his father's troops, fled to *Soleymān* for protection *.

with his
cruelty ;

BUT these instances of mercy are trifling, if compared with those which he produces of his cruelty. The first is, that the *Divān Beg* (H), a great officer of state, having left a feast abruptly, the Shāh sent an officer after him, to pluck his eyes out ; and conferred his post on that officer for his pains. Our author's next instance is still more barbarous and unreasonable : he relates, that *Soleymān*, standing one day on the battlements of his palace of *Takhta Sofa*, built on a hill near *Julfa*, and commending the place for its fine situation, one of his ladies, who was present, happened to say, it was rather too much exposed to the cold air. For which censure only, he ordered her to be cast down headlong, as unworthy to abide in the place.

mean re-
venge ;

THIS savage sentence was not only passed on a very trifling occasion ; but seems to have been pronounced in cool blood. His cruelty must not always be ascribed to liquor ; but rather to his barbarous and revengeful disposition ; of which the following instance, given even at the beginning of his reign, is a signal proof. One of his favourite ladies, of a noble *Chirkassian* family, having somehow offended him, he ordered her to be married forthwith to one of the most abject fellows who could be found. The first they happened to meet with was the son of a linen-bleacher, belonging to the court ; but well enough as to his person. The marriage was performed without seeing each other, according to custom ; especially when the parties are so unequal, as to rank. Nevertheless, as the king's order was to have it not only performed, but also consummated, the lady complied with it, and took to her husband. The king, who intended, perhaps, only to vex her, and did not imagine, that she would suffer such a mean fellow to come near her, when he heard of what had hap-

* KEMPFER, p. 52, & seq.

(G) *Chardin* gives the story at large, *Voy. en Perse*, tom. iii. p. 241.

(H) Rather *Divān Beghi*, who is the lord chief justice in criminal affairs.

pened,

pened, conceived a secret resentment against the innocent husband; whose father, the whitster, coming to die some years after, he applied to succeed him in his place. The king, who had smothered his malice all that while, taking ^{barrid} ^{barbarity;} this opportunity to discharge it, sent for the poor man, and said to him, *When, by my order, you married that lady of such incomparable beauty, and great birth, what sort of feast did you make on the joyful occasion?* Sir, answered he, *I am a poor man, and had not wherewithal to defray the charge of an illumination* (H). *Since this dog, said the Shâh, made no illumination on so eminent an occasion, let an illumination be made of his body.* This fiery sentence was executed in the following execrable manner. They laid the unhappy mortal backward on a plank, to which they bound him fast: then, with a dagger, making a great number of holes in his flesh, large enough to put in one's little finger, they filled them with oil, and setting in each a bit of cotton wick, lighted them all at once^f. It must shock human nature to think in what exquisite torments the poor miserable creature must have expired.

THE foregoing instances relate only to single cruelties: ^{great in-} ^{humanity;} but we shall, in the last place, produce one, of his sacrificing some hundreds at a time to his humour; and that from his advocate *Kempfer*. This author tells us, that, in 1683, *Soleymân* made a solemn hunting; at which all his court assisted, with 80,000 men, armed with clubs and staves. It being then the heat of summer, and water falling short, 40,000 of them saved their lives by desertion: but, rather than dismiss the rest, he suffered 500 of them to die with thirst; although the game he took did not exceed twenty-five stags, and seven antelopes^g.

As a proof of this Shâh's justice and piety, the same author ^{observes} ^{his trea-} alleges his punctual observance of his foreign engagements. He tells us, that *Soleymân* might easily have recovered *Bâgh-ties*; ^{ties;} ^{did} from the *Turks*, when they were engaged in war with the Christian princes; and possessed himself of *Bâsrah*, by a surrender from its prince, if he could have been prevailed on to violate the faith of treaties. On the same principle, he refused to accept of the vassalage offered him, in the year 1684, by the *Arabs*, who dwelt about the river *Tigris*^h. But these

^f CHARD. tom. iii. p. 241.
p. 56.

^g KEMPF. p. 54.

^h Ibid.

(H) The *Persians* adorn their houses and gardens with lights; on such occasions.

A. D. 1694. things might have been owing to his indolence, and aversion to war, more than to his regard to justice.

His children,

¹ SHAH *Soleymân* left many sons behind him. *Chardin* heard an eunuch of the *Harâm* say, and was assured, on strict enquiry, by others, that in the year 1672, this prince had three-score children living; which number, tho' surprizingly great, falls very short of that ascribed to *Morâd III.* Soltan of the *Turks*, who is reported to have had two hundred ¹.

and succeeded for.

HE was succeeded by his son Shâh *Husseyn*. This was a very handsome and good-natured prince; but exceeding weak, and wholly devoted to pleasure, which made his subjects despise him. He neglected affairs of state to such a degree, and suffered himself to be so much governed by his eunuchs, that some of his chief officers, after reproaching him with his failings, in very indecent terms, have laid down their posts, and refused to serve him any longer ^{*}. This bad management at last brought on the troubles raised by the famous *Mir Avis*, and which ended in the ruin of himself, and most of his family, by the rebellion of *Nâdir Kâli*, otherwise *Tahmâsp Kâli Khân*, who, usurping the throne, reigned by the name of *Shâh Nadir*.

C H A P. VIII.

The Reign of Shâh Husseyn.

S E C T. I.

Affairs of Persia, till the revolt of the Afghâns.

² Shâh, Husseyn.

SHAH *Soleymân* left only two sons, who were in a capacity to succeed him, and both by different venters. The elder named *Mirza Abbâs*, the younger *Husseyn*. This last prince had two brothers; one of whom the Shâh having put to death, *Husseyn* often taxed him with cruelty. His mother, fearing that he might undergo the same fate for his freedom, had him conveyed out of the *Harâm*, and soon after fell a sacrifice to her affection. Others say, in a fit of madness she threw herself headlong from the top of the palace.

Person and capacity.

HOWEVER that was, from this time *Soleymân* took a peculiar love for *Husseyn*, so that he would appoint no successor; but left it to the eunuchs, and other grandees, to chuse which of his two sons they pleased. *Mirza Abbâs* was well-shaped

¹ CHARD. tom. ii. p. 280.
vol. i. ch. 42. p. 211, & seq.

^{*} LE BRUYN. Trav. in Persia,

and

and robust, had a noble air and inclinations, delighting only in military exercises; in short, he had all the necessary qualifications for a great prince. On the contrary, *Hufseyñ*, though handsome enough in other respects (1), had monstrously crooked legs, and withal was splay-footed. He was, moreover, born without ambition, and loved retirement to such a degree, that they commonly gave him the name of *Dervish*. He was wholly intent on reading the *Korân*, which got him the nickname of *Múllah Hufseyñ*, or *Parson Hufseyñ*; and discovered as much modesty in his behaviour, as probity in his sentiments¹.

A. D.
1694.

THESE qualifications determined those who had the disposal of the succession to prefer him to *Abbâs*, who had too much understanding to be governed by them; and had, indeed, dropped some words against the exorbitant power of the eunuchs, which made them dread him. On the other hand, *Hufseyñ*'s maternal grandmother assured them, upon oath, to make him their friend; while the ministers, and principal officers, being accustomed, during the latter years of *Suleymân*, to cringe to the eunuchs, and comply with pacific measures, gave their votes for *Hufseyñ*.

Advanced
to the
throne.

ALTHO' *Abbâs* was, on his brother's advancement to the throne, more closely confined than before, yet the eunuchs could never prevail on the new king to deprive him of sight. 'Tis said, this was in pursuance of an agreement made between them, on oath, when first put to read the *Korân*. However, he extended the same indulgence to his younger brothers².

WHILE the eunuchs, to make sure of him, were for inspiring him with a bent to debauchery, he published an edict for prohibiting the use of wine, as forbidden by the *Korân*. He, to enforce the law by his own example, caused all the wine-vessels in his cellars to be publickly staved to pieces; and forbad the *Armenians* of *Zulfa* to bring any

Wine for-
bidden and
restored.

¹ KRUSINSKI *Revolut. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 60, & seqq.

² *Ibid.* p. 63, & seqq.

(1) *Le Brun*, in his *Travels*, has given his portrait; which has a very handsome face. *Gemelli*, who saw him the 6th of August 1694, but five days after his inauguration, says he was about twenty-five, rather short than tall, with a fair complexion;

his eyebrows thick, and very beautiful; his eyes black; his beard of the same colour, but short; his face little; and constitution puny. *Gemelli Voy. round the world*, in *Churchill's Collection*, vol. iv. p. 141, & seqq.

A. D. 1694. more, under the penalty of forfeiting their estates. As wine had been tolerated in *Persia*, ever since the reign of Shāh *Abbas* the first, the grandees were all alarmed, as well as the eunuchs; who were sensible, that a temperate king would not always be kept in leading-strings. To ward off this blow, they applied themselves to the king's grandmother, who loved wine herself, and was obliged to them for placing her favourite on the throne. By their advice, she falls sick, and the physicians prescribed her wine. The king himself presents it to her: but she refuses to take it, unless he first tasted it; and, to remove his religious scruples, quotes the *Persian* maxims, *That Kings are subject to no law; and that whatever they do, they commit no sin!* By this artifice was the weak good-natured prince ensnared. He drank a large cup of it; and liked it so well afterwards, that he was scarce ever sober^a.

Eunuchs
gain
power.

THE eunuchs were admitted to scarce any office in the government of affairs, excepting that of keeping and managing the king's treasure, before the reign of Shāh *Soleymān*. This prince, towards the end of his reign, was confined to his bed with the gout, for two years; in which time, being attended wholly by his eunuchs, he found many among them of learning, knowledge, and abilities; one of whom, named *Khojāh Drak*, he set at the head of affairs. This able minister discharged his trust so much to the general satisfaction and advantage of the kingdom, that, on his recovery, he formed a council of eunuchs, which he made superior to the rest. This changed the face of things in their favour, and gained them respect from the people, who treated them before with contempt. Under *Hussēyn* their power increased to such a degree, that the officers of state did not dare to decide anything of importance, without taking orders from the eunuchs, who composed a sovereign senate; from which slavish submission the *Etimādaddowlet* himself was not exempt^o.

They sell
employ-
ments.

WHILE the king was buried in the delights of his *Harām*, this sovereign senate sold the chief posts in the kingdom, and disposed of the fortunes of the grandees at pleasure. These wretches, tho' without heirs, were yet so avaricious, that they invented all sorts of methods to extort money out of both the grandees, and the people. To procure presents, they often sent the *Kalaat* or vest of favour, to the governors of cities and provinces; who did not complain, as it furnished them with a pretence to raise ten times as much on the people. After this, they made the governments to be held during

^a KAVIRSKI *ibid.* p. 71, & seq.

^o *Ibid.* p. 74, & seq.

pleasure,

pleasure, which before were for life; and thus sold the same post often in the compass of a few years. These frequent changes drained the people in the provinces, by the sums raised to defray the expences of the governor's reception, and the presents made to him on his entrance into office; not to mention the losses they suffered by the copper-money coined by the old governor, sinking one-half in value*.

A. D.
1694.

As the council consisted partly of black and partly of white eunuchs (K), naturally in opposition, from their colour, and jealous of their authority, they could never agree. This antipathy was greatly augmented by that spirit of faction which divides the *Persians* in general. This pernicious practice of ruling by parties was introduced by *Abbâs I.* to prevent his subjects from plotting against him, and to secure the throne in his family. The method which he took to compass this design was, to settle, in all the cities of *Persia*, foreigners of such nations as were most opposite in their customs, manners, and language; and to form, in the towns and villages, two factions, which were distinguished not only by the names of *Pelevk* and *Felevk*, but also by the colour which each chose for the neckbands of their shirts. They carried their antipathy so far, that they would neither marry nor eat together; and as, at the feast of *Hassan* and *Husseyn*, sons of *Ali*, they were permitted to fight, altho' they could make use only of stones or sticks, yet they fought with such fury and bloodshed, that to part them, the king was often obliged to send his guards; nor sometimes could these do it, without killing many of them; as happened in 1714, when above 300 were slain P.

THIS spirit of division had more force to keep peace everywhere than the most numerous garrisons; and had it been as well kept up at *Kandahâr*, as it was in other parts of the kingdom, without doubt the rebellion which produced the late revolution, would have been prevented: but on this fortress being retaken from *Shâh Sefi* by *Shâh Jehan*, the *Great Mogul*, that policy ceased; nor was it revived by the *Persian* governors, after its recovery under *Abbâs II.* The factions, for want of being well managed in other places, broke-out into war; and the governors often set them together by the ears, that they might have a pretence afterwards of fining both

* KRUSINSKI *ibid.* p. 84, & seq.

P *Ibid.* p. 89, & seq.

(K) The first are for guards King, or guard the *Harâm* of to the *Harâm* of the women. the princes of the blood.
The white either attend the

A. D. 1694. parties, for their disobedience. These parties which, while under proper restraints, were serviceable to the Shâh, proved very detrimental to his affairs, when that restraint was taken off. *Hussayn* experienced this on several occasions, particularly during the siege of *Ispâhân*; which was lost by the animosity between the *Lorians* and *Baktiliarians*: for altho' each nation, able to raise 20,000 men, could have driven off the *Afghâns*, yet they would neither unite their forces, to deliver the city, nor one permit the other to acquire that honour †.

*Insolence of
the eu-
nuchs.*

THE factions at court grew as unruly as those in the provinces; and the eunuchs, having thrown off all restraint, made slight of the Shâh's authority. This prince was obliged to comply with the requests of each, in their turn; who were continually supplanting one the other: as soon as one party had procured a government for their creature, the other set all engines to work, to turn him out again. If a general was appointed by the interest of one faction, to command on any expedition, the other did all they could to render it abortive; either by not furnishing a sufficient number of troops, by not sending them into the field in time, by stinting them of ammunition and provisions, and often by betraying their designs to the enemy. By these pernicious practices, several fine armies were destroyed, and the *Afghâns* encouraged to advance to *Ispâhân*. These lawless eunuchs, to encrease the disorders, and weaken the state, set the grandees at variance, and turning out the able officers, put those of less merit in their places. To embroil families, they inverted the order of succession: they turned *Ali Merdam Khân*, the greatest captain at that time in *Persia* (and the only one perhaps capable of hindering the revolution), out of his hereditary government, and gave it to his brother. They did the same by the princes of *Ganjea* and *Georgia*, who became vassals to *Abbâs I.* conditionally, that their principalities should always remain in their families. Thus relations, made irreconcilable foes, frequently had recourse to arms; and, to revenge themselves on one another, gave intelligence to the enemy of their designs, to the ruin of the national affairs †.

*Instances
of oppres-
sion.*

IT was a fundamental maxim, established by the last-mentioned Shâh, to inflict corporal punishments on the great, and fine the commonalty: but the eunuchs subverted this rule, by commuting the pains of death and the bastinado, which kept the great in awe, into forfeitures and mulcts, which they converted to their own use. So that these checks being taken off, all who were in authority every-where did nothing

† *Krausiuski* *ibid.* p. 93, & seq.

† *Ibid.* p. 98, & seq.

but

but contrive how to rob and plunder the people, because they might do it with impunity *. In towns which paid 50 to-mans (L), by way of annual tax, the governors have, in one week, raised 300 to-mans (M), by way of fines. They carried their extortions to a shameful degree. The governor of a certain town, perceiving a man's ass grazing in his neighbour's vineyard, fined the owner of the ass fifty crowns: and when the *Armenian* who owned the vineyard informed him, that, among them, such trespasses of cattle was not taken amiss, the honest magistrate condemned him in the same fine; and then told them both, *That it was to teach them to keep what they had.* These instances our author himself was witness of. Every-body knew that the *Deroga* (or Mayor) of *Isfâhân* itself, instead of prosecuting thieves and robbers, when taken, obliged them to pay a ransom, like prisoners of war; and when they were not able to redeem their liberty, he let them out at night, that by a second robbery they might be secured from the punishment incurred by the first.

THIS magistrate having committed a thief to prison, for breaking open an *Armenian's* house, and stealing several in the man- goods, let the owner know, that to come by his goods again, gistrates. he must prove the property, as well as the theft. The *Armenian*, fearing some foul play, thought it would be best to compound with the robber, and give him up part of the effects, on condition he confessed the theft. The *Armenian* now thought all was safe; but soon found himself mistaken: for the *Deroga*, turning towards him, said, in a very cold manner, "What, have you no better witness to produce than this, a rogue, a thief? You would have me take such evidence, would you? Go, friend, and bring me witnesses of credit; witnesses too who are Muslemans, not *Armenians*; and then I'll hear you." In this manner was justice dispensed openly at *Isfâhân*, in the reign of *Hufseyñ*: and it is not to be thought that the public roads were more secure than the streets of the capital. The guards called *Radars* (N), established by *Abbas* I. became no longer of use. Highway robberies were not only tolerated, but in a manner authorised. The peasants made robbery a trade; and the mothers encouraged their children to it, by promise of rewards. So that the karawans, not daring to trust themselves in the villages, chose to encamp under tents †.

* KRUSINSKI *ibid.* p. 105, & seq.
p. 110, & seq.

† *Idem.* *ubi sup.*

(L) Or 125 pounds.

(M) Or 750 pounds.

(N) From *Raderia*; the duty

laid on every camel or horse-load, for the maintenance of these guards.

A.D.
1694.

*Roads in-
secure.*

IN the time of Shāh *Soleyman* the roads were so secure, that merchants had no need to travel in companies : and *Tavernier* having been robbed of goods to the value of 200 pounds, the governor of the town not only paid him the full, according to his bill of entries, but also made him a present of provisions *. But it was to no purpose now to complain, or expect redress from the governors. All the answer which a merchant, who had been robbed of considerable effects, received from one of them, was this : *Shew me the robber, and I will oblige him to make you restitution. Put me in your place, said the merchant, and yourself in mine, and I will soon find you out the robber.* But how sharp soever the answer was, the governor was not offended ; for no people in the world bear injuries and reproaches more patiently than those of quality in *Persia*. If a creditor, who wants his money, says the most provoking things to their face, they take no exceptions at it, but hear him with an air of insensibility not to be paralleled. In short, the *karawāns*, not being able either to guard against the robbers, or obtain justice of the governors, were obliged to compound with the highwaymen, as those who were robbed did in the towns †.

*Husseyn's
expensive
Harām.*

WHILE they ran thus to ruin every-where, *Husseyn* lay buried in his *Harām*, which surpassed that of all his predecessors, for the number and expence of the women. In the beginning of his reign, he caused all the handsome women in *Persia* to be brought thither : and the orders were so well executed, that the year 1701 took the name of *Kisverān*, or *The Year of Women*, from the plentiful crop which was gathered of them. Each had her eunuch and chamber-maid : their maintenance was profuse ; and he gave them a considerable portion, when they married : for he bestowed them not only on his courtiers, but his inferior officers, and even his cooks. The daughters of great men he gave to other great lords, even when with child by him ; and what was worse, this child superseded all their former children, and carried away the bulk of their estates ; as happened to the governor of *Eriwān*, in 1719. These issue called themselves *Shāh Zadch*, or *King's Sons* ; but being very numerous, many were poor, and made a mean figure ‡.

*The Kow-
rowk.*

HUSSEYN had three times more eunuchs than any of his predecessors : they almost equalled the number of his guards ; and indeed he had no other guard at the time of the *Kūrāk*, or *Kowrowk* ; which is a proclamation to give no-

* TAVERN. Trav. book i. chap. 4. and book v. chap. 14.

† KRUSINSKI ubi supr. p. 113, & seq. ‡ Ibid. p. 120, & seq.

tice of the hour when the *Shâh* goes abroad with his *Harâm*, made three days before he sets out. The ladies rode on horses or mules, with each an eunuch to hold the bridle, and the female attendants on asses; while *Husseyn* made it one of his great diversions to whip them till they threw their riders, in order to make sport for the rest. Besides the body of eunuchs armed with guns and swords, which surrounded the whole female cavalcade, there were two others. One of them advanced far before, and the other closed the march. Besides these, others were employed either to search the houses by which they passed, or scour the country, in order to put to the sword all who were found within the forbidden limits¹.

THE maintenance of such a number of eunuchs must have been very burdensome to the state. Yet this *Shâh* was more lavish still in other articles, particularly that of building, in which he exhausted all the treasures left by his predecessors. He pulled down the old palace, a magnificent structure, and built a new one, at a prodigious expence. He erected another, still more sumptuous, at *Farâbâd*, a league from *Isfâhân*; likewise a monastery for *Dervîshes*, whose magnificence may be conceived from the chief gate only, which is of massy silver. *Husseyn*, completely to exhaust his treasures, and ruin all the provinces through which he passed, undertook a pilgrimage to *Mashhâd* (O), above 200 leagues from *Isfâhân*. He was accompanied by his women, escorted by a train of 60,000 men. This journey proved so expensive, that half the sum would have defrayed the charge of all the expeditions against the rebels of *Kandahâr*².

FROM what hath been said, it is easy to infer that *Shâh Husseyn's* *Husseyn* had none of those virtues necessary for a monarch. He was good-natured (P) and merciful; but in those qualities the wicked found their account more than honest men. The only instance in which he discovered marks of greatness, was his passion for magnificence: but to that passion every-thing else was sacrificed; and like some people, who are more forward to give alms than pay their debts, he built monasteries and hospitals, while his troops perished with hunger, or

¹ KRUSINSKI *ibid.* p. 123, & seq.

² *Ibid.* p. 125, & seq.

(O) That is, *The Place of the Martyred*; a name given to the city of *Tûs*, the capital of *Khorassân*, as being the burying-place of *Imâm Rîza*, or *Ridha*, one of the 12 *Imâms*, who was

murdered there. This saint is interred in a famous monastery dedicated to him.

(P) He was no persecutor, nor offended with any person on account of his religion.

A. D. 1603. { dispersed for want of pay. He seemed to think he was obliged to take care of nothing but of his palaces; and to what a degree he forgot that he was a king, may appear from one remarkable instance: for when, on the approach of the rebel army, his ministers endeavoured to rouse him out of his lethargy, by representing the danger, "Tis your business," said he, to look to that; you have armies provided: for my part, if they but leave me my house at *Farabâd*, I am "content."

His clemency hurtful.

His notions of clemency may be judged from a well-known instance. He took a pleasure, sometimes, in firing his pistol over a pond in his garden where ducks were swimming, not to hurt, but frighten them. However, happening one day to wound some with the shot, he was terrified as much as if he had committed murder: crying out, as is usual in *Persia* on the shedding of human blood, *I am polluted with blood*: and, as an atonement for the supposed sin, ordered 200 tomans to be given to the poor*.

A PRINCE so tender conſcienced, in the caſe of wounding a few ducks, was very loth, it may be preſumed, to conſent to the ſhedding of human blood, tho' as the puniſhment of the greateſt createſt crimes. For more than 20 years, which his reign laſted, he never paſſed one ſentence of death; and, conſequently, never put on the red habit; which was the colour worn by the kings of *Persia*, when they were to pronounce judgment for capital offences.

S E C T. II.

Affairs of Persia, from the revolt of the Afghâns, to the death of Mîr Weis.

Revolution in Persia.

SUCH were the unhappy circumstances of *Persia*, under the government of a very weak prince, and a very corrupt administration. But notwithstanding the incapacity of *Huffeyn*, and tyranny of the eunuchs, who governed him; notwithstanding the bad state of all the provinces, and the general discontent of the whole kingdom, tis yet very probable that *Shâh Huffeyn* would have died in peace upon his throne, as many other kings of his character have done, if, unhappily for him, *Mîr Weis* (Q), the chief of an *Afghân*

* See KRUSINSKI, ubi sup. p. 105, & seq.

(Q) By some called *Mîr* which is *Arabic*, signifies *Lion-Avis*, or *Veis*, of which *Mîr* *Awbelp*. *Mîr* is an abbreviation of *Weis* is a compound: the name, *Amîr*; that is, *Commander*.

tribe,

tribe, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, had not been forced against his will to come up to court, from the remotest corner of his frontiers, to observe the weak condition to which the monarchy was reduced; and how easy it was for one of resolution, like himself, with barely the forces of his own nation, not only to throw off the *Persian* yoke, but even to subdue the kingdom under his obedience. The occasion of his journey to *Ispâhân* was this:

A. D.
1604.

THE *Afghâns*, a people who inhabit the province of *Kandahâr*, finding themselves much oppressed, by the exactions of the governors, whom the ministry had sent to command in that province; at length, unable to be treated any longer as slaves, began loudly to complain, and discover evident signs of a disposition to revolt. The *Persian* ministry, alarmed at this advice, judged that the only way to prevent a rebellion, was to send a person of resolution and conduct to govern the province of *Kandahâr*. There was then at *Ispâhân* a prince of the family of *Bagrathioni*, which has often given sovereigns to *Georgia*. This person, named *Gurghin* (R) *Khân*, having been made *Wali* (S) of his province, tried to assert the independency of his ancestors, and made a stand in *Teflis*, the capital city: but being abandoned by most of the grandees of the country, who suffered themselves to be bribed by the ministry, he went and made his submission to the King. Shâh *Hufseyñ*, who stood engaged for him at his circumcision, when he turned *Mohammedan*, was so pleased with his behaviour, that he not only forgave what was past, but also loaded him with favours^b.

THIS prince, being judged a proper person to quell the rebellion of *Kandahâr*, had the government of that province joined to those of *Kermân* and *Georgia*, which he possessed before. He soon got together an army of 20,000 *Persians*; with whom, reinforced by a body of *Georgians*, he began his march; the very news of which dispersed the rebels. The *Khân*, naturally severe, left the people to the discretion of his army, who committed all sorts of violence. They took from them their tents and horses, forced women from their husbands, and virgins from their parents. The chiefs of tribes were no more secure in their lives and fortunes than the

^b HANWAY Hist. Acc^t. of the British trade, &c. vol. iii. p. 27.

(R) Or *Gurji Khân*; as some immediately descended from the write. sovereigns of the country over

(S) *Wali*, or *Vali*, as some which he presides. write, is a viceroy, who is more

A. D. 1604. meanest peasants. The *Afghâns* had private meetings on this occasion, and sent deputies to complain of the tyranny which they groaned under. But altho' they got safe to *Ispâhân*, unknown to *Gurghin Khân*, yet his friends there prevented all access to the Shâh for a considerable time. However, at the vernal equinox, when the kings of *Persia* always appear in public, and their meanest subjects have free access to them, they presented their petitions, signed by the chiefs of all the *Afghân* tribes. But before we proceed farther, it will be proper to give some account of the origin and manners of these people ^c.

Their origin,

THE *Afghâns* are divided into three principal tribes, who, like the *Mohammedan* nations, derive their genealogy from *Noah*. According to their history, *Japhet* had three sons, *Armen*, *Afghân*, and *Karduel*: the first two remained in *Armenia*, which takes its name from the eldest; as *Karduel* gave his name to the province of *Georgia*, so called, when he settled. The families of *Armen* and *Afghân*, having greatly multiplied in process of time, the descendants of the latter quitted their country, and went to dwell at the foot of *Saleymân Kûh*; a chain of mountains which separates the province of *Kandahâr* from *Hindûstân*, or the Mogol's empire.

and different tribes.

THIS nation was formerly divided into two principal tribes; one of whom lived in the mountains, under the general appellation of *Afghâns*; the other, distinguished by the name of *Ballûchi*, extended itself in the plains beneath: but in the reign of *Ismaël al Sammâni* (T), towards the end of the 9th century, a numerous colony of *Afghâns*, quitting the country of *Kandahâr*, to settle in *Hafaray*, the eastern part of the province of *Herât*, formed a third tribe, called *Abdolls*; who soon after turned *Mohammedans*, and converted the rest of their nation, who till then had been of the old *Persian* religion, or Fire-worshippers.

The Kliji.

IN the beginning of the 11th century, the tribe of *Kliji* (U), the most numerous and powerful of the three *Afghân* tribes, which inhabited *Saleymân Kûh*, was almost wholly

^c HANWAY *ibid.* p. 28, & seq.

(T) Founder of the Dynasty of Princes, named from him *Sammânians*; who reigned over *Khorassân* and *Mawaralnâhr*, or *Great Bukhâria*, in the 10th century.

(U) There is some defect here; for the other two tribes are not distinctly mentioned, unless we suppose them to be the *Afghâns* proper, and the *Abdolls*.

destroyed

destroyed by the famous *Mahmúd* (W), founder of the *Gáznah* Dynasty; so called from a city of that name (X) in *Khorassan*, where he established his empire, in order to be nearer the *Indies*, which he intended to conquer. In his return from one of his expeditions beyond the *Indus*, which were always successful, he divided his army into separate bodies; of which the *Kliji* having intelligence, they defeated most of them in their way through the mountains, which the *Gazni's* were obliged to pass, and stripped them of the inestimable spoils of *India*, which they were loaded with. These *Afgháns* expected to be called to an account by *Mahmúd*; but imagined that the winter would secure them from his visit till spring. When spring came they proposed to retire to that part of the mountain which was least accessible: but in this they were mistaken; for the Soltán no sooner heard of this insult, than he assembled his best troops, and, notwithstanding the rigor of the season, entered the country of *Kandahár* with such expedition, that he found the *Kliji* still in the plains, where they had divided their booty, and almost exterminated the whole race, except a few who escaped to the mountains. By these the province was again re-peopled; but so slowly, that till the reign of *Timúr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, they had not recovered their former strength^d.

THE *Abdollis*, who had quitted that country 200 years before, were not involved in the same calamity. They continued free and independent till the beginning of the 17th century; when the *Uzbek Tatars* having invaded the province of *Herdt*, this tribe, tho' amounting to 30,000 families, was yet obliged to have recourse to *Sháh Abbás I.* King of *Persia*: that prince, surnamed *The Great*, took them under his protection; and marching against the enemy, soon obliged them to retire. Thereupon, the *Abdollis*, either thro' gratitude or necessity, became tributary to their deliverer; on condition only, that they should be governed by none but a chief of their own nation.

KANDAHAR was, at this time, subject to *Akber* the Great Mogol, who reigned in *Hindústán*, to whom it had re-
ons in Kanda-hâr.

^d HANWAY *ibid.* p. 23, & seq.

(W) In our author *Harway* named, by mistake, *Mohammed*.

(X) *Viz.* *Gáznah*, not *Gaznavi*, as in our author. This last word implies of or belonging to *Gáznah*, and consequently

is the Gentile name of this prince (who first assumed the name of *Soltán*), or of his successors. He is, in fact, named *Mahmúd Gázni*, or *Gáznevi*, by the oriental historians.

volted,

A. D.
1603.

volted, on some umbrage given by *Abbâs* to the sons of *Mirza Boyrâm**, the *Persian* governor: but, on *Akbar*'s death, *Shâh Abbâs* recovered the province from *Jehân Ghîr*: and thus the whole *Afghân* nation, consisting of the *Klijî's* and *Abdollî's* (Y), were again united under the dominion of *Persia*. They continued in this state till the second revolt to the *Great Mogol* *Shâh Jehân*, under *Alt Merdân Khân* (Z), to secure himself, and treasure, from the griping claws of the bloody *Shâh Sefî* I.† This *Shâh*, it is presumed, recovered, and again lost, this fortress (A). However, it fell once more into the hands of the *Great Mogol*; at which time the *Klijî's* were no fewer than 50,000 families, divided into tribes of 10 or 12,000 each, and formed the principal part of the inhabitants. These people, according to their antient custom, lived for the most part in tents, and fed cattle. Such as went to dwell in towns, were employed in the most servile offices. This, with the tribute which they paid for the right of pasturage, rendered them so contemptible, that the name of *Klijî* became a term of reproach among the *Kandahâr Indians*. The *Afghâns*, disgusted with this usage, sent deputies secretly to the court of *Persia*, to invite *Shâh Abbâs* II. to take possession of the province. On this invitation *Shâh Abbâs* raised a considerable army, and took that important fortress, in 1650. The *Shâh*, to reward their services, distributed gifts among their chiefs, and reduced the annual tribute. They continued faithful to *Abbâs*, and his two successors, till the cruelty and avarice of the *Persian* governors obliged them to petition *Shâh Hufseyn*, as hath been before related §.

Mir Weîs *THE* *Shâh* was inclined to have given orders in their
charaîr. favour; but the friends of *Gourghin Khân*, by false suggestions,

* See Univ Hist. vol. vi. p. 329.

† See vol. v. p. 465.

§ HANWAY ubi supr. p. 24, & seqq.

(Y) The *Ballûchî's* having, by their long separation, lost the name of *Afghân*, it is presumed were not included. *Hanway*.

(Z) This was in the year 1632.

(A) It was not recovered by *Shâh Safî* or *Sefî*, but by *Shâh Abbâs* II. in the year 1650. See vol. v. p. 480. *Shâh Jehân* endeavoured twice to re-

cover it; and *Aureng Zib* three or four times, without effect. See vol. vi. p. 443. *Aureng Zib* must have taken it after the death of *Shâh Jehân*, altho' the fact is not mentioned by authors; and it continued in the hands of the *Mogols*, till recovered during the distractions at court, about the year 1736. Vol. vi. p. 464.

fo prejudiced that prince against them, that the deputies were dismissed as the agents of turbulent and seditious people. *Gourghin Khân*, not content with having thus baffled their design, resolved also to let them feel his resentment : to effect which, he ordered *Mir Weis* to be seized, and sent to *Ispahân*. This was one of the most powerful persons of his nation ; and besides, being head of a tribe, was *Kalentar* (B), an office which added weight to his credit. But his birth, his generosity, as well as a certain graceful and popular air, joined to some indications of an ambitious spirit, were the cause of his being suspected as the author of the late disturbances ; and as such he was represented to the court by the *Khân*, who added, that he was a turbulent man, and likely to foment new troubles, if not secured. Having thus gotten rid of the person from whom he apprehended any uneasiness, he disbanded his army ; only keeping his *Georgians* about his person.

A. D.
1707.

MIR WEIS, quickly perceiving the disorders and factions at court, judged that he might draw some advantage from the posture of affairs. He first made it his business to get acquainted with the party which opposed *Gourghin Khân* ; at the head whereof were the steward of the King's household, and *Fatey Ali Khân*, master of the hunt (C), afterwards prime minister. These he soon made his friends, by his presents, which amounted to 30,000 tomans (D). As *Mir Weis* was neither *Feleuk* nor *Peleuk*^h (the revolutions which *Kandahâr* had undergone having extinguished the animosities of the inhabitants), he easily made each of them believe that he was of his party, and gained his favour. Having taken such prudent measures, he was not afraid to demand an audience : in which he justified his conduct with so much address and eloquence, that the King, already prejudiced by some of his ministers, both acquitted and granted him his protection.

MIR WEIS did not stop here : but as he had now free access to the Shâh, he resolved, if possible, to destroy his accuser. The better to conceal and compass his design, he always spoke

^h Two factions, see before p. 23.

(B) *Kalentar*, or *Kalântar*, signifies the greatest, or Mayor, as *Kempfer* says ; that is, of a city. *Amœnit. exotic.* p. 141. This officer is however charged with collecting taxes, and sometimes acts as a sub-governor. *Harway*.

(C) *Miri Shekar Bashi*, or Great huntsman.

(D) Or 75,000 pounds ; which sum was remitted to him by the *Afghans* for the purpose, in 30,000 woollen sashes of *Termay*, a city in the territories of the Great Mogol. *Harway*.

A. D.
1707.

of his enemy with respect ; but spoke in such terms of his power, and how much was to be feared from it, that *Hussayn* began to imagine, that *Goârghin Khân* had sent him to court only to get rid of a person, who too curiously inspected his conduct. His view in getting the Khân removed, was not only to be revenged on him as his enemy, but also to clear the way for rescuing his country from the *Persian* yoke ; perceiving that there was scarce any-body else capable of obstructing his design. Farther to give a legal sanction to his enterprize, and unite more effectually the *Afghâns* in his favour, he resolved to make the pilgrimage to *Mekka*, under pretence of religion, but in reality to obtain a licence for revolting¹.

Goes to
Mekka.

As this journey removed him still farther from *Kandahâr*, his petition was granted, without any difficulty. Soon after his arrival at *Mekka*, he sent to *Medinah*, to desire the opinion of the chief doctors of the law, upon the two following points : “ 1. Whether it was lawful for *Mussulmâns*, restrained in the exercise of their religion by heretics, to take up arms, and free themselves from the yoke. 2. Whether their oath taken to a heretic sovereign was binding, when he did not observe the conventions which he had sworn to ; but had made them slaves to infidels ? ” After this, he enlarged on the avarice and violence of the *Georgians* ; observing that many *Afghâns* had already changed their religion, merely to free themselves from this oppression. The reader is to understand, that of the two chief sects, named *Sunni* and *Shiay*, into which the *Mohammedans* are divided, the *Afghâns* are of the former ; which is followed by the *Arabs*, *Turks*, and most other nations of that faith, excepting the *Persians*, and some *Uzbek* tribes. These two sects brand each other with the title of heretics ; and this difference between them was the ground of *Mir Weiss*’s application, aggravated by the charge of being obstructed in the public exercise of their worship ; which however was not true.

Obtains a
dispensa-
tion.

THE *Mollahs* did not hesitate to give their sentence in the affirmative ; and the pretended *Haji* or pilgrim, having obtained the *Fetfa* or *Fetva*, that is, the decision, returned to *Ispâhân*. Altho’ this authority for rebellion could be of no service to him, till he should return to *Kandahâr*, yet he discovered no inclinations that way, waiting to see what time might produce ; which soon declared in his favour : for not long after, there arrived on the frontiers of *Persia* an ambas-

A. D.
1708.

¹ KRUSINSKI’S Hist. of the late Revolut. of Pers. vol. i. p. 150, & seqq. HANWAY ubi supr. p. 29, & seqq.

factor from *Russia*, with a numerous retinue. He was an *Armenian*, named *Israel Orii*; and pretending to be descended from the ancient kings of that country, tho' originally a common soldier, dropped some hints that he did not renounce his right to the sovereignty. This report, thro' frivolous, was enough to alarm the Shâh and his ministers: and another, that he had threatened to get all the *Romish* missionaries expelled the kingdom, stirred up the *Europeans* against him, so far as to suggest, that the letters which he brought from the Christian princes were spurious. On this occasion, certain predictions, said to be preserved by the *Armenians*, were alleged, importing, that the kingdom of *Armenia* should be established one day, under the protection of *Russia* ^k.

As idle as these reports were, yet *Mir Weis*, finding they obtained credit, resolved to make some use of them. He insinuated, that as *Georgia* bordered on *Armenia*, and that the inhabitants of both countries were allied by religion, those of the first would favour the pretensions of the ambassador, and *Gourghin Khân* be encouraged to renew the attempt which he had lately made to recover the sovereignty of *Georgia*, which he laid claim to. The court was so terrified with apprehensions, on this occasion, that, but for fear of disobliging the Czar *Peter I.* *Huseyn* would not have suffered the ambassador to proceed to *Isfâhân*. Mean time the artful speeches of *Mir Weis* made such an impression on the timorous ministers, that they began to grow jealous of *Gourghin Khân's* power; which being easily infused into the head of their weak prince, it was resolved to place near him some trusty person, who might watch over his conduct, and be able to make head against him, in case he offered to create any disturbance. By means of the prime minister, who was *Mir Weis's* friend, and the Khân's enemy, the former was chosen for the purpose; and, to increase his credit with the people, he was honoured with the *Kalaet* (E), as well as restored to his former employment.

MIR WEIS being returned to *Kandahâr*, about the end of 1709, was at a loss in what manner to acquaint his countrymen with his project, and engage them to assist him in the execution,

^k KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 160, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 36, & seqq.

(E) *Khalaet* signifies perfect or accomplished; a robe of honour given by the king's orders. It is used also for any present of horses, arms, or the like, from a superior. The *Turks* call this *Kasân*; which word the *Russians* use for a coat in general.

A. D.
1708.

when a favourable opportunity offered for the purpose. *Gourghîn Khân*, who had continued to treat the *Afghâns* with severity, was so provoked at the return of *Mîr Weis*, that, as it were in opposition to the court, he resolved to do something to dishonour him. The method which he took, was to demand his daughter, esteemed the most beautiful lady in the province, for his *Harâm*. The *Afghans* are averse to marry their females to persons of a different nation and religion, much more to their being treated as slaves. *Mîr Weis* judged this a proper occasion to impart his long-concerted design to the principal men among them, whom he assembled in his tent. They all applauded his project, and promised to support him; "swearing to suffer their wives to be torn from them, and "their slaves to be set at liberty, if they did not perform "their engagements. This oath they also confirmed upon "bread, salt, their sabres, and the *Korân* ¹."

*Dissemlles
injuries.*

As soon as the assembly broke up, *Mîr Weis* sent a young handsome girl, magnificently dressed, to the Khân, as his daughter. The deception passed the more easily, as women of rank are never seen by men till they are disposed of: and the *Afghân* chief, by bribing the governor's domestics, so far prevailed, as to obtain leave to appear in his presence. At this interview, he behaved with so much submission, that the Khân believed he had effectually humbled his most powerful enemy: and *Mîr Weis* improved this opportunity so well by his assiduities, that he was reckoned among the number of his most intimate friends. Things being brought to the point he aimed at, the *Afghân* chief resolved to put his plot in execution. Altho' the *Georgians* whom the Khân had retained about him, as before-mentioned, did not amount to 1000 men, yet being the bravest troops in the East, they were an invincible obstacle to his design: but he removed it, by his address. He secretly engaged the chiefs of the tribe named *Tirin* to refuse to pay the usual taxes; on notice of which rebellion, the greater part of the *Georgians* were sent to suppress it. Mean time *Mîr Weis*, who had directed his own tribe to approach within two or three leagues of *Kandahâr*, invited the Khân to an entertainment in the camp; which the governor accepted the more readily, as that artful chief expressed more resentment than any body against the mutineers. On the day appointed for the feast, he caused many armed men to mix with the *Afghâns*, who were daily admitted into the town to do laborious offices; and gave them orders

A. D.
1709.

¹ HANWAY *ibid.* p. 38, & seqq.

to stay after sun-set, when, the gates being shut, strangers were obliged to depart.

A. D.

1709.

THE camp was designedly pitched near one of the governor's country-houses, the better to prevent suspicion. After the banquet, *Gourghin Khān*, oppressed with heat and wine, fell asleep in the same tent; as did his retinue in those whither the *Afghāns* had invited them to partake of the entertainment. When all was quiet, *Mir Weis*, at the head of 50 men, armed with spears, rushed into the tent, and slew him, after a brave resistance, in which he killed several of the assassins. The *Persians* and *Georgians* were all massacred at the same time, by their hosts. Their arms, cloaths, and horses, were distributed among the bravest of his tribe; and having himself taken those of *Gourghin Khān*, he marched to *Kandahār*. They arrived at the city an hour after sun-set; and the guards, deceived by those false appearances, opened the gates, and were cut to pieces. The flower of the *Afghāns* soon coming up, were joined by those concealed in the city: and proclamation being made for the townsmen to keep within doors, where they should be safe, every soldier of the garrison, and person attached to the Khān, were, in a few hours, destroyed.

Kills the
governor.

NEXT morning the principal inhabitants being summoned, *Mir Weis*, in soothing terms, told them, "It was not ambition, but a desire to free them from the slavery of their masters, which had moved him to take so bold a step: that *Gourghin Khān* was the only foldier among the *Persians*, who now dared not to besiege a fortress, which the Mogol emperors, with more troops than there were stones in its walls, had attempted in vain: that however, if there were any among them who had not courage to enjoy the precious liberty dropped down to them from heaven, they should have free licence to go in quest of some new tyrant, beyond the borders of that now happy state." The inhabitants, not expecting such mild proposals, answered with loud applauses, and swore to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. *Mir Weis* exhorted his people to do nothing to offend the townsmen; and immediately gave orders for putting the place in the best posture of defence.

The inhabitants revolt.

THREE days after, the *Georgian* detachment, ignorant of what had happened, coming back, loaden with the spoils of the rebels, they were suffered to approach within musket-shot, and then had the cannon of the town discharged upon them. At the same time *Mir Weis* marched out, at the head

Def. at the
Georgians.

■ HANWAY *ibid.* p. 44, & seqq. KAUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 183.

A. D. 1709. of 5 or 6000 horse, intending to cut off their retreat; but found them better trained to war than his *Afghâns*. Notwithstanding the great superiority of these latter in numbers, who attacked them five times in one day, yet they were always defeated: so that the *Georgians*, after quitting their booty, fought their way thro' the country, for eight days; and at last, forcing a passage sword in hand, passed the defile of *Zebil*. This narrow strait is on the side of *Persia*, as that of *Kabul* is towards *India*, they are the only passes thro' the mountains which surround the province of *Kandahâr*; and the acquisition of this defile (with the expulsion of the *Georgians*), was the only advantage which *Mir Weis* reaped from this expedition. That chief having learned now by experience, that valour alone is not sufficient in carrying on war, left troops to guard the defile of *Zebil*, and applied himself to discipline his menⁿ.

Refuses to negotiate

THE *Persian* court, reflecting on the difficulty of penetrating thro' the mountains with an army, and the danger there was, that the *Afghâns*, if hard pressed, might surrender the country a second time to the Mogol, resolved, before they had recourse to force, to try what could be done by negotiation. *Mohammed Jani Khân*, who was sent on this deputation, used all his rhetoric and art to prevail on *Mir Weis*, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, to return to his duty. As he added menaces to the fair promises offered by the court, the chief, afraid lest his discourse should affect the hearers, silenced him abruptly, "calling him a deceitful man, and upbraiding him with laying snares to entangle them," sent him to prison. By the confinement of *Jani Khân*, the court was ignorant of what had passed; and being uneasy, sent a second deputation. For this purpose, they chose the lieutenant of *Mohammed Khân*, governor of *Herât*; who, having performed the pilgrimage to *Mekka* in company with *Mir Weis*, the ministers judged he would be less suspected, and more acceptable to him, than the other. But when he had explained his commission, the *Afghân* chief told him, in an angry tone, "That was it not for having been his fellow-traveller, and that he was unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality, he would punish him for offering to make such base proposals to men who were free." He added, "Slave to a king who is going to lose his sovereignty, listen to what I say: *The victory comes from God; and this victory is near* (F). The impure worship of the followers

with the ministers.

* HANWAY *ibid.* p. 48, & seqq. KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 184, & seqq.

(F) A passage out of the *Korân*.

1709.

—

MIR WEIS, whose army was inferior in number to the *They be-*
Khân's, perceiving how difficult it would be for cavalry to *siege* Kan-
 aßt in those defiles, and being unwilling to make his men dif- *dabâr.*
 mount, retired to the river *Belese*, three leagues distant. The
Persians passed the straits, surprised to find them unguarded,
 and came to the river, which they crossed on horseback, led
 by their general. The *Afghâns* astonished at their resolution,
 and being attacked with equal intrepidity, gave way, and

• HANWAY *ibid.* p. 51, & *seqq.* KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 188, & *seqq.*

(G) A square town about half a league in compass, surrounded with a mud wall, in a fertile well watered country. *Harway*. Tis called also *Parra*, and is mentioned by *Tavernier*, and other travellers, particularly *our Sulbanck and Covert*, *Steel and Crowther*, to be found in *Purchas's Pilgrims*. It lies in the road from *Ispahan* to *Kandabât*, and has a great trade for silk.

A. D.
1710.



retired in disorder. *Mir Weiss* kept the field with his shattered troops, while the Khân marched on to besiege *Kandahâr*. The inhabitants affrighted, offered to deliver up the place, on condition to have their lives, liberty, and fortunes, preserved. But the general, elated with success, and urged by a thirst of revenge, imprudently sent them word, that they must submit at discretion.

Are again
defeated.

THE *Afghâns* rejected such abject terms: and while the Khân besieged the town, the number of troops under *Mir Weiss* augmented every day. The *Baloçhî's*, inhabiting the province of *Mukrán*, to the south of *Kandahâr*, a fierce and warlike people, joined him, on his invitation; and the *Tirîns* (H) resorted to him in great numbers. However, he chose to cut off their forage and provisions, rather than hazard any more battles, without necessity. The besiegers falling quickly in want of necessaries, the Khân's troops deserted in large bodies. The general then began to repent that he did not sign the capitulation; and seeing his army reduced to 10,000, resolved to retire. But it was now too late; for he had scarce begun to raise the siege, when *Mir Weiss*, arriving with 16,000 men, to relieve the place, fell upon his troops; who, disheartened, fled at the first attack. The Khân finding his efforts to rally them in vain, and resolving not to survive the disgrace, rushed, with the few remaining *Georgians*, into the thickest of the enemy's squadrons, and bravely fighting, was slain. This was the most considerable shock which the *Persians* had yet received from the *Afghâns*: for seven days they were pursued, and so harrassed, that only 700 escaped either death or slavery ^P.

Mir Weiss
made king.

A. D.
1713.

THE astonished court sent another army in 1713, under *Mohammed Rustan Khân*, who had no better fortune than his predecessor; and from this defeat, all the towns and strong holds, which had yet held out against the new government, submitted to them: so that the whole kingdom of *Kandahâr* fell under the dominion of the *Afghâns*. It is said, indeed, that the *Georgians*, ascribing the loss of so many expeditions to the cowardice of the *Persians*, in 1714, offered to subdue the rebels, provided their army should be composed only of troops of their own nation: but that *Husséyn*, afraid they might make a bad use of their success, rejected the proposal. However that was, the court having lost all hopes of reducing him by force, as well as negotiation, ceased to arm

^P HANWAY *ibid* p. 54, & seqq. KRUSINSK. *ibid* p. 190, & seqq.

(H) The *Baloçhî's* and *Tirîns* are a branch of the *Afghâns*; as mentioned before. The first the latter a tribe of the *Klîjî*.

against

against him: so that this prince died peaceably in his new kingdom in the year 1715. A. D. 1715.

It may be said of *Mir Weis*, that he was no less circumspect in undertaking any enterprize, than resolute in the execution; and that his success was as much owing to his prudence as his valour. He had, for some time, assumed the title of king, with other ensigns of sovereignty, and ordered the *Kotbah* (I) to be made in his name. The inscription round his coin, in *Persian*, was, "The celebrated *Mir Weis*, emperor of the world, a most just prince, has caused this coin to be struck at *Kandahâr*, the place of his residence."

His death.

S E C T. III.

Affairs of Persia continued, to the Detronement of Shâh Hufseyñ, by Mir Mahmûd, Son of Mir Weis.

MIR WEIS was succeeded in the throne by his brother *Mir Abdollah*, whom he had appointed his successor, his sons being too young to hold the reins of government. But he never discovered so much want of judgment in any thing, as he did in that choice: for *Abdollah* had neither his genius, his ambition, nor his resolution. Of this he soon convinced the *Afghâns*; for he was scarcely invested with the supreme authority, when he formed the design of restoring *Kandahâr* to the crown of *Persia* (K). The tribes were divided in their opinions about it: the aged and infirm, the peaceable and timorous, were for it, as fearing they were too weak long to withstand so formidable a power; and that a reconciliation was the only means to screen them from the resentment of their antient masters. On the other hand, the military men, with those of youth and spirit, exclaimed against the project, as absolutely destructive. They alleged, "That after the provocations given, they could not depend on treaty-secu-

Succeeded by his brother.

Resolves to submit.

¹ HANWAY *ibid.* p. 57. KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 198, & seqq.

(I) The *Kotbah* is a prayer, read by the *Imâm* or priest of every *Mesku*, every Friday (which is their day of worship) in the afternoon, for the health of the king. This is an essential mark of the acknowledgement of his sovereignty.

(K) *Mir Weis* may be, in some respect, compared to *Oliver Cromwell*; and *Mir Abdollah* to his brother *Richard*. *Krusinski* puts his death in 1717.

rity :

A. D.
1715.

“ rity : That as soon as the *Persians* had again gotten possession of the strong-holds, they would take signal vengeance for the losses and disgrace which they had suffered : That it was strange they should be disheartened by their victories, and fight for liberty only to become more slaves than before : That since their enemies dared no longer to invade them, they ought in their turn to take advantage of their weakness, and attack them ; at least ought to enjoy the tranquillity they had obtained, so long as they saw no danger of losing it’.”

Slain by
his nephew.

HOWEVER, *Mir Abdollah*, finding his scheme approved of, tho’ but by a few of the chief men, resolved to proceed in his design. His intention was to restore the city and province to *Husséyn*, on three conditions : 1. That the annual tax which the *Afghâns* paid before their revolt, should be taken off. 2. That no foreign troops should be sent into the province. 3. That the Shâh should grant the government of the kingdom to him, and his family, successively. Accordingly, instructions were secretly drawn up for deputies, to be sent to *Isfâhân* ; and they had some reason to believe that their proposals would be agreeable to the court. But for all the care which they took to conceal this negotiation, which they knew was disagreeable to the majority of the tribes, it came to the knowledge of *Mir Mahmûd* (L), the elder of *Mir Weis’s* two sons. This prince, then aged about 18, sensibly piqued to see himself deprived of what he looked upon to be his right, by inheritance, thought this a proper occasion to shew his resentment. With this view, accompanied by about 40 of his father’s friends, he went to the palace, which he made himself master of ; and then entering the apartment where his uncle was asleep, killed him. The conspirators immediately proclaimed the new Soltân, with loud acclamations ; and the people, alarmed with the sound of military instruments, flocked thither to learn the cause.

Who is
made king.

MIR MAHMUD made no difficulty to declare what he had done ; but alleged, that his motive was the public good. As a proof of this, he read aloud the instrument, and other papers relating to the treaty, which his uncle was going to conclude. This evidence, joined to the signal proofs which this young prince had given of his courage, having almost

’ KRUSINSK. p. 202, & seqq. HANWAY’S Acc’t. of the British trade, &c. vol. iii. p. 58, & seqq.

(L.) Miscalled *Magnud* by our author, and those whom he followed.

from

from his infancy followed his father in all his expeditions, determined the people in his favour, especially the military men, whose suffrages being confirmed by the rest of the tribes, he was, with the general consent, proclaimed king of *Kandahâr*, six months after the death of his father¹.

A. D.
1716.

THE young prince had scarcely ascended the throne, when several events happened, which seemed to preface the troubles his reign was to produce; at the same time they removed

The Ab.
dollî's re-
bel:

part of those obstacles, which stood in the way of his ambition. The family to whom *Abbâs the Great* had given the government of *Hasaray*, being extinct, his successors had subjected this province to the authority of a *Khân* or governor, who commanded in the province of *Herât*. The *Abdoli's*, who had submitted to *Persia*, as hath been said, on condition of not being subject to foreign governors, impatient any longer to lie under their yoke, resolved to follow the example of the *Afghâns*, and make themselves free. *Mohammed Zammân Khân*, the then governor of the province, pleased with the agreeable aspect of *Ezâd-allah*, son to the chief of an *Abdoli* tribe, demanded him of the father; who, allured by lucrative views, used all his persuasion to engage his son to live with the *Khân*. *Ezâd-allah* heard the proposal with indignation; and finding his father determined to use his authority to constrain him, to avoid the force, in conjunction with some young men, like himself, was induced to kill him.

A. D.
1717.

THE *Khân*, to punish the parricide, and prevent an insurrection, to be apprehended from so bold a step, ordered 500 horse to march against *Ezadallah's* party; who met and routed them. The governor, shocked at this disgrace, assembled his troops at *Herât*, and marched towards the rebels camp. *Ezadallah*, now at the head of 2000 men, left one half in ambush, and with the other 1000 encamped on the river *Morgâb*. The *Khân* perceiving the enemy to be so few, charged them, without any precaution: when those in ambuscade so terrified the *Persians* with the shouts they made in falling forth, that they fled precipitately to *Herât*. *Ezadallah*, transported by his youth and courage, followed them so closely, that he entered with them pell-mell into the town. As the inhabitants had all formerly been of the *Sunni* sect, and hated the extortions of the *Persian* governors, they joined with *Ezadallah* against the garrison, who were put to the sword. In less than three months he got possession of the

and Herât
revolts.

¹ HANWAY *ibid.* p. 60. & seqq. KRUSINSK. p. 203, & seqq.

A. D. 1717. other strong places of the province. And thus *Herât* became an independent republic, in which its deliverer held the most considerable rank ¹.

Other provinces falling off. THE revolt of *Herât* was followed by several other alarming incidents. In 1719, the *Kûrds*, a restless roving people, after wasting the country round the city of *Hamadân* (M),

A. D. 1719. had the insolence to commit robberies under the walls of *Ispâhân*, and even to carry off many of the Shâh's horses. The *Uzbek Tatars* also, on the east side of the *Caspian* lake, taking advantage of this distracted state of *Persia*, ravaged the north part of the vast province of *Khorassân*. At the same time the *Lesji Tatars*, inhabiting *Dâghestan*, on the west side of the same inland sea, to revenge the stoppage of 1700 (N) tomans subsidy, renewed their incursions into the province of *Shîrwân*, where they committed all sorts of outrages.

Shâh
Husseyn
alarmed.

SHAH HUSSEYN, astonished to see so many provinces declare against him, at length roused out of his lethargy. As the *Abdullâ's* and *Uzbeks*, who had entered into a confederacy, appeared to be the most formidable enemies, he resolved to make an extraordinary effort against them. The court having lost all their best generals, they made choice of *Sefî Kûli Khân*, who had, for several years, been *Divân Beghi*, or Lord Chief Justice of *Ispâhân* (O); but finding the king prejudiced by his enemies, resigned that employment, and retired. The Khân, sensible of the difficulties to be encountered with in so ticklish a commission, and the opposition he should find in the execution of it, from the prevailing faction, declined the offered honour: but the court hit on an artful expedient to engage him to accept of it. They invested, in a very pompous manner, his only son, then but 17 years of age, with the title of Generalissimo; rightly judging, that his father would accompany him in the expedition.

The Persians
overthrown.

THEY set out with an army of 30,000 chosen troops, besides a numerous train of artillery; and had scarce entered the province of *Herât*, when they met with a body of 12,000 *Uzbeks*, whom they cut to pieces. This first enterprize raised

¹ KRUSINSK. *ibid* p. 208, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid* p. 61, & seqq.

(M) This, and not *Tauris*, as generally supposed, is the ancient *Ekbatana* of the *Greeks*, and *Ametba* of the Old Testament.

(N) They make 4200 pounds.

(O) It should seem no more odd that *Asia* should have fighting Lord Chief Justices, than that *Europe* should have her fighting Bishops.

the courage of the victors : yet *Ezâd-allah*, at the head of only 15,000 horse, and without any cannon, did not fear to offer them battle. During the war there was not a more obstinate engagement : it began at sun-rise, and continued, without intermission, till one in the afternoon. The victory was still doubtful, when the *Persians* lost it, by the inattention of those who commanded the artillery. These officers, not having observed that their own troops occupied a post which the *Abdoli's* had just quitted, fired upon them, which put the whole army into such confusion, suspecting some treachery, that *Ezâd-allah*, taking advantage of a circumstance, the cause of which was perhaps unknown to him, made a vigorous charge on the *Persian* troops, who, after a faint resistance, fled. The victor, to make his blow complete, pursued them a whole day. They lost 8000 men, with their general, and his father, who were killed in the retreat, their baggage; the military chest, and 20 pieces of cannon. Of the *Abdoli's* 3000 were slain *.

HUSSEYN's armies being thus unfortunate, new enemies *Bâhrayn* declared against him. These were the *Arabs* of *Mashât*, *takim* whose country lies along the *Arabian* coast, opposite to *Ormûs*. They are of a particular *Mohammedan* sect; yet nearer to that of the *Sunni* than the *Shiay*, and subject to an *Imâm* (P), or ecclesiastical sovereign, who has an absolute power over them. They had already taken *Bâhrayn* (Q), and threatened to attack *Bander Abbâsi* (R). *Fatey Ali Khân*, then *Etemâd-addawlet* (the prime minister), offered to march against them : but the king, fearing that the addition of the authority of generalissimo might make him too powerful, re-

* *KRUSINSK. ibid. p. 213, & seqq. HANWAY ibid. p. 63, & seqq.*

(P) Captain *Hamilton* says these *Arabs* are of the sect of *Ali*, that is, *Shiay*: that they are very humane to their slaves, courteous to strangers (he speaks by experience), and governed by a king. See his *New Acct. of the E. Ind. vol. i. p. 60, & seqq.*

(Q) *Bâhrayn*, the dual of *Bâbr*, in *Arabic*, signifies, *The two seas*; so named from its situation in the *Persian* gulf. Captain *Hamilton* says they took it in the beginning of this cen-

tury; but quitted it again, because the pearl-fishers, who are mostly *Arabs*, deserted it. But they returned afterwards, when the *Mashât Arabs* had withdrawn. *Ibid. p. 74.*

(R) This signifies the port of *Abbâs*. It was called *Gomrûn*, before the first *Shâh* of that name put it in its present condition, with the materials of the city *Ormûz*, which he had demolished. It still bears the name of *Gomrûn*, *Gombroon*, or *Komrûn*, among *Europeans*.

turned

A. D.
1720.

by the
Maskât
Arabs.

turned him thanks, and appointed *Luft Ali Khân*, that minister's brother-in-law, to command the expedition. In the beginning of the year 1720, that general marched his troops to *Bander Abbâsi*; from whence, by contract with the viceroy of Goa, the *Portuguese* fleet was to transport his army to *Bâhrayn*. It consisted of 4 large vessels, 15 pinks, and some other transports. But whether the Khân did not think this fleet strong enough to engage that of *Maskât* (S), or his enemies at court withheld the money, he did not pay the sum which had been stipulated. The commander of the fleet proposed to send for a reinforcement; but finding the payment still refused, he prepared to sail back to Goa. Mean time the *Arabs* resolved to attack his fleet before any reinforcement came. The *Portuguese*s went to meet them at the mouth of the straits of *Ormuz*: but having lost a small vessel in the engagement, and not caring to run more hazard, they set sail in the night for Goa.

Mahmûd
seizes Kermân.

LUFT ALI KHAN thus deserted, instead of invading the *Arabs*, was obliged to defend the coast of *Persia* against their insults. Mean while *Mir Mahmûd*, finding that the distractions which then reigned in the *Mogol's* empire, secured him from any danger on that side, judged this a proper juncture to put in execution the design which his father had conceived of subduing all *Persia*. But to establish his reputation, by some signal exploit, before he would venture to disclose his intention to the *Afghâns*, he resolved to make an expedition to *Kermân*. This project was approved of; and having raised about 10,000 choice men, he set forward on his march towards that province. In that part of *Sajestân* (or *Siftân*) which separates *Kermân* from *Kandahâr*, there is a sandy desert to be passed, of 15 days journey over; and altho' *Mir Mahmûd* took all the precautions necessary for supplying his troops with water, provisions, and forage, yet he lost 2000 men in the march, besides many beasts of carriage *.

* KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 217, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 67, & seqq.

(S) 'Tis likely that both reasons concurred to hinder the payment, as the event shews. As to the strength of the *Maskât* fleet, we learn from Captain *Hamilton*, that in 1715 it consisted of one 74 gun ship, two of 60 guns, one of 50, and 18

small ships, from 32 to 12 guns each; besides some *trankis*, or rowing-vessels, from 4 to 8 guns; with which they kept all the sea-coasts in awe, from *Cape Komorin* to the *Red Sea*. New Acc^t. of *E. Ind.* vol. i. p. 76.

As

Driven
out again.

As soon as the *Afghâns* appeared on the frontiers of *Kermân*, the Khân, who had no troops to oppose them, fled; and left *Mahmûd* a free passage to the capital (T), which bears the same name. Altho' the city opened her gates to him, yet he laid heavy contributions on all the inhabitants, and put numbers of them to cruel tortures. They had been four months under this tyranny, when *Lust Ali Khân* came, and rescued them. He marched to their relief, as soon as he heard of the invasion, with some select troops, and put to flight the little army of the *Afghâns*; which news revived somewhat the spirits of the court, then newly arrived at *Tabiran*. The Khân fortified the citadel, and left a strong garrison in it: but whether to be revenged on his enemies at court, who had considerable estates there, or in order to maintain his army, he laid heavy contributions on the country, and quartered his soldiers on the inhabitants at discretion, taking from them also their arms, horses, and camels.

IN autumn the army marched to *Shirâz*, the capital of *by Lust Pârs* (or proper *Persia*), the place of rendezvous. All the *Ali Khân* troops assembled there in *November*, and formed the best-appointed army which had been seen in *Persia* for many years. Every-thing seemed to preface the ruin of the *Afghâns*, against whom these preparations were making; when of a sudden the general was arrested, by an order from court, whither he was sent up prisoner, and the whole army at once dispersed. This sudden change was owing to the resentment of the lords whose lands he had lately ravaged. They judged by the credit which he had already gained with the Shâh, on account of his late victory, that their interest at court would be reduced very low, in case he should succeed in reducing *Kandabâr*; which, therefore, they were resolved to prevent: but as this could not be done, so long as *Fatey Ali Khân* continued in his office, they first resolved to make a sacrifice of him *.

ACCORDINGLY, the king's great almoner and chief physician, who were in the plot, entering their sovereign's chamber, at midnight, informed him, that they had discovered a conspiracy contrived against his majesty, between the *Etimâdaddowlet* and *Lust Ali Khân*; who, supported by the

He is imprisoned.

* KRUSINSK. p. 220, & seqq. HANWAY ibid. p. 71, & seqq.

(T) It is famous for the beauty of the fashes and stuffs made there. The wool of which they are made, is al-

lowed to be the best and finest known; and draws thither many *Indian* merchants. Han-

way.

A. D. 1720. army, and a body of 3,000 *Kürds*, were that night to seize his person, with all the royal family. In proof of this, they produced a letter written, as they said, by the prime minister, with a counterfeit of the royal seal upon it: at the sight of which the deluded *Shāh Huseyn* swooned away. As soon as he came to himself, in a council of some principal eunuchs, who were in the plot, the *Kurchi Bāshi*, or general of the household troops, was commanded to break open the prime minister's house, and bring the king his head, in case he made any resistance. He was roused out of his sleep, and obeyed the order: but as soon as he was brought to the *Kurchi Bāshi*, he had his eyes plucked out (U), and was put to the torture; under pretence of obliging him to discover the plot, but in reality to force him to discover his effects (W), which the eunuchs expected would be confiscated in their favour. At the same time messengers were on every side dispatched to secure that unfortunate minister's relations and friends, especially his son-in-law *Lust Ali Khān*; who being decoyed by the governor of *Shirāz* into that city, was there closely confined; on which his fine army disbanded as before related.

by a court
plot.

MEAN while preparations were making to defend the city against the *Kürds*, and other forces, who were hourly expected: but as soon as day light came, and *Shāh Huseyn* saw that no enemy appeared, this deluded prince began to suspect that his ministers had imposed on him. He severely reproached the informers; and, as soon as the *Etimād-addowlet* was recovered of his wounds, he held a divān, in which he presided himself, to examine into that minister's conduct. That unhappy lord made his defence with great force and resolution. But altho' he pleaded his cause so movingly, that the king was convinced of his innocence, and wept for his own hasty judgment, yet it was thought fit, out of policy, to confine him in the castle of *Shirāz*, with the allowance of a considerable pension; in which state he died two years after. All who had been confined on his account, were restored to their estates; and *Lust Ali Khān* discharged out of prison, only refunding the plunder taken by him on the frontiers.

J KRUSINSK. p. 223, & seqq. HANWAY ibid. p. 72, & seqq.

(U) Or rather put out, by acknowledgement, amounted to drawing some red hot piece of 900,000 tomans, or 2,250,000 metal before his eyes. pounds sterling.

(W) His estate, by his own

THE

THE *Lesji* had, in 1719, with a body of more than 30,000 men, in the night, surpris'd the Khân of *Shamakhiya*, in *Shirwân*, with an army of 40,000. On this occasion, the Khân was slain, with a considerable part of his troops: but understanding that *Vashtanga Wali* of *Georgia* had gotten together 60,000 men, and concluding it was to punish them for the ravages made in his territories, in his absence, they sent to implore the clemency of *Shâh Husseyñ*, and intreat him to interpose his authority in their favour. The chief *Mullah* and physician reflecting, that a son-in-law of the late prime minister was brother to *Vashtanga*, were afraid lest this prince, after defeating the *Lesji*, might attempt to oblige the court to punish them for their iniquitous conduct. They therefore alarmed the *Shâh* with dangers from the *Georgian* prince; and then counselled him, that the only way to prevent them, was to grant a peace to the *Lesji*, and order the *Wâli* to forbear hostilities. This was done in such an imperious tone, that *Vashtanga*, already on his march, ordering the courier into his presence, drew his sabre, and swore he would never fight again in the service of his king, or in defence of *Persia*.

A. D.
1720.

The Georgians disgraced.

THIS treaty, with the restitution of the island *Bâhrayn*, for 8000 tomans (or 20,000 pounds), seemed to promise tranquility to *Persia*, especially as the *Afghâns*, intimidated by their late defeat, were ready to come to an accommodation; and *Douri Effendi*, the *Turkish* ambassador, whose arrival alarmed the timorous *Husseyñ*, had assured him, that his master was determined to observe the peace. In April the court was informed, that the *Abdullâ's* had made such bold incursions, that *Herât*, and its dependencies, if not secured, would soon be obliged to submit; and that the 26th of the same month, *Tauris*, the second city in *Persia*, and capital of *Azerbijân*, was destroyed by an earthquake, with near 100,000 of the inhabitants. *Shâh Husseyñ* returned to *Isfâhân* the first of June: towards the end of which, the sun disappeared for 10 days, and gave little more light than when totally eclipsed; the horizon being covered with a red cloud. The astrologers being consulted, some predicted an earthquake like that at *Tauris*; others a general conflagration, by fire from heaven. The frightened *Shâh* was weak enough to quit his palace, and lodge in tents; while the inhabitants, following the example of the king, and his court, all the gardens and public squares were filled with people.

A. D.
1721.

* KRUSINSKI's Revol. Pers. vol. i. p. 266, & seqq. HANWAY ibid. p. 84, & seqq.

A. D.
1721.

The Lesji
conquer
Shirwân.

THE *Lesji*, freed from their fears of *Vashtanga*, and confiding in his oath, unmindful of their obligations to *Husseyñ*, in spring 1721, made an irruption into *Shirwân* with 15,000 men under *Soltân Ibrâhîm* and *Dawd Beg*, their chiefs. Their pretence for this revolt was the disgrace of *Fatey Ali Khân*, who had been condemned, they said, only because he was descended from their antient sovereigns. After overrunning the flat country, they sat down before *Shamakhîya* the 15th of *August*, in hopes to take it by favour of the inhabitants, who were mostly *Sunni*. The governor *Husseyñ Khân*, apprehensive of the danger from them, made the best defence he could without falling; but, after 25 days siege, those of that party found means to open one of the gates to the enemy. The governor, who too late endeavoured to escape, being pursued, was taken, and put to the acutest tortures, as they imagined he had buried his treasures. Whether he had or not, he confessed none; for which reason the barbarians cut him in pieces, with his nephew and another of his relations, whose bodies they threw to the dogs. They put to the sword 4000 *Shiay*, and plundered the foreign merchants. They soon became masters of the rest of *Shirwân*; and then passing the *Kûr*, defeated 40,000 *Persians* under the *Khân* of *Iriwân*, who shut himself up in *Ganja*, where they besieged him.

So many misfortunes on the back of each other completed the consternation of the court; and *Shâh Husseyñ*, like all weak princes who impute the fatal effects, naturally resulting from their own misconduct, to the wrath of heaven, bent his whole attention to appease it, by acts of humiliation and prayer; while his wicked ministers, who had brought down all those evils, instead of being put to death for their crimes, were still continued in the management of public affairs.

The Af-
ghân take
heart.

THE defeat of the *Afghâns* before *Khermân*, and the preparations which *Lust Ali Khân* was making for the siege of *Kandahâr*, had so disheartened them, that they waited only for his approach to sue for peace: but, when they heard that he was imprisoned, and his army disbanded, their courage returned; and *Mir Mahmûd* recovered his credit, which had been sunk, with the people. The first thing he did was to raise troops, and put the province in a good condition of defence. When this was done, the thoughts of invading *Persia* revived in him afresh; and the feeble state, which that country was in at that juncture, flattered his hopes. The province of *Kandahâr*, *Herât*, *Sablestân*, *Makrân*, and *Dâghestân*, had thrown off the yoke; *Sâjestân*, *Kermân*, and the greater part of *Khorassân*, had been laid waste, while the dispersion of *Lust Ali*

Ali Khân's army, and the oath of the *Wali* of *Georgia*, tendered *Persia* intirely defenceless*.

A. D.
1721.

THESE arguments, accompanied with proper acts of liberality, soon brought the *Afghâns* to enter into his views. 15,000 presently enlisted themselves under his banners; and no sooner did the news of the intended expedition reach the neighbouring states, than the *Abdalli's*, *Balochi's*, with the inhabitants of *Kabul*, and the adjacent parts, flocked to him. These made an army of 25,000 men (W); with which crossing the desert of *Sajestân*, with the same fatigue as he had done the year before, towards the beginning of *January*, 1722, he reached *Kermân*. The city being peopled mostly by *Parsi's* (X), and *Indians*, who considered them as friends, soon submitted: but all his attempts against the citadel were baffled by the strength of the place and bravery of the garrison. This distracted him. He saw, that if he persisted in the siege, he should destroy all his army; and that to break it up, would prove his utter disgrace. He was thus reduced to the brink of despair, when the governor, either disheartened by such vigorous attacks, or for want of provisions, offered him 2,500 tomans (or 6,250 pounds) to withdraw his forces. The proposal was accepted with joy; and *Mahmûd*, having recruited his loss of 4,000 men, in the march and in the siege, with *Parsi's*, who are numerous in *Kermân*, took the road to *Yazd*, about 70 leagues distant, through a sandy country. As soon as he arrived, he assaulted the city on every side; but, being repulsed with loss, would hazard no more. He therefore proceeded forward, resolving nothing should stop him till he arrived at *Isfâhan*, which was his reason for taking the roads least inhabited.

Mahmûd
sets out.

A. D.
1722.

AT length, having passed through the plains, which lie between the cities of *Pahnavens* and *Biben*, he entered the cultivated country, which the people deserted for fear. Here he defeated some troops of observation, and went on: but, when within four days march of the capital, he was met by two officers deputed by *Mohammed Kûli Khân*, then prime minister. By these he was offered 15,000 tomans (or 37,500

* *Krausins. ibid. vol. ii. p. 1, & seqq. HANWAY ibid. p. 93, & seqq.*

(W) According to *Krusinski's* which the old *Persians*, who account, vol. ii. p. 12, he left worship the fire as an emblem of the deity, are distinguished at present. Many of them are settled in *India* about *Surât*. *Kandabâr* with about 54,000 men, and lost 14,000 before *Kermân*.

(X) *Pârsi* is the name by

A. D.
1722.

pounds), on condition, that he should neither proceed any further, nor ravage the territory of *Ispāhān*. *Mahmūd*, judging from hence of the weakness of the court, dismissed the deputies without giving them an answer, and advanced hastily to *Gulnabād* (Y): a village within three leagues of that city, where he pitched his camp^b.

The court
astonished.

THIS unexpected visit of the *Afghans*, at a time when the court was wholly unprepared to receive them, threw the ministers into the greatest consternation. However as something must be done, they collected the few troops which were at hand; and to these they joined the militia, raised in a hurry in the city and the neighbourhood. A divān was called to deliberate on measures; but, as in times of distress, when unanimity in sentiments is most necessary, the pusillanimity of some, and wickedness of others, generally create perplexity, so the council was divided in opinion. The prime minister was for intrenching the army, to cover the town, and not hazarding a battle. He urged, "that, by this means, the militia would be emboldened, and the provincial troops have time to join them; that, if the rebels attempted to force their lines, they would be fought to advantage; and, if they continued unactive in their camp, it would be easy to cut off their provisions." On the contrary, *Abdallāh Khān*, *Wālī* of *Arabia*, treating the *Afghāns* as slaves, and with the greatest contempt, was for attacking them without delay; "insisting, that the honour of the king and of the nation was concerned to chastise their insolence."

Persian
army de-
feated,

THIS last advice was approved of, and the 7th of *March* the *Persian* army appeared within sight of the enemies entrenchments, but did not engage them; the 8th being fixed for the attack by the court astrologers. The centre consisted of 8000 of the king's troops, one half foot covered by 24 pieces of cannon, under *Sheykh Ali Khān*; the right wing formed of 2000 *Kālam*s, or the king's slaves, was commanded by *Rostam Khān*, brother of *Vashtanga*, *Wālī* of *Georgia*. It was strengthened with 3000 *Arab* horse by the *Wālī* (Z) of *Arabia*, who shared the general command with the prime minister. This minister headed the left wing, composed of the the king's household, and was joined by *Ali Merdan Khān*,

^b KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 7, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 98, & seqq.

(Y) This name signifies *con-serve of roses*.

(Z) He is called in *Krusinski*, *Machmet* (or *Makmet*) *Wālī*.

Wâlî of Loristân (A), with 500 horse. They had besides 18,000 infantry of militia armed with muskets; in all near 50,000 fighting men.

A. D.
1722.

MAHMUD's army, consisting chiefly of horse, were not above half that number, armed with a sabre and lance: many of them carry pistols also. Their defensive weapons are a buckler and cuirass, made of hard leather doubled. They were divided into four bodies: the right wing, which was most numerous, under the command of *Aman Ola*, a native of *Kâbul*; who, from a *Darwish*, choosing a military life, joined *Mahmûd* as an ally with a large body of troops, on condition of sharing equally the fruits of their conquests. *Mahmûd* was in the second division or centre; he gave the third to *Nazr Ollah*, a *Parî*, one of his lieutenant generals; the fourth and least numerous of these bodies were select *Pehlavâns*, or *Neffakchi* (B). He, in some measure, supplied the defect of cannon, which his quick march would not permit him to bring, with a kind of *harquebusses* which carry a handful of musket balls. Each with its stock was carried on the back of a camel trained for the purpose ^c.

by the treachery

THE *Persian* troops made a very brilliant show; while the *Afghâns* appeared all in tatters, and disfigured with fatigue, in consequence of so long a march. The two armies looked at each other most part of the day; and the prime minister would fain have acted on the defensive: but the opinion of the two other generals prevailing, they began the battle, by attacking with their forces the left wing of the *Afghâns*, with such impetuosity, as flung them into disorder. At the same time, the *Wâlî of Arabia*, taking a great sweep to the right, overthrew all he met, and seized the enemy's camp. *Mahmûd*, who observed whatever passed from a throne raised on the back of an elephant, began to think all was lost; and it is likely that had been the case, if the *Wâlî* had returned directly, and charged the enemy in the rear. *Mahmûd*, terrified at the danger, was preparing for flight, and had ordered the lightest of his dromedaries to be made ready for him, when a new turn of fortune in his favour gave him new cou-

of a general;

^c KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 17, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 101, 104, & 98.

(A) A mountainous province, belonging now to *Kurdestân*, by name to their forlorn hope. colonies from whence it was *Hanway*. *Pehlevân*, or *Pabalavân*, signifies in *Persian*, a peopled. *Beronjerât* near *Hamadân* is its principal fortress. a brave and valiant man, or, as we say, a hero.

(B) The *Afghâns* give this

A. D. 1722. rage. The prime minister, seeing both armies engaged, charged the enemy's right wing with great bravery. *Amân*

Ola, who commanded it, on this made a feint of giving way, and retired orderly about 50 paces; then, commanding his men to open their ranks of a sudden, 100 camels appeared kneeling with harquebusses on their backs: from whence a general discharge being made, most of the foremost rank were killed; and the rest, being vigorously attacked by the *Afghâns*, turned their backs.

and Persia
distressed.

AMAN OLA, without giving the *Persians* time to recover themselves, pursued them to their battery, which he came behind; and having cut 2000 cannoners, who guarded it, to pieces, caused the artillery to be pointed against the centre of the *Persian* army, who were thus put to flight before they had fought a stroke. The *Wâli* of *Lorestân*, and some *Khâns*, finding things grown desperate, withdrew with their troops to their respective provinces, leaving none to oppose the *Afghâns* but the *Kûlar Agâsi*. This general had already cut part of the opposite wing in pieces, and pushed the remainder as far as their intrenchments, when *Mahmûd*, advancing to take him in the rear, the *Persians* dispersed; so that the brave officer, after a desperate defence, was slain with 400 *Georgians* who stood firm to him. The *Wâli* of *Arabia*, who all the while remained in the *Afghân* camp, and would neither attack the enemy's rear, nor send succours to the generals in distress, who demanded them; had, by this time, taken the road to the town, loaded with *Mahmûd's* treasure, and the plunder of his camp. But the treasure, artillery, and baggage of the *Persian* army made ample amends. Thus were the *Persian* generals and their best troops sacrificed by the treachery of a villain (C), whom yet the misguided king

(C) *Krusinski* says, he was not the traitor then, but the *Persian* general.—This *Arab* prince, by religion a *Sunni*, whose father, 30 years before, had attempted to throw off the *Persian* yoke, either held a correspondence with *Mahmûd*, or was governed by the pernicious maxims of those generals, who, to prolong their own authority, do not choose to terminate a war, when it is in their power to bring things to a fortunate issue, for their sovereigns and their coun-

try. As generalissimo, he had 50 tomans, or 125 pounds, a day. *Harway*, p. 123.

His villainy was punished afterwards by *Mahmûd*; not by death, but by imprisonment for life, and confiscation of his estate. He was the only minister, or officer, who escaped with life, of those who betrayed their king and country. He was hereditary prince of *Khusefian*, the antient *Susiana*, called, by the *Arabs*, *Abwâx*, after its capital city. *Ibid*. p. 151.

still

still confided in. His army lost 15,000 men (D) : that of the *Afghâns* but an inconsiderable number ^{A. D. 1722.}

ON this occasion, the king called a council, in which, for ^{Hussey} once, he spoke with proper dignity and strength : for, after ^{proposes to} representing the danger his person would be exposed to, if ^{retreat.} he suffered himself to be besieged in a city destitute either of fortifications or provisions. He added, " It is not for my own security that I propose to remove : a prince, who is afraid to die with his subjects, is unworthy to rule over them. But the greater part of the provinces obey me. Their fate is connected with mine : for the rebel will be master of the empire, as soon as he has my person in his power." The prime minister confirmed the king's remarks, and advised his majesty's retiring that night to *Kashin* ; where, being at full liberty to act, he might easily assemble an army to raise the siege. He added, that the loss of *Ispâhân* would be only the loss of one city : whereas, if the king should continue there, the loss of it would draw on the loss of the monarchy. This speech seemed to convince the greater part of the assembly : when the *Wâli* of *Arabia*, who had so basely betrayed his trust that very day, and yet, by a strange fatality, was continued in his office, stood up ; and, speaking of the *Afghâns* as a contemptible gang of robbers, said, That to quit his capital would not only stain the honour of the *Shâh*, but dishearten his subjects ; and open the gates to the conqueror, sooner than the force of arms.

THE boldest opinion prevailed over the most prudent. *Shâh Hussey*n, now ashamed to abandon *Ispâhân*, resolved to ^{Is dissuad-} stay and defend it. New levies were made, the walls repaired, and intrenchments thrown up in places most exposed. The *Wâli* of *Arabia* was made governor of the city ; and he of *Lorestân*, generalissimo of the armies. The provincial troops were sent for up ; and *Hussey*n, now sensible of his imprudence in affronting the *Wâli* of *Georgia*, sent pressing letters, accompanied with magnificent presents, to persuade him to march to his assistance. ^{ed from it.}

THE king's affair might still have been retrievable, had the same care been taken to order things within, as had been taken to order them without the city. But there they failed egregiously : for the people from the country were permitted to come into the city, and every person forbidden under pain

¹ ² *Krusinski* *ibid.* p. 30, & seqq. *HANWAY* *ibid.* p. 105, & seqq.

(D) *Krusinski* says but 2000, and the *Afghâns* as many.

A. D. of death to stir from thence; although there were no magazines of provisions in the place °.

1722.

Farabâd
palace de-
serted.

MEAN time *Mahmûd*, rather astonished at, than encouraged by, his victory, was so irresolute what course to pursue that he neglected to carry off the cannon which had been taken in the battle. The vast extent of *Isfâhân*, and number of troops within it, made him judge the siege would hold out till the governors should arrive with their forces to crush him. On the other hand, he thought, that he could neither with honour nor safety abandon the enterprize. His mind was thus wavering, when his spies brought him an account how matters stood in the city, and the consternation it was in. This made him resolve to push on his fortune before the enemy had time to recover themselves. With this view he began his march. The *Persians*, who imagined, from the artillery being abandoned by the *Afghâns*, that they had no intention to besiege *Isfâhân*, were surprized to find their whole army encamped on the 12th of the same month near *Shîrestân*, a town not far to the eastward. This motion so terrified them, that they abandoned the strong but magnificent palace of *Farabâd* built at immense expence by *Husséyn*, three miles from the city; a place which might have served as a fortress to incommode the enemy. It was deserted (on the 17th) in such a hurry, that they left all the cannon behind, which the *Afghâns* took possession of on the 19th.

Suburbs of
Julfa.

MAHMUD, being now advantageously posted, resolved to retrieve the time which he had lost by his late irresolution; and, accordingly, the same day appeared before *Julfa*. This is a colony of the *Armenians*, only a mile and half south of *Isfâhân*, on the south bank of the *Zenderûdh*, or *Fresh River*, along which it extends almost three miles. The great privileges granted them by Shâh *Abbâs I.* who founded the town, began by degrees to be diminished by the court; and, in the reign of *Husséyn*, fell into contempt. Under this oppression industry declined, and the spirit of commerce, for which they had been so long distinguished, left them. These people, though merchants, yet brave and warlike, were willing to assist their oppressors against the rebels: but the ministers, who had injured them so much, that they were afraid to trust them, instead of employing, at this very time disarmed, them. For all this new provocation, and tho' almost stripped of their arms, yet they bravely withstood *Mahmûd's* first assault, in expectation of succours from the *Wâli of Arabia*, who yet broke his word with them; and even hindered *Sefi Mirza*,

* HANWAY *ibid.* p. 111, & seqq.

the

the *Shâh*'s eldest son from proceeding to their relief. So that it was thought to have been *Hussey*n's intention, by advice of this general, to sacrifice *Julfa* to the safety of *Isfâhân*; imagining that the *Afghâns* would be content with the wealth which they should find in that place, whose inhabitants were suspected of corresponding with the enemy^f.

WHILE the *Armenians* were preparing against a second *taken by* assault, a breach was made in the earthen wall by means of *Mahmûd*; an elephant, after it had been pierced by a *Parsî*, by favour of the night; and the *Afghâns* took possession, waiting only for daylight to enter. As soon as the besieged had discovered what had been done, they ransomed their lives and effects by a contribution of 70,000 tomans, or 175,000 pounds. *Mahmûd* afterwards demanded a certain number of young virgins to be picked out of the most considerable *Armenian* families. All the young women above nineteen years of age, who were remarkable for their beauty, being produced, 50 were selected, and conducted to *Farabâd*, adorned with their richest cloaths and jewels. There they were presented to the conqueror, who kept part for his own *Harâm*, and distributed the rest among his principal officers. The disconsolate mothers made *Julfa* resound with their lamentations; and some of those young maids were so shocked at their misfortune, that they died with excessive grief. But who will say, that any *Barbarians* are incapable of compassion, or the sense of feeling for others, when he is informed, that the *Afghâns* sent home those who discovered most affliction, and suffered others to be ransomed by their parents? so that very few remained (E) in that kind of slavery.

HOWEVER they were inexorable in regard to the contribution. The *Armenians* pretended they had not the money ready, but offered their bond. In this they overshot the mark. As soon as *Mahmûd* got it in his possession, he insisted upon their paying what money they held in their hands as part; and thereupon ordered their houses to be searched. It was then they saw their error; but it was too late to retrieve it. Their silver, jewels, and furniture were carried off and sold. The plunder amounted to more than the sum demanded, although valued at only 20,000 tomans (F). They had recourse to tortures to make the prin-

^f KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 24, 37, & 54. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 113, & seqq.

(E) This remainder was afterwards, when they got other *Perſian* women, sent home. See *Hanw.* p. 126.

(F) Or 50,000 pounds, in part of 175,000.

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cipal persons discover their effects; but none could withstand it, excepting *Dominic Jaques Kardelans*, a man of weight and figure, who would confess nothing. To avoid this tyranny, many retired to *Ispāhān*; among whom were the *Armenian* bishop, and the *Romish* missionaries. But *Mahmūd* put a stop to this desertion, and prepared to besiege that city^s.

State of
Ispāhān.

ISPAHAN, including its gardens and suburbs, is computed to be 24 miles in circuit. It was then in its highest pitch of splendor, and esteemed the most large as well as magnificent in all *Asia*. It contained 600,000 inhabitants, besides about 100,000 more, who resorted thither on occasion of this invasion. It stands in a plain to the north of *Zenderūdh*, which separates it from *Julfā*, and is covered with four bridges. the largest and most beautiful is that of *Julfā* (G); 360 geometrical paces long and 13 in breadth. The two extremities are flanked by four round towers, with a covered gallery which ranges the bridge on both sides, and is finely ornamented. It is joined by two causeways made with a gentle descent to a double row of trees 3000 paces long. This delightful alley, lined with terrasses and plane trees, is called *Char Bāgh*, or the *Four Gardens*. It is terminated by a large pavilion, erected in the royal garden, named *Hazar-jerib*, or *Thousand Acres*. The bridge of *Abbās-abād* is about one mile and a half to the west of the former, and belongs to the suburbs (H) of that name. The bridge of *Barbarowī*, not quite so far from that of *Julfā* to the east; nor much inferior in architecture. About one mile further eastward is the bridge of *Shirāz*, near which is the village of *Shehrestan* before mentioned.

The city
attacked.

SUCH was the disposition of *Ispāhān*; before the ramparts of which *Mahmūd* ordered some troops to present themselves, the same day he entered *Julfā*. The 21st of *March*, he proposed to make a general assault: but the *Zenderūdh* being swelled, nothing passed but some shots on both sides, at the bridges. The besieged, who observed the faint motions of the *Afghāns* from the tops of their terrasses, began to take heart; which *Mahmūd* being informed of by his spies, on

^s KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 37, 47, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 118, & seqq

(G) It is called also the bridge of *Allah Werdi Khān*, from the Khān who built it.

(H) It is the largest as well as most beautiful of all the suburbs

of *Ispāhān*, of which *Julfā* is reckoned to be one. It is described by *Chardin* with the rest in his voyages. 4^o. tom. iii. p. 68, & seqq.

the

the 23d caused the bridge of *Shiráz* to be attacked. This was done with such resolution, that the *Persians* gave way at once; and the *Afgháns* would have entered the city with them, if they had not been stopped by *Ahmed Aga*, a brave white eunuch, now governor of *Isfáhan*, who came up with some veteran troops, and drove them back to the middle of the bridge, which was cleared of them by some cannon from a neighbouring battery (I). *Mahmúd* might have been undone, if the *Wali* of *Arabia* had fallen upon him at the same time with his troops: but this treacherous general sacrificed every thing to his sinister views^b.

MAHMUD, despairing of success from the vigorous defence of the *Persians*, and fearing another repulse would dishearten his soldiers, resolves to make proposals of peace. He had the better colour for this, as the king, some time before, had offered him a large sum of money, with the sovereignty of *Kandahár*; and also to cede to him the province of *Hassaray*, but refused to grant him one of his daughters in marriage (K). It was this refusal which determined him to lay siege to *Isfáhan*, at a time when he was thinking how to secure an honourable retreat. He now resolved to make proposals of peace on his own part, which were for the Shah to grant him one of the princesses with a portion of 50,000 toman, or 125,000 pounds; and, besides acknowledging him sovereign of *Kandahár* and *Kermán*, which he already possessed, to yield him likewise the province of *Khorassán*.

THESE terms being rejected as dishonourable by *Husséyn*, who besides flattered himself, from the slow progress of the *Afgháns* hitherto, that the provincial troops would have time to come to his assistance, *Mahmúd* proposed to obtain by famine what he no longer hoped for by force: and having secretly renewed his alliance with the *Wali* of *Arabia*, sent out several parties to ravage the district of *Isfáhan*. This fruitful plain contained about 1000 villages built by *Abbás the Great*, and peopled from several provinces; most of which they subdued, killing most of the men, and carrying away most of the women and children, so that five or six fell to every soldier's share. Thus he cut off provisions from the city, and filled his own magazines.

^b KRUSINSKI *ibid.* p. 48, 56, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 121, & seqq.

(I) Played off by one *Jacob*, a *Courlander*, who from a cartwright was made an officer of the artillery. *Hanw.* (K) To this vain refusal the loss of all was owing.

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Besieges
Ispâhân.

MEAN time he amused the *Persians* with negotiations, and recruited his army out of those who followed his camp, making the prisoners supply their places. His next view was to open a passage over the river; which he did by favour of an accident: for the last day of *April*, hearing that the *Georgians*, who guarded the bridge of *Abbâs Abâd*, had received a quantity of spirituous liquors, he sent 1500 men to attack them. As the *Afghâns* found them so drunk that they could not stand, they were cut to pieces, hardly making any resistance. Thus masters of this important post, part of the army filed over the bridge, and spread themselves all round the city. Guards were placed at the principal passages; and scouts ordered to march continually from one post to another: so that *Ispâhân* was the same day intirely invested. The besieged, alarmed at this success, insisted on liberty to march out to attack the enemy which they had long solicited. This indeed was the only expedient left; the *Etimâd Addowlet*, or prime minister, and most of the grandees were of this opinion; so was the king himself. But the *Arabian Wâli*, who had still an ascendant over his weak mind, persuaded him to wait for the succours which he expected without ever receiving¹.

Persians
defeated.

FOR the governors of the provinces, believing themselves able, each separately, to beat the rebels, had refused to serve under *Ali Merdân Khân*, *Wâli* of *Lorestân*, who at the head of 10,000 men, waited for them to join him at *Honsâr*. *Kassum*, *Khân* of the *Bakhtiarians* (L), was the first who appeared with 12,000 horse; and, without joining the *Wâli*, advanced towards *Ispâhân*: but *Aman Olla*, who kept the field with a flying camp, falling on him unexpectedly, put his forces to flight, after killing 2000 on the spot. A greater misfortune still than this followed presently after. The *Wâli* of *Lorestân* had amassed a great quantity of provisions, and designed to convoy it into *Ispâhân* by forcing one of the posts of the rebels: but while he was abroad making new levies, one of his brothers, who had before supplanted him in his command of *Wâli*, corrupting part of the troops, joined the *Khân* of *Hamadân*, and marched with his convoy towards the city. These two chiefs had 6000 men, and hoped to

¹ KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 27, 61, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 124, & seqq.

(L) *Bakhtiar*, in *Persic*, signifies happy. These people inhabit the east part of the desert west of *Ispâhân*: they live mostly in tents, and are divided into

two tribes, called *Chabar Ling* and *Esf-Ling*. They pretend to have embraced Christianity under *Constantine the Great*. The *Khân* resides at *Honsâr*. *Hanw.*

join

join the troops of *Kohkilân* on their march. Instead of this they fell in with the *Afghâns* under *Aman Olla*, who defeated them; but he stained his victory by his cruelty and breach of faith: for, though part of the *Persians* laid down their arms, on promise of quarter, yet he saved only those from whom he expected ransoms, suffering the rest to be massacred in cold blood. Above 3000 fled, among whom was the brother of the *Wâli*. But he did not long escape punishment; for *Ali Merdân Khân*, provoked at an action which defeated the chief hopes of the empire, sacrificed this unnatural bother to his own resentment, and to the public vengeance.

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AMAN OLLA however did not enjoy the fruits of his success; for the inhabitants of *Ebn Ispâhân* (M), a town situated on the side of a hill, three miles from the city, assisted by others, fled thither for shelter from the neighbouring places. These having received intelligence, that the *Afghâns* were on their return much fatigued, and, without observing any order, attacked them with such fury, that they put them to flight, and seized on their baggage, as well as recovered the convoy. *Mahmûd* was so provoked at this disgrace, that he immediately set out with a body of horse, and overtook them before they got home. But these peasants gave him such a resolute reception, that, after cutting part of his troops in pieces, they obliged him to turn his back, and leave them a considerable number of prisoners, among whom were his uncle, his younger brother, and two of his cousins. Who will say, that a regular militia are not fit to defend their country and possessions, when undisciplined peasants can perform such exploits?

MAHMUD at his wit's end for this fresh disgrace, but more on account of his captive relations, sent to intreat *Shâh Hufseyñ* to interpose in their behalf. This prince, who expected an accommodation, sent an officer of his court to *Ebn Ispâhân*: but he arrived too late; for he saw their bodies fixed on stakes. This they told the officer was to revenge the late perfidious slaughter committed by the *Afghâns* in cold blood. *Mahmûd*, however, who would not allow of the law of reprisals in a case which so sensibly touched him, in his fury ordered all the *Persians* in his power to be massacred; and forbad his soldiers from thenceforth to grant any quarter

* KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 67, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 127, & seqq.

(M) That is, the Son of *Ispâhân*; as much as to say, *Little Ispâhân*.

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to the enemy. After this he fell into a kind of despondency; and, having reinforced the guards of the bridge *Abbās-Abād*, with the other posts, and leaving only a small garrison in *Julfā*, he ordered the remainder to return to *Farabād*, as if he intended to secure his retreat.

All advantages
lost.

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THE fate of the empire was then in the king's hands. He might easily have recovered the bridge of *Abbās Abād*, and forced those posts which were too far asunder to support each other; or, if he had but made a motion that way, it is likely the enemy would have abandoned their several stations, and, instead of besieging, been besieged themselves. The *Armenians* of *Julfā*, though accused of favouring the rebels, gave notice of their consternation; and offered to put the garrison to the sword as soon as they should see the king's troops in action. The troops indeed had his orders to act; but the *Wāli* of *Arabia*, by his affected delays and neglects, gave the *Afghāns* leisure to provide for their security. In short, after wasting time without doing any thing, he led the troops back into the city; pretending the forces he expected to join him did not come up, and that he could not depend on the promise of so suspected a people as the *Armenians*. This step saved *Mahmūd*; and the defeat of the *Khān* of *Kobkīlān* soon after, who out of 10,000 men lost 2000, revived his hopes, while the refusal of *Vashtanga*, *Wāli* of *Georgia*, to assist the Shah, which at this time arrived, completed the despair of the court: for, being deprived of this hope, they had no other left, since they found that the provincial governors would not submit to the authority of the *Wāli* of *Lorestān*.

Tahmāsp
Mīrza

SHAH HUSSEYN now thought it high time to enter into measures to prevent the whole royal family from being involved in one common ruin. This monarch had 14 sons and four daughters. Three days after the battle of *Ghuln-abad* he had declared *Abbās Mīrza*, the eldest, his successor to the throne, and resigned the government into his hands. This young prince, being of a warm temper, and disdaining to dissemble, began his administration with ordering the *Wāli* of *Arabia*, the first physician, and some other persons of figure, to be put to death; and happy would it have been, if his orders had been executed. Instead of that, they prevailed on his infatuated father to shut him up again in the *Saray*, where the princes are always confined. *Sefi Mīrza*, the next, was substituted in his place, but returned to the same prison about a month after, as being judged too weak to govern. The third brother, who was thought to have had too much devotion for a king, being overlooked, *Tahmāsp Mīrza*, the fourth,

fourth, was, towards the end of *May*, acknowledged presumptive heir of the crown (N) ¹.

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THE king resolved to send this young prince out of *Isfâbân*, as well to take from his generals all pretence for not assembling under his command, as to secure the succession. He set out the 21st of *June* in the night, escorted by 300 chosen horse from the gate *Tokchi*. The *Afghâns* posted to block up this avenue, were commanded by *Mohammed Amîr*, surnamed *Asbrâf Soltân*, son of *Mîr Abdallah*, whom *Mahmûd* had deprived of his throne and life in *Kandahâr*. This young prince, dissembling the aversion which he had conceived against his father's murderer, behaved with so much valour and prudence, that at length he gained his confidence, as well as the esteem of the whole army. This post was the best guarded, as by this passage the city could most conveniently receive succours; but weakened by the detachment made from the army under *Aman Olla*, at this time consisted of no more than 100 men. This small body, being vigorously attacked by the prince's convoy, was defeated, and lost 30 men.

Kasbîn.
escapes to

THIS escape of the heir to the crown threw the *Afghâns* into a consternation, expecting his return quickly at the head of an army; and *Mahmûd*, in his fury, said, it would be to little purpose to reduce the capital, since there would be still a prince able to dispute the throne with him. As for *Asbrâf*, he accused him of corresponding with the enemy, and condemned him to death: but this young prince justified his conduct so effectually before an assembly of the principal officers, that they acquitted him; and *Mahmûd*, disguising his jealousy (O), restored *Asbrâf* to his employments.

MEAN time *Tahmâsp Mirza*, having reached *Kasbîn*, spared *Receives* no pains to compass his father's delivery: but, as authority little as is an empty name where there is no force to support it, so *assistance*.

¹ KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 71, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 130, & seqq.

(N) This prince's right name is *Tamâsheb*, which, in the ancient *Persic*, signifies *most pure*. *Harw.* The true spelling is *Tabmâsh* or *Tabmâshp*, as hath been remarked elsewhere. See vol. v. p. 429.

(O) It is likely he wanted a pretence to cut him off; for, we are told, p. 134, that *Mahmûd's* mother, who was extremely

fond of this young lord, had by her intreaties saved him more than once from the cruelty of her son. As this last had neither children nor brother, of a proper age to succeed him, *Asbrâf* might be considered as his heir: and this is urged as a reason why it is not likely that he was false to his trust.

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neither his orders nor entreaties could prevail. Thus the king scarcely received any assistance from near 50,000 regular troops, which were quartered on those frontiers (P). The feudatory princes, being less interested than the natural subjects in preserving the monarchy, shewed but little zeal on the occasion; and many considered the distress of the sovereign as a proper opportunity to recover their independency. In short, the *Wâli* of *Lorestân*, seeing the impossibility of assembling an army, marched back from *Honsâr* to his own country. *Tahmâsp* still hoped to find more submission in the *Shâh Seven* (Q); but, having summoned this militia, most of the lords pretended they were not obliged to march, unless the king commanded in person; and the small number furnished by the rest, consisted only of peasants ill kept and ill paid, who took the first opportunity to disband^m.

The Af-
ghâns at-
tacked.

AT *Ispâhân* provisions daily grew scarcer; and, as every body saw that there was no way to procure any but by opening a passage for the purpose, the people insisted on having the posts of the enemy attacked. But when any persons applied to the king, he referred them to the *Wâli* of *Arabia*; and this general flattered them with hopes of the prince's return. It is true, he sometimes marched out to avoid their importunities: but he immediately came back without attempting any thing, under the idle pretext that his astrologers declared, that the hour was not favourable. Growing tired with these evasions, in the beginning of *July* they assembled in a tumultuous manner, demanding, that *Shâh Huseyn* should come forth, and lead them against the enemy. He let them know by some officers, that he would give his answer next day: but, the populace insisting that he should appear himself,

^m KRUSINSK p. 79, & seqq. HANWAY ibid p. 134, & seqq.

(P) *Shâh Soleymân*, the predecessor of *Huseyn*, maintained 130,000 men on the frontiers, without reckoning his household troops, which were 14,000 men. *Krusinsk. Harw.*

(Q) That is, the well-affect-
ed to the King. This militia is very little different from that of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in *Turky*. It was established by *Abbâs the Great*, and consisted of persons chosen among the nobility, to whom he gave lands, on condition that they should

lead a certain number of their vassals into the field when the *Shâh* should require them. This body, which at that time amounted to 100,000 men, was the last resort in any extremity, or sudden danger. But, as under the late reigns, very little care had been taken to oblige the holders of those hereditary possessions to discharge their duty, they no longer looked on them in any other light than as legal estates. *Krusinsk. Harw.*

the

the eunuchs dispersed them by firing some muskets from the palace. Such provocation at this time might have occasioned a general insurrection, if *Ahmed Aga*, governor of *Isfâhân*, had not put himself at the head of a body of veteran troops, which, with the people who joined him, made near 30,000 men. With these he marched out of the city, followed by the *Wâli* of *Arabia* and his *Arabs*.

THIS gallant eunuch immediately fell with great impetuosity on one of the enemy's principal posts, which he forced, and would have maintained his ground, altho' part of the rebel army came to its assistance, if he had not been deserted by the *Wâli* of *Arabia*. *Ahmed*, provoked at such infamous behaviour, ordered his men to fire on the *Arabs*; and *Tahmâsp Khân* to attack them. The *Afghâns*, taking advantage of this dissention, vigorously charged the *Persians*, who, being almost hemmed in, were obliged to abandon the post and retire. Thus the opportunity was lost of bringing in the convoy of provisions from *Ebn Isfâhân* by the treachery of the *Wâli*: yet *Husséyn* was so deluded by his artful discourse, as to impute the misfortune intirely to *Ahmed Aga*; and not only refused to hear his defence, but took the government of the city from him. The faithful eunuch, unable to survive this disgrace, a few days after died, whether by grief or a dose of poison, is uncertain^a.

ALL hopes of succours were now vanished; and the besieged, already pressed by famine, deserted in crouds, altho' the *Afghâns* slew all the *Persians* who fell into their hands (O). Whether the *Shâh* at length began to suspect the fidelity of the *Wâli* of *Arabia*; or hoped to change his fortune by changing his general, he offered the command of his troops to *Lust Ali Khân*: but this lord finding the forces so weak, that he could not rely on them, and warned by what he had already suffered from the intrigues of the ministers, he constantly refused to accept of it. *Husséyn*, therefore, in despair either of receiving any succours from abroad, or any relief from his people within the walls, resolved to renew the negotiations which the enemy had set on foot at the beginning

*Terms of
peace pro-
posed.*

*Rejected by
Mahmûd.*

^a HANWAY *ibid.* p. 137, & seqq.

(O) About this time, *Krusinski*, the Jesuit, author of the memoirs from whence part of this history is compiled, obtained leave to remove to *Julfa*. Two other missionaries of the same order attempted to escape

with the *French* consul to *Shiraz*. One of them was killed with some other *Europeans*; but the consul, tho' wounded, escaped with several others of his little troop.

A. D. 1715. of the siege. He sent the *Kurchi Bâshi* to *Fahrabâd* to offer *Mahmûd* the terms which he had demanded, namely one of his daughters in marriage, with 50,000 tomans (or 125,000 pounds), and the sovereignty of the provinces of *Khorassân*, *Kermân*, and *Kandahâr*: but that prince, too well acquainted with the state of affairs, now rejected them with disdain, answered almost in the same terms he once did on a like occasion, "The king of *Persia*, said he, offers me nothing which is in his disposal; this prince and the princesses are already in my power: he is no longer master of those three provinces which he offers me. The fate of the whole empire is now to be decided between us."

A governor's disloyalty.

THUS things stood, when news came that *Melûk Mahmûd*, governor of *Sajestân*, was arrived at *Gulnabâd* with 10,000 regular troops. This event raised the hopes of *Shâh Huseyn*, and threw the *Afghân* prince into despair. The siege had already cost him 2000 men; and he concluded, that the forces within the city, when joined by the *Sajestân* troops, would be an overmatch for him. He therefore thought it the best expedient to tempt the fidelity of his new enemy. *Nazr-Ullah* was dispatched to *Gulnabâd* with such magnificent presents, as rather betrayed the fear than expressed the liberality of the donor: but they dazzled the eyes of *Melûk* too much for him to perceive it; and the offer of assistance to invest him in the sovereignty of any province he should choose, determined him at once to agree to the proposal of *Nazr-Ullah*, who, at the same time, gave him to understand, that the empire being attacked on every side, and the capital at the last extremity, could not avoid its approaching ruin. *Melûk Mahmûd* made *Korassân* his choice, as lying near *Kandahâr* and *Herât*, from whence, in case of need, he might be readily assisted; and, having concluded the treaty, set out to take possession of his new dominions.

Completes Huseyn's ruin.

MASHHAD (P), the capital of that country, was then in the hands of the *Abdoli's* and *Uzbeks*; who had taken it by storm after a few days siege. But whether they had no further view than to pillage, and had abandoned it, or the thing was concerted with the *Afghân* prince, *Melûk* was received on the

• HANWAY *ibid.* p. 139, & seqq.

(P) That is, the place of martyrdom, so called from *Imâm Ridha*, or *Riza*, one of the twelve *Imâms* who was slain and buried there. Its proper name is *Tûs* or *Towz*. The great *Abbâs*

made it a place of pilgrimage, to divert the *Persians* of the *Shiay* sect from repairing to *Masbhad Ali*, near *Hellab* in *Irâkambi*, which carried much wealth out of the kingdom.

20th

20th of *November*; and, as *Ismael Khân*, governor of the province, unable to oppose him, had retired to *Kastîn*, the other cities of *Khorassân*, knowing he was a *Shiay*, made no difficulty to acknowledge him for their sovereign. The desertion of this general put an end to all *Hufseyn's* hopes of relief; and, his treasure being now exhausted, all the gold and silver plate in the palace was carried to the mint. When this was gone, his last shift was to borrow considerable sums on his jewels of different merchants (Q). At length, the latter end of *September*, when there was neither money nor provisions left, this unfortunate prince ordered his ministers to go and treat for a capitulation.

As *Mahmûd* had it in his power to command what terms he pleased, he might have finished the negotiation at once: but this would not answer his views. He saw that he could not be safe in *Isfâhân*, so long as the inhabitants were greatly superior in number to his troops. He might indeed have destroyed them at once by a general assault, as his chief officers advised him, but he was either afraid of losing part of his best troops, or the great riches of the place by the plunder of the soldiers. He resolved therefore to destroy them by famine before he signed the treaty; and, for this end, lay still within his lines during the last two months of the siege. What heart can, without the utmost horror, reflect on the dreadful effects of this artful conduct! In *August*, horses, mules, and other beasts were so excessive dear, that none but the king and principal lords, or wealthiest inhabitants, could afford to eat of their flesh. Dogs and other unclean animals were consumed in a few days. And when the bark of trees, leaves, and leather, the food which succeeded, failed, they were obliged to have recourse to human flesh. Never was so much of it eaten in any siege; and, when dead bodies were not to be found, they sometimes murdered their fellow-citizens, or children, to appease their raging hunger. Many, rather than prolong life a little by such shocking means, chose to poison themselves and their families. The streets, the squares, and very gardens of the palace, were strewed with dead, which the living had not strength to bury. The water of the river was so corrupted with carcases thrown into it, that it could not be drank; and, in a less wholesome climate (R), the few remaining people must have been destroyed

*He submits
to Mah-
mûd.*

(Q) Especially the *English* and *Dutch*, which last lent him 340,000 crowns.

(R) Mr. *Hanway* says, that the air of *Isfâhân* is remarkably rarefied; and that it resembles much that of *Madrid*, as he had been assured by a Jesuit who lived many years in both cities.

A. D 1716. by the infected air. It was in vain to fly to *Julfa*; all who attempted, men, women, and children, excepting the *Armenians*, were sure to meet with death^r.

Sets out of Ispahan MIR MAHMUD, having at length agreed to terms, on the 21st of October, *Shâh Huseyn*, clad in mourning, went out of his palace on foot, and walked through the principal streets of *Ispahan*, bewailing aloud the misfortunes of his reign, which he imputed to the bad counsels of his ministers. He endeavoured to comfort the multitude, who surrounded him, with the hopes of their meeting a better fate under a new government; while the people, pierced with grief, lamented the disgrace to which they beheld their good-natured prince reduced, after a reign of 28 years. *Huseyn*, having thus taken his leave of his subjects, the next day sent plenipotentiaries to sign the capitulation, by which he obliged himself to resign the empire, together with his person, and principal officers of the court, into the conqueror's hands. On the other side, *Mahmud* engaged that no ill treatment should be offered, either to the king, the nobility, or any of the inhabitants. The 23d *Mahmud* sent horses for the king and his court; who, having sacrificed five camels (S), mounted on horseback accompanied with about 300 persons, among whom were the *Wâli* of *Arabia*, the *Etimad Addowlet*, a brother of the *Wâli* of *Lorestan*, and the principal lords of the court. They moved on slowly with their eyes fixed on the ground; and the few inhabitants, who had strength to attend this mournful cavalcade, expressed their grief by a gloomy silence.

for the
Afghân
camp.

It was now past noon, when two couriers arrived to give notice to the grand master of the ceremonies (T) of *Mahmud's* court, that the king was drawing near. To humble the *Persians* still more, the same couriers were sent back with orders to the *Shâh*, to halt at the foot of a hill near the camp, under pretence that *Mahmud* was asleep: thus the unhappy *Huseyn* was treated with marks of servitude, even before he had quitted the ensigns of royalty. He tarried about half an hour at the place prescribed, and then, obtaining leave to continue his march, he arrived at *Farabad*, where the *Afghân*

^r HANWAY ibid. p. 241, & seqq.

(S) Perhaps the only camels of one camel, prescribed by the laws, should have been made at *Mekka* the 10th of the preceding moon.
(T) *Esik Agâfi*.

he had left. Mr. *Hanway*, or his author, says, they were killed without any ceremony, nor does he know for what purpose this sacrifice was ordered. That

chief

chief had his head quarters. The grand master of the ceremonies introduced him into a hall, at the corner (U) of which *Mahmûd* was seated, leaning on a cushion of cloth of gold. The king, advancing towards the middle of the chamber, saluted him, saying, *Salâm aleyokom*, that is, *All hail* (W). The *Afghân* then rose up and returned the salute with the same compliment. After which, the *Etimâd addawlet* conducted the Shâh to another corner on the left of *Mahmûd*, where a like place was prepared for him.

A. D.
1716.

THE king, being seated, opened the conversation by saying, "Son, since the great sovereign of the world is no longer pleased that I should reign, and the morning is come which he hath pointed out (X) for thee to ascend the throne of *Persia*, I resign the empire to thee with all my heart: I wish that thou mayest rule it in all prosperity." At the same time he took the royal plume of feathers (Y) from his *turbân*, and gave it to *Mahmûd's* grand *Wazîr*. But that prince refusing to receive it from his minister, the king stood up, and, taking it again, fastened it himself to the usurper's *turbân*, who still continued sitting, saying, *Reign in peace*: after which he retired, and sat down in his place. Coffee and tea were afterwards served up, when the *Afghân* prince, taking these liquors, addressed himself to the Shâh after this manner; "Such is the instability of human grandeur: God disposes of empires as he pleases, and takes them from one nation to give them to another: but I promise to consider you always as my own father; and I will undertake nothing for the future without your advice." After these words, *Huseyn* was invited into another apartment which had been appointed for him; and 4000 *Afghâns* were ordered to take possession of the royal palace, and the gates of the city. Thus the dynasty of the *Seffî's*, or *Saffî's*, ended in the person of this prince, the 10th successor of *Ismael*, its founder, after having lasted 223 years.

* HANWAY *ibid.* p. 143—149.

(U) The corner is the most honourable place in oriental countries. It is also the most commodious, as it is the only one in which a person can lean on both sides on the cushions which are placed round the walls.

(W) This compliment is seldom made, but to persons of

the same persuasion in religion. It is the highest expression of respect.

(X) These words are conformable to the *Mohammedan* doctrine of predestination.

(Y) This plume of feathers is called *Yiga*, and is the mark of sovereignty.

A. D.
1723.

THIS prince was ruined by the incapacity and negligence of his ministers, corrupt through avarice; and divided into factions from ambitious views: which is always the case when, through the weakness or indolence of the sovereign, the administration of affairs is left wholly to the management of his favourites, who seldom have either virtue, knowledge, or capacity, for government.

Conclusion.

It was some consolation however to the *Persians*, in their afflictions, to see those traitors punished who had corresponded with the enemy, or otherwise contributed to the ruin of the state, through neglect, ignorance, or party quarrels. They were all put to death, excepting some few whose estates were confiscated, and themselves sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The thing most to be regretted is, that, among those few were the *Wâli of Arabia* (Z), the chief physician, and the chief eunuch, who deserved to die by the most exquisite tortures. At the same time that the traitors were punished, the *Etimâd-addowlat*, *Lust Ali Khân* (A), and other faithful ministers, were not only spared, but raised to posts of honour and trust by the conqueror.

WHAT person who reads the history of this strange revolution, will any more wonder at the conquest of *Mexiko* by *Cortes*; who, besides his *Spaniards* skilled in the art of war, and armed with cannon as well as muskets, was assisted by 100,000 *Tlaskallans*, a nation of *Indians*, equally as brave as the *Mexikans* themselves?

(Z) It is thought, *Mahmûd* had taken an oath not to put him to death. *Krusinsk.* vol. ii. p. 101.

(A) Although he had always avoided entering into any engagements prejudicial to the interest of his late sovereign, yet

Mahmûd hoping to win him, loaded him with favours. In Dec. 1723 he fled with design to serve *Tahmâsp*; but being taken at *Ebn Isfâhân*, and brought back, *Mahmûd* in his rage hewed him in pieces. *Krusinsk.* p. 172.

S E C T. IV.

*An Account of the Afghân Princes, and Descendants of Shâh Hussey*n who usurped the Persian Crown during his Imprisonment, till the Death of Kûli Khân.

THE 27th of October, being the day appointed for the *Mahmûd* *Afghân* prince to ascend the throne, *Mahmûd* marched *ascends the throne.* out of the camp towards the city, preceded by a numerous train both of horse and foot. The deposed king rode on his left side; they were followed by the principal officers of his conqueror's court; and after them came those of *Hussey*n's, mixed with the croud of *Afghân* officers. The whole closed with 100 camels, each carrying an arquebus, 600 musicians, and 6000 horse. As soon as they had passed over the bridge of *Shirâz*, the *Shâh* was conducted across the gardens of the palace to the place of his confinement; *Mahmûd* thinking it impolitic to lead him in triumph through the city. The inhabitants received him with the honours of a king, spreading the street with carpets, and filling the air with perfumes. The guns on the camels were often fired; and in the intervals, ten *Afghâns*, at the head of the procession, pronounced loud imprecations against the followers of *Alt*.

THE new monarch, being arrived at the palace, mounted the throne, and was a second time saluted king of *Persia* by the captive *Hussey*n, brought for that purpose. After which he received the oath of allegiance from the princes, ministers, and grandees, as well as chief officers and citizens. The artillery of the town and citadel proclaimed this news to the people; and the ceremony concluded with an entertainment given by the *Soltân* (which title *Mahmûd* assumed) to the deputies, who, in the name of the whole city, came to acknowledge his authority.

SOLTÂN Mahmûd began his reign with great lustre, and His *prudent* displayed the abilities of a consummate statesman. He confirmed the *Persian* officers in their employments, only associating with each a colleague of his own nation. He left no other post, except that of a *Divân Beghi*, intirely to an *Afghân*; and administered justice with so much rectitude, as soon reconciled the *Persians* to his government, which they found far preferable to that of their own ministers under *Shâh Hussey*n. He likewise gave content to the consuls of *European* nations,

* KRUSINSKI's Revol. Pers. vol. ii. p. 98, & seqq. HANWAY's Trav. vol. iii. p. 148, & seqq.

A. D.
1723.

who were confirmed in their privileges. He indeed reduced the late *Sháh's* train of women and eunuchs to five of each : yet shewed a great regard for this prince, whom he consulted on every occasion ; and omitted nothing to make him easy under his misfortunes. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to his own *Mianghi* (B), in imitation of *Hussey*n, who had bestowed another on the *Sedr Al Sheribah*, or chief justice, and married the youngest himself. This induced the dethroned monarch to ratify his abdication by a circular letter, and enjoined all his late subjects to acknowledge the victor's authority.

Kazbin
taken and
recovered.

MEANTIME *Thamás*p *Mirza* having assumed the title of *Sháh* at *Kazbin*, the new king took that pretext to levy money for carrying on the war. He demanded of the citizens 120,000 tomans (C), and taxed the chief physician, who had been one of the prime instruments of *Hussey*n's ruin, at 20,000 (D). With these sums he sent to raise new forces at *Kandahár* ; but the officer employed for that purpose, was defeated, and the money seized by the governor of *Banda*, a fortress in *Sejestán*. *Aman Olla*, who was dispatched with 10,000 troops against *Kazbin*, took that city, from whence *Thamás*p fled to *Taceris*, in *December*. But the avarice of the general, and the licentiousness of his soldiers, caused the inhabitants to rise, in *January* 1723, and drive them out again*.

Mah-
múd's
cruelty.
1723.

THE *Afgháns* lost 1600 men in the action at *Kazbin* ; and *Aman Olla* was wounded with a musket ball in the shoulder. *Mahmúd*, much alarmed at this disaster, caused public rejoicings to be made at *Ispahán*, as if his troops had gained a victory. However, to prevent the like danger in that metropolis, he caused the ministers, lords, and other *Persian* chiefs, to be massacred at an entertainment which he made for that purpose. Two hundred youths of the first nobility of *Persia* and *Georgia* were brought from the academy, and cruelly butchered. Three thousand men of *Hussey*n's troops, whom he had taken into pay, underwent the same fate. This was not all ; for he ordered his soldiers to put every man to the sword who had at any time received either salary or pension from the *Sháh's* exchequer ; which execution lasted fifteen days. After this, he secretly put to death a great number of the inha-

* KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 10, & seqq. HANWAY *ibid.* p. 150, & seqq.

(B) The *Mianghi* is the same whom the *Turks* call *Mufti*.

(C) Or 300,000 pounds sterling.

(D) Or 50,000 pounds.

bitants of *Ispâhân* able to bear arms, and extorted large sums of money, not only from the *Persians* and *Arminians*, but from the *Engliff*, *Dutch*, *Indians*, and other foreign merchants.

WHILE *Mahmûd* was employed in slaying the people, and taking the towns in the neighbourhood of *Ispâhân*, *Shâh Tahmâsp* remained at *Tauris*, giving himself up to pleasures, and neglecting his affairs, for which, coming raw from the *Harâm*, he had no capacity. He removed *Vashtangâ*, *Walt* of *Georgia*; and hearing that *Mahmûd* was marching against him with 10,000 men, sent *Feridûn*, *Khân* of the *Kûrds*, against him with 8000 choice troops; but they were defeated, and 2000 slain. The loss of this battle was attended with the loss of *Makon*, and also of *Gulpaygan* (E), a town situated to the west of *Kasbân*. The *Soltân* after this returning to *Ispâhân*, left the command of his army to *Zeberdest Khân*¹.

Tâh-mâsp's indolence.

MEAN time his dominions were attacked by two other powers much more formidable than the *Afghâns*; the *Russians* on the north, and the *Turks* on the west. *Soltân Ahmed III.* envying the progress made by the *Czar*, who had subdued *Daghestân* and *Dârbend*, would fain persuade him to abandon his conquests in *Persia*, in which he wanted to have the sole footing. But the *Czar* proceeding in his design, enters *Khilân*, or *Ghilân*, which submits to him; as did *Georgia* soon after to the *Turks*. *Shâh Tahmâsp* being thus oppressed on all sides, sends one ambassador to the *Porte*, and another to *Petersburg*. The *Turks* pretending to be offended with his applying to a Christian power for assistance against the *Afghân* rebels, rejected his proposal. The true reason was, that it was deemed a sin to assist heretics against true believers: the *Persians* being *Shiyy*, and the *Afghâns*, *Sunni*, of which sect the *Othmâns* are. The *Shâh's* ambassador succeeded better in *Russia*, where a treaty was signed the 23d of *September*; by which it was agreed, that the *Czar* should drive the *Afghâns* out of *Persia*, and re-establish the government. On the other hand, *Tahmâsp* was to yield to the *Czar* the towns of *Dârbend* and *Bâkû*, with the provinces of *Ghilân*, *Mazanderân*, and *Astrabad*².

Distressed by Russia;

and the Turks.

ABOUT the same time *Lust Ali Khân*, on whom favours had been heaped by the new king, fled from *Ispâhân*, with

Lust Ali Khân slain.

¹ KRUSINSK. *ibid.* p. 106, & seqq. HANWAY p. 160, & seqq.
² KRUSINSK p. 132, & seqq. HANWAY p. 172, & seqq.

A. D.
1687.

design to join the *Shāh* in *Tauris*; but being discovered by the people of *Ebn Ispāhān*, who had lately submitted to the *Afghāns*, they delivered him up to *Mahmūd*, who, in a rage, hewed him in pieces. What gave this prince much more uneasiness, *Aman Ollah*, being recovered of his wound, demanded the performance of his contract at setting out from *Kandahār*, which was to divide with him the conquests made in *Persia*, on account of the assistance given in the expedition. As that general was exasperated at *Mahmūd's* delays, he harkened to the instigation of his lady, a daughter of the late *Shāh's*, who advised him to join his forces with those of *Shāh Tahmāsp*, and expel the usurper. *Aman Olla* set out in *December*, pretending to march for *Kandahār*: but when *Mahmūd* understood, that he had changed his rout, he followed him with all the forces which he could collect; and overtaking him, won him over once more with promises.

Aman Olla dis-
contented.

A Georgian
an *Ama-*
zon.

1724.

AFTER this, he joined *Zeberdest Khān*, to whom *Kasbān* had just then submitted: but the joy of this success was allayed by the death of *Nafr Ollāh*, his ablest general, slain at the siege of *Shirāz*. *Mahmūd*, having sent *Zeberdest Khān* to succeed him, returned with his army to *Ispāhān*, in *March 1724*. As he entered a city, a woman, disguised in man's apparel, rode up to his troops in a full gallop, and attacking them sword in hand, slew 20 of them, before she was taken covered with wounds. She was brought before the *Soltān*, who being informed of her history, admired her resolution, and ordered her to be treated with extraordinary care. This woman, hearing of the death of her husband, killed at the battle of *Abbās Abād*, set out from *Georgia*, her native country, where she left two children in her brother's care, with a resolution to revenge his death on the first *Afghāns* she could meet.

Afghāns
take *Shi-*
rāz.

IN *April* the *Khān* of *Shirāz*, after an eight months siege, pressed by famine, sent to treat with *Zeberdest Khān*; but the *Afghāns* observing, that the besieged had deserted their posts, detained the deputy, took the city by assault, and put all, whom they found in arms, to the sword. Some of the soldiers having found a considerable quantity of corn, concealed in the house of a private man, they tied him to a stake in his granary, where he died with hunger. From hence the general sent a detachment of 400 men into the south part of *Pars*. They penetrated without opposition as far as the city of *Lār*, which they plundered; but the castle refused to submit. The commander then pushed on to *Bānder Abbāsi*,

* KRUSINSK. p. 126, & seqq. HANWAY p. 173, 182, & seqq.

or

or *Gomrân* (F). This place had been pillaged by 4000 *Bal-lâchî's*, in *January* 1722; but on their attempting to break into the fortresses where the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies had their comping houses, they were repulsed with considerable loss. The *Afghâns* did not succeed so well; for on their approach, the people retired with their effects to the mountains; and the *Europeans* being prepared to give them a warm reception, they accepted of a supply of provisions, and returned to *Shirdz*, reduced to a handful by the malignity of the air and badness of the water.

A. D. 1724.

Checked at Gomrân. 1724.

THE acquisition of this last city giving the *Afghâns* new spirits, *Mahmûd* led them out to new conquests. He departed from *Ispâhân* in *June*, at the head of near 30,000 men, with intent to subdue the country of *Kokbilân* (G). But his troops were so harrassed in the way by the *Arabs*, that they agreed to return, on condition only of being left unmolested, and supplied with provisions. The *Arabs* however continued to attack them, which, with the bad air they met with, destroyed one half of his army. *Mahmûd* was so shocked at this disgrace, that he entered *Ispâhân* without the usual marks of honour; and to cheer up his soldiers, distributed among them 50,000 tomans (or 125,000 pounds) to indemnify them for the loss of his baggage^{*}.

THE weakness of the *Afghâns* at this time gave *Shâb Tah-mâsp* a fair chance of recovering his crown. But while he should have employed his forces against his enemies, he turned them against the *Armenians*, his subjects, in order to compel them to pay the excessive taxes with which he had loaded them. Having by force entered and plundered some of their principal towns, those of *Kâpan* and *Chiava* took up arms, and so warmly received him, that he was obliged to come to a treaty; whereby he gained what he could not procure by foul means.

Tâh-mâsp's indiscretion.

MEAN time the *Turks* having secured *Georgia*, by the defeat of *Mohammed Kâli Khân*, who had surrendered *Teflis* to them the year before, in *February* entered *Azerbeyjân*; and in two months took *Khoy* by storm. In *June* with 30,000 men, they besieged *Eriuan*, the capital of *Armenia*, about six leagues from mount *Ararat*. It stands on the river *Zenghî*, which three leagues lower falls into the *Arâs*, and is defended with two walls, and a castle built on a steep rock.

Turkish progress.

* KRUSINSK. p. 128, & seqq. HANW. p. 188, & seqq.

(F) Commonly *Gombroon*, its former name. *finjki*. It is 10 days journey from *Ispâhân* on the way to *Bâs-*

(G) Or *Kajok Kilas*, as *Kru-rab*, or *Bassora*.

A. D.
1724.

A breach was soon made; but they were defeated in three general assaults. In *September* more forces arriving, a fourth assault was given with worse success than before. The *Turks* had now lost 20,000 men, and were resolved to retire, when considerable forces arrived in their camp. This gave them new courage, and intimidated the garrison of the town, which being much reduced by losses, and in want of ammunition, as well as provisions, without hopes also of relief from *Tahmâsp*, the *Khân* surrendered it, on condition of saving the lives and effects of the inhabitants; and retired to *Abr*, where the *Shâh* then resided.

Repulsed at
Tauris.

THE *Armenians* of *Nak Sivan*, despairing of success from the *Persians*, and fearing the cruelty of the *Turks*, invited them to conquer the country: and on their appearance rose up in arms. They joined the enemy, who, driving the *Persians* out of that city, and *Ordubâd*, became masters of most part of *Greater Armenia*. Mean while the *Bâsbâ* of *Vân*, with 25,000 men, marched towards *Tauris*. This city, though lately destroyed by an earthquake, was still one of the finest in all the east. But like *Sparta*, its only bulwark consisted in the number and valour of its inhabitants; for it had neither walls nor artillery. The *Turks* crowding in were already masters of one quarter of the town, when the people blocking up the streets to hinder their retreat, cut off 4000. The *Bâsbâ* after this being repulsed in several attacks, drew off in the night to avoid being attacked in his intrenchments, of which he was informed by his spies; and retired to *Tasht*, a town 20 leagues from *Tauris*, on the north side of the lake *Shâhi*. Here, to be revenged of the *Persians* for their gallant defence, he put to the sword the men of the neighbouring villages; and made slaves of the women and children. The inhabitants of *Tauris* provoked at this cruelty, resolved to pursue the *Bâsbâ*, who marched out to meet them with 8000 men. But most of them being slain, he fled with the rest to *Khoy*.

Take Hamadân.

IN the interim the *Bâsbâs* of *Bâghdâd* and *Bâsrah*, entering *Persia* with their forces, laid siege to *Hamadân*, to whose relief *Tahmâsp* sent *Flagella Khân*; but he was defeated. The city had held out bravely for two months, when a mine, sprung by a *German* renegade, made a large breach, at which the enemy entering, carried all before them, and made a great slaughter, till one of the generals opened a gate for the inhabitants to escape.

† KRUSINSKI p. 130, & seqq. HANW, p. 191, & seqq.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH the *Turks* had made such considerable conquests in *Persia*, yet *Soltân Ahmid* was greatly dissatisfied with the cession made by *Shâh Tahmâsp*, to *Peter the Great*. His commissaries at the court of *Russia* declared, "That *Tahmâsp*, in his then precarious circumstances, could not alienate any of his dominions; that therefore such engagements were void: and that, as the *Soltân* would not suffer any foreign power to extend his dominion in *Persia*, the only way to preserve peace was for the *Czar* to relinquish all pretensions derived from that treaty, and likewise abandon his conquests along the coasts of the *Caspian sea*."

As these commissaries broke off the conferences abruptly, it was thought the *Porte* would declare war against the *Czar*. The *French* ambassador advised the *Russian* resident to enter into a negotiation; but this minister declining it for want of instructions, the ambassador undertook to do it himself. The *Grand Wazîr*, who secretly pressed this affair, found it difficult to bring the *Diwân* into it, especially as the point was to join with a Christian power, in sharing the dominions of a *Mohammedan* prince. However, at length, preliminaries were signed: the first article of which was, "that *Shâh Tahmâsp* should be obliged to send an embassy to beg that the *Soltân* would set limits to his conquests, and consent to the execution of the *St. Peterburg* treaty." The other articles concerned the limits of conquest made or to be made in *Persia*, by either of the contracting powers. After much contest articles of the treaty were agreed to. The first regulated the barrier between *Russia* and *Turky*, by a line, to begin 22 leagues from the *Caspian sea*, on the confines of *Dâghestân*; and to pass at the like distance from *Dârbeud*, from thence within seven leagues of the coast, including *Shamakhtya*; which, as stipulated by the second article, was not to be fortified by the *Turks*; and to terminate at the confluence of the *Kâra* and *Arrâs*.

THE line separating *Turky* from *Persia*, by the third article, begun where the former ended; from whence it passed three miles to the east of *Ardevîl*, and forward to *Hamadân*, whose territory it comprised; terminating at *Kermân Shâh*, the new conquest of the *Turks*. In case *Tahmâsp* should not agree to the said limits, they were jointly to conquer the places within them, and give up the rest of the kingdom to him, independent of any foreign dependence. But in case he should agree to them, the *Soltân*, by the fifth article, was to acknowledge him for king of *Persia*; and to join his forces

* KRAUSINSK. p. 141, & seqq. HANW. p. 105, & seqq.

with

A. D. 1725. with those of *Russia* to place him on the throne, in case the usurpers should oblige him to declare war against them.

Lastly, if *Tahmāsp* should refuse to conform to the treaty, the contracting powers, after becoming masters of the provinces assigned them, should establish tranquillity in the kingdom; and, without listening to any proposals of *Mahmūd*, deliver it into the hands of the person most deserving of it^b.

Tahmāsp
distressed.

THIS treaty, which was signed the 8th of July 1725, soon came, to the knowledge of *Shāh Tahmāsp*, who, unable to help himself, saw his country torn from him. He ordered the *Russian* resident to withdraw from his court. The *Czar* however ordered an ambassador extraordinary, whom he had sent to that prince, to continue his journey. It is presumed, that *Peter the Great* would have been contented with *Ghilān* only, could he have thus prevented the progress of the *Turks*, and restored *Tahmāsp* to his dominions.

Mahmūd
defeated at
Yezd.

WHILE these affairs were transacting, *Mahmūd* recruited his army with *Dārghezins* (H), some *Turks*, and a body of *Afghāns* from *Kandahār*. In order to retrieve his late disgrace, towards the end of December, 1724, he marched to besiege *Yazd*, or *Yezd*, with 18,000 men. As he had gained the *Parsi's*, who dwelt there, to betray the city, he depended on success. But the plot being discovered, and the traitors put the sword, he missed of his aim, after several fruitless assaults. At length the *Afghāns* being weakened by large detachments sent out to forage, the garrison sallied, and cut off 3000: so that *Mahmūd* was obliged to save himself by flight, leaving his baggage and artillery a prey to the *Persians*^c.

The Af-
ghāns mu-
tiny,

ON this new disgrace the soldiers grew mutinous, ascribing their late defeats to the introduction of that very effeminacy and luxury which had destroyed their enemies. They railed at *Mahmūd*, and loudly declared, that they could never hope for success so long as they were governed by a chief, who had adopted both the dress and religion of the conquered. This had reference to some words dropped by *Mahmūd*, either to vex the *Turks*, or flatter the *Persians*. Their murmurs grew the louder from the presence of *Asbrāf* who had

^b HANW. p. 198, & seqq.
p. 202, & seqq.

^c KRUSIN. p. 144. HANW.

(H) Sometimes called *Darguzi's*. They are *Mesopotamian Kūrd's* removed by *Shāh Abbās I.* to *Derghezim*, a town three days journey from *Hamadān* towards

Kāstān. They are of the same sect with the *Afghāns*. *Krusin*. vol. ii. p. 115. *Hanw.* vol. iii. p. 163—168.

returned from *Kandahâr* in the last *karawân*. This prince, who was the son of *Abdalla*, had fled twice to avoid the jealousy of *Mahmûd*. The first time was in 1722, when, upon *Hafsyâ's* resignation, he deserted his post; and, with an escorte of 100 horse, set out for *Kandahâr*: but being pursued was brought back to *Mahmûd*, who should have put him to death, but for fear his soldiers would desert him, as they threatened, in case he offered to take away the life of *Asbrâf*. The second time was after the revolt at *Kazbîn*, from whence he departed for *Kandahâr* with 300 horse, either through apprehension of a general revolt; or, more likely, for fear of *Mahmûd*, whom he had reason always to distrust. The army had always been extremely fond of him; and the great desire which they expressed for his return, was the chief motive of his coming back. In effect, the principal officers considering *Mahmûd* had no issue fit to govern, and that his health daily declined, in some measure obliged him to recal *Asbrâf*, in order to declare him his successor. He at first treated him with all the appearances of the most tender friendship; but was no sooner informed of the murmurings of the troops, than he ordered him to be lodged in the palace, where he was strictly guarded^d.

A. D.
1725.in favour
of Asbrâf.

THIS prudent step checked the mutinous designs of the *Mahmûd* soldiers; but did not make the *Soltân* easy in his mind; on account of his two late disgraces, which had weakened his power and authority. He therefore resolved to regain the favour of heaven by performing the *Riadhât*; a kind of spiritual exercise introduced by the *Indian Mohammedans* into *Kandahâr*. This superstition consists in shutting themselves up for 14 or 15 days in a place without light; during which time they are employed in repeating incessantly with a strong guttural voice the word *Hû* (I), by which they denote one of the attributes of God; and live upon nothing but a little bread and water which they take at sun-set. These continual cries, and the agitations of body, with which they are accompanied, naturally un hinge the whole frame, when, by fasting and darkness, the brain is distempered, they fancy they see spectres, and hear voices: for they believe, that, during this penance, the devil is compelled, by a superior power, to let them into the knowledge of futurity.

WHEN he came forth of his subterraneous vault, he was so pale and emaciated, that they scarcely knew him. What was worse, this extravagant devotion had impaired his reason.

Destroys
the royal
family.

^d HANW. p. 204, & seqq. also p. 147—159.

(I) Or *Hsqw*.

A. D. 1725. He became restless and suspicious; often starting, as if he feared his best friends intended to destroy him. He was in one of these fits when a report spread, that *Seffi Mirza*, eldest son of *Shâh Huseyn*, had made his escape, and fled into *Turky*. This, whether true or false, he made a pretext for cutting off all the princes of that family, excepting *Huseyn* himself; among whom were several of his brothers, three uncles, and seven nephews. On the 7th of *February* those victims being assembled in the palace yard, with their hands tied behind their backs, the tyrant, with a few of his intimates, killed them all with their swords: excepting two sons of *Huseyn*, the eldest but five years old. The unhappy father hearing their cries, flew to the place of slaughter, and received on his arm the stroke with which *Mahmûd* intended to dispatch them. However the sight of blood issuing from a king, whom he used to reverence, stopped his murdering hand. The number of princes butchered in this manner (K) were about 100; nor is it surprizing that kings who have so many women, should be fathers of a numerous offspring. Besides, *Huseyn* exceeded all his predecessors in filling his *Harâm*, into which 30 cradles have been carried in the space of one month.

1725.
Mahmûd
grows de-
lirious.

THIS cruel execution, instead of allaying *Mahmûd's* terrors, much increased them, as well as impaired his understanding. The torments of his mind were augmented by an insupportable pain in his bowels. After the physicians had in vain tried to restore him to his senses, they had recourse to a superstitious remedy practised by the *Armenian* priests. It consists in reading, over the head of the patient, what they call the *Red Gospel* (L); and is a ceremony used also by the *Mohammedans* of the country, who hold it to have wrought many cures. In the beginning of *April*, the clergy of *Julfa*, dressed in their sacerdotal, passed in procession (M) to the apartment of *Mahmûd*: who, in one of his lucid intervals, being told what they had done for his relief, sent them 5000 pounds in money, and as much in goods; promising to re-

* KRUSINSKI p. 147. HANW. p. 206, & seqq.

(K) It is said, none escaped but *Tahmâsp*, and the two infants above-mentioned; so that *Seffi Mirza* must have been among them. HANW.

(L) Probably some passages relating to the miracles of Christ. HANWAY.

(M) Exorcisms and processions are common in all popish countries. The late king of *Portugal* at several times caused the several orders of ecclesiastics to walk in procession thro' his chamber. HANW.

store

store all which he had taken from them, in case he recovered his health. The same he did to the *Indians* and *Dutch*. But, after some hours ease, he relapsed into a more terrible condition: his body was covered with leprosy, and his flesh rotting, seemed to fall from his bones.

A. D.

1725.

At the same time, news arrived that *Sháh Tahmásp* had defeated a party of *Afgháns* commanded by *Seydal*, in their way to *Kazbín*, near *Kám*, or *Kom*. From the time *Mahmád* fell ill, *Asbráf*, who was no longer strictly watched, found means to correspond with *Tahmásp*; and, when he found things ripe for his purpose, sent word, that now was his time to recover the throne: that things were in such confusion at *Isfáhan*, that, on the first news of his approach, his friends would join him in a body. *Asbráf* had imparted this design to the *Persian* lords who had been spared at the massacre, with a view to ensnare them; and by them it was that he corresponded with the *Sháh*. They wrote him word, that the *Afghán* prince insisted on nothing for himself and his party, but their lives, liberty, and effects. *Tahmásp* sent him a deed, engaging, under the most solemn oaths, to perform the conditions; and it was this which drew him so near *Isfáhan*.

THIS new disgrace greatly alarming the *Afgháns*, determined them to chuse a new master in place of *Mahmád*, who was no longer able to manage their affairs. The right of succession belonged to *Husseyñ Khán*, the *Soltán's* brother, who governed for him at *Kandahár*: but as they could not wait his arrival, and *Asbráf* was most beloved by the army, he was chosen with their unanimous consent. In this revolution, no person was so active as *Aman Olláh*, the chief minister and generalissimo. Observing himself to be watched, he resolved to be revenged; and took the affront so heinously, that, when *Mahmád* returned from his last expedition, he refused to go out to meet him. As soon as his election was proclaimed, the *Afgháns* ran to take the new king out of confinement. The *Abdolis*, who guarded him, for a while disputed the entrance; but, at length yielding, *Asbráf* was proclaimed king of *Persia* the 22d of *April*. But this prince, under pretence of revenging his father's death, would not accept the ensigns of royalty till they brought him the head of *Mahmád*; who, being in a high frenzy (N), had not many hours to live.

* KRUSIN. p. 150, & seqq. HANW. p. 209, & seqq.

* KRUSIN. p. 153, & seqq. HANW. p. 211, & seqq.

(N) The Jesuits say, that, in this frenzy, which continued seven days, he tore his flesh with his teeth, and made such wounds that he was ready to expire.

A. D. 1725. THIS destroyer of the dynasty of the *Shāhs* was but 27 years old when he died. He was middle sized, squat, and clumsy; his neck so short, that his head seemed to grow to his shoulders; his face was broad, his nose flat, and his beard thin and reddish. His looks were wild, his countenance austere and disagreeable. His eyes blue, and a little squinting, were generally downcast, like a man absorbed in deep thought. Yet, inured by habit, few excelled him either in horsemanship, or the use of the lance. He was master likewise of several talents worthy of a sovereign. Although his soldiers accused him with excess in venery, yet he never had but one wife, and was ever constant to her. He slept little, and endured great hardships; was extremely vigilant both in the camp and city, often visiting the centinels in the night. In labour indefatigable; in danger intrepid; and, with all his faults, was a very strict observer of his word, as appears from his regard to *Aman Ollāh*, even when he knew that general was contriving his ruin. His soldiers charged him with avarice, and depriving them of the booty obtained by their valour in war. Above all, they could not forgive his saying in a passion, after the defeat at *Yezd*, *That he wished they were as great beggars as when they first came into Persia, that they might fight as bravely as they did then*: although the loss seems to have been owing to his want of conduct. To this might be added, his cruelty to his enemies, and want of fortitude under his disgraces. In a word, his expedition against *Isfāhān* seems extremely rash and extravagant; nor can it be justified, but by the success. That inconsiderate temerity, which constituted the chief part of his character, fitted him indeed for making conquests; but he wanted the qualifications necessary to secure them ^h.

*Virtues
and vices.*

^h KRUSIN. vol. ii. p. 159, & seqq. HANW. vol. iii. p. 212, & seqq.

S E C T. V.

The Reign of Ashraf.

THE resistance which the partisans of *Ashraf* met with II. Soltân at the palace, furnished a pretext for removing some *Ashraf* of his enemies. The same day, he caused the late *Soltân's* guards to be put to the sword. His ministers and confidants underwent the same fate. Among whom that of *Amas*, the *Kâlar Agâsh*, or commander of the slaves, was be- wailed by both *Afghâns* and *Persians*. He was a great good man, generous, and humane in a high degree; refused presents, and used the ascendancy which he had over his master, to divert him from barbarous resolutions. Yet he was tortured to discover treasures which he had not; and, to avoid a repetition of the rack, slew himself, after he had slain his wife. He next caused all those to be arrested, who had been concerned in the conspiracy, which placed him on the throne, confiscated their estates, not excepting the *Mianji*, *His cruel-* whose riches were his crime; put some of them to death, *ty*, among whom was the proud *Amân Ollah*, whose intrepidity and riches hastened his ruin; and the rest were imprisoned. None but *Seydal*, routed by *Tahmâsh*, and the grand master of the ceremonies, remained untouched. His aunt, the widow of *Mîrweis*, and mother of *Mahmûd*, who had been prevailed on by her to spare his life, he confined a whole night in the palace yard among the dead bodies massacred by her son: however he afterwards treated her with becoming regard*.

THE severity shewed to his younger brother was abominable. This young prince, flying to avoid being confined in the *Saray*, was, when taken, deprived of his sight, and then shut up there. A son of *Mahmûd's*, yet in the cradle, was treated in the same manner; and the mother, by report, poisoned. To efface these first impressions in his disfavour, *and diffi-* he waited on Shâh *Husséyn*, and pressed him to re-ascend the *mulatton*. throne; but the deposed monarch had sense enough not to accept of the offer. In return, *Ashraf*, who took the title of *Soltân*, ordered his monthly pension of 125 pounds to be paid him weekly; gave him the direction of the buildings then erecting in the inclosure of the palace, which greatly pleased him; and, after repudiating his wife, married one of the king's daughters. He likewise; to ingratiate himself

* HANWAY, *Revolut. Pers.* vol. iii. p. 216, & seqq.

A. D.
1725.

Tries to
ensnare
Tahmāsp.

with the people, distributed money among his foldiers, established an exact order in the city; and imposed no new tax, contenting himself to recal the sums which *Mahmūd* had restored during his illness.

His first attempt was to establish his authority in *Kandahār*, by destroying *Hussēyn Khān*, brother of *Mahmūd*; but he failed in his design, as he did in another to seize the person of Shāh *Tahmāsp* at an interview, wherein he intended to offer him the diadem, as he had done to his father *Hussēyn*, and settle their respective interests. This prince had just defeated *Seydāl* a second time at *Kashan*, when he received a splendid ambassy proposing an interview. At the same time a letter was sent, advising him to be on his guard. But the letter being intercepted, *Tahmāsp* marched with only 3000 men to *Varami* (A), where his enemy was advanced with 12,000. On this he fled to *Mazanderān*: and *Asbrāf* attempted *Tābirān*, but in vain, as he did *Sava*; but *Kūm* capitulated for want of provisions. Here he found the wife of *Tahmāsp*, with part of his court and treasure, twenty pieces of cannon, and three elephants.

State of
Persia.

ASHRAF, on his return to *Isfahān*, put to death all the lords, concerned in writing the above-mentioned letter, at a hunting match. At this time the authority of *Tahmāsp* was acknowledged only in the provinces of *Mazanderān*, *Astrābād*, and a few places of *Persian Irāk*. The *Afghāns* were masters of *Khorassān*, *Kermān*, and *Pārs* (or proper *Persia*); the rest were in the hands of the *Russians* and *Turks*. These last went on making conquests, and reduced *Tauris* with the loss of 20,000 men; but the *Persians* lost 30,000. Another army of them advanced within twenty leagues of *Isfahān*, and then retired on meeting the *Afghān* guards, with whom they were not at war. *Asbrāf* dreading their power, sent an embassy to court their alliance; but, refusing to admit the *Othmān Soltān* to be the sole *Imām*, or head of religion, the *Turks* made it a pretence for declaring war against him in March 1726^b,

Asbrāf's
successes

MEAN time *Kāsbīn* and *Marāgha* having submitted to them, their army marched towards *Ghilān*, at the solicitation, as was supposed, of the *English* and *French* ambassadors, displeased to find the *Armenian* karawān, which brought silk from thence, discontinued. Shāh *Tahmāsp*, seeing his affairs were desperate, offered to cede to the *Porte*

^b HANWAY, p. 220—239.

(A) Between *Kūm* and *Tābirān*.



the conquered countries, in lieu of a truce for three years; which however was not granted. *Asbrâf*, no less alarmed on his side, perceiving *Ispahân* was too large for his forces to defend, ordered a second city to be built and fortified within the first, four miles in compass, including the old citadel, the great square, and king's palace; yet this was finished in three months. Also, to render the access more difficult, he sent troops to ravage the country as far as *Kazbîn*, which, with other cities, were, by his emissaries, induced to declare for him. To prevent a visit in *November*, he marched to *Hamadân*, and cut off 6000 *Turks*: on which the *Seraskier* intrenched himself. *Asbrâf*, to supply want of force by art, sent spies into the enemy's camp, with four *Shaykhs*, to protest against *Musulmâns* slaughtering one another, and to exhort them to peace. By joining with the *Turks* at noon prayer, they gained over 5000 *Kyurds*, and many others. To prevent a more general desertion, the *Bashâ* with 70 or 80,000 men attacked the *Afghâns*, who had but 17,000 foot and 16,000 horse, with 40 *harquebusses* mounted on camels. *Asbrâf* appeared on his elephant, surrounded by his ministers, and repulsed the *Turks* in three fierce attacks, who lost 12,000 men. At night, being joined by 20,000 *Kyurds* more, the *Bashâ* retired in the dark, leaving all his baggage and artillery behind him.

against the
Turks.

To retrieve this disgrace, new forces were sent in spring 1727; but, refusing to engage in a war which they looked on as unjust and impious, orders were sent to the *Bashâ* to conclude a peace on the best terms he could. They arrived just as he was going to attack the *Afghâns*; and soon produced the act which both parties desired. By the treaty signed in *October*, the cities of *Zengân*, *Soltania*, *Abher*, and *Tâbirân*, were to be added to the *Turkish* conquests, and *Kbuzestân*, newly taken, restored. The *Othmân* emperor was to be acknowledged the true successor of the *Khalifas*; and the *Khotbâh*, or public prayers, said in his name throughout *Persia*. On the part of *Asbrâf*, he was to be acknowledged lawful sovereign of *Persia*, and named after *Soltân Ahmed* in the *Khotbâh*; was to coin money in his own name; and at liberty to send the *Persian* karawân to *Mekka*, by way of *Bâghdâd* c.

Peace con-
cluded.

1727.

MEAN time *Shâh Tahmâsp* remained at *Farâbâd* in *Mazanderân*, pent up as a dependant on *Fatey Ali Khân*, who, during the troubles, had seized that province. He was in these distressed circumstances, when *Nadir Kuli*, a soldier of

Affairs of
Tahmâsp.

A. D. 1727. fortune, sent from the borders of *Mazanderān* to offer him his service with 5000 horse. This is that extraordinary person who afterwards recovered *Persia* out of the hands of the *Afghāns* and *Turks*, and then usurped the throne. He was born near *Kállāt*, a strong fortress ten days journey to the south-east of *Masbhad*, the capital of *Khorassān*. Being a *Tatar*, or *Turkman*, of the tribe of *Afshar*, who supply the *Persians* with cattle, he was bred a shepherd. His father, who lived by making caps and sheepskin coats, died when *Nadir* was but thirteen. An ass and camel were his whole estate, on which he carried to market sticks gathered in the woods, and sold them to support himself and his mother. In 1704, he was carried-off by the *Uzbeks*, but escaped in 1708. The first action we hear of him was that of robbing a flock of sheep. In 1712, he became a courier to a *Begh*. Being sent with dispatches to court, he killed his companion; and, at his return, slew his master, who appeared displeased; and fled with his daughter to the mountains: there he had by this lady, *Imām Kāli Riza*, of the same disposition with himself. After this, he turned robber again for a time; and in 1714, offering his service to *Babulu Khān*, governor of *Khorassān*, was made his gentleman usher.

Kulī
Khān's
origin.

1719.

In 1717, for his behaviour against the *Tatars* of *Khyeva* (B) and *Bokharā*, he was made a colonel; and two years after, with 6000 soldiers, defeated 10,000 *Uzbek* invaders, killing 3000, the Khān promised to get his command as general confirmed; but, finding a younger man preferred, he reproached his patron with breach of honour; which liberty was rewarded with the bastinado. On this, he retired to the fortress of *Kállāt* commanded by his uncle, the chief of an *Afshar* tribe: but his assuming temper giving disgust, he took a third time to robbing. With 7 or 800 soldiers, which, in 1722, he collected, he pillaged several karawāns, and laid *Khorassān*, with the adjacent provinces, under contribution at pleasure. He continued this course till 1727, when *Seyfo'ddīn Begh*, one of the Shāh's chief generals, flying for some offence, joined him with 1500 men, which increased his troops to about 3000. His uncle then wrote him a kind letter, and promised to obtain his pardon, provided he would engage in the service of *Tahmāsp*. *Nadir* accepts the proposal; and, having obtained a pardon, repairs to *Kállāt*: but the return which he made his uncle was to seize his castle, and murder him^d.

^d HANW. vol. iv. p. 14, 173, & seqq.

(B) Or *Karāxm*.

He staid there five months, raising contributions and more troops : then marched to drive the *Afghâns* and *Baluchis* out of *Nisâbâbûr*. The governor with his whole garrison, consisting of 3000 men, issued out against the enemy, who were but 600 men, and pursued them ten leagues to a pass in the mountains, where *Nadir* lay concealed with 1500 men. There *Kuli Khân*, facing about, fell on them in the rear, and cut them all to pieces, excepting a few. On this, he took possession of *Nisâbâbûr* in the name of *Shâh Tahmâsp*; and, having been recruited with 1000 men, went to offer that prince his service, as hath been mentioned. *Fatey Ali Khân* received him with open arms, and introduced him to the king, who signed his pardon. He soon, by his address, insinuated himself into the *Shâh's* favour; and, to gain the whole sway, resolved to remove the *Khân*, by pretending to discover a plot of his to deliver *Tahmâsp* into the hands of *Malek Mahmûd*, the rebel governor of *Masbhad*. The fiction was improbable; but it was not *Tahmâsp's* fortune to be much wiser than his father *Hussayn*. He was willing to get rid of *Fatey Ali*, who had usurped too much authority, but had taken an oath never to hurt him. *Nadir* replied, "If your majesty has taken an oath, I have not;" and that same day had him murdered as he came to court.

NADIR, who succeeded him in the title of *Khân*, and post of general, now began to display the talents of an able minister as well as officer. At his instance the *Shâh* marched with his little army of 8000 into *Khorassân*. He was received with joy into *Nisâbâbûr*; and, his forces soon augmenting to 18,000, he advanced to *Masbhad*, which being a place of no strength, the *Baluchis* abandoned it. To reward his new general, he ordered him to be called *Tahmâsp Kâli Khân*, the addition of his own name being the highest mark of dignity. *Nadir*, to deserve that honour, marched to reduce the other revolted cities of *Khorassân*, which he did within the year: and then, with 12,000 men, proceeded to *Herât*, which the inhabitants delivered-up with the garrison, and the governor, whose head he cut-off.

ASHRAF, alarmed at these successes, called all his forces together, which did not exceed 30,000, including *Afghâns*, *Darguzzi*, and *Hassarags*; and then, leaving only 200 as sufficient to guard that once vast city, marched towards *Khorassân* to attack the *Shâh* before he could gather more strength. But *Tahmâsp*, by the advice of his general, met him near *Damaghân* in *Kumes* with 25,000 *Persians*. *Ashraf*,

Joins the
Shâh;

and reduces
Khoras-
sân.

1728.

Defeats
Ashraf.

1729.

A. D.
1729

whose fate depended on the issue of a battle, saw by their disposition, that he ought to proceed with great caution; but, urged by his officers, on the 2d of *October* he vigorously attacked the enemy, who, to his great surprize, stood the shock; and, attacking them in their turn, obtained an easy victory. The *Afghâns* lost about 10,000 men, with all their *harquebusses*, camels, and baggage. They plundered *Tâhíran* in their flight to *Ispâhân*, which they plundered also, and then retired to *Murchakor*, 25 miles east of that capital. *Kûli Khân* followed them; and coming-up on the 12th of *November*, received the enemy's first fire: then, advancing close to them, gave a general discharge, which caused such numbers to fall, that the astonished *Afghâns* fled back to *Ispâhân*, leaving 4000 dead. They pretended a victory, which made the inhabitants dread a massacre, as had been often threatened; but were diverted by their panic from doing mischief.

Restores
Tahmâsp.

HOWEVER, *Asbrâf* found time to imbrue his hands in the blood of *Shâh Huseyn*, and other males of the royal family. Then, having loaded several camels, and 300 mules, mostly with the treasures and rich effects of the palace, they left the city at night, to the number of 12,000, after having reigned as conquerors of *Persia* seven years and twenty-one days.

THE *Persian* troops arrived soon after, and put an end to the plundering which the populace had begun. Mean time *Shâh Tahmâsp* advanced from *Tâhíran*, and was met by his general six miles from *Ispâhân*. As soon as he saw him, he alighted from his horse, as did *Kûli Khân*, who ran to him in a respectful manner: but the *Shâh* would walk a few steps with him, declaring, that "he could not shew too great distinction to the person who had delivered his country from "a foreign yoke." His joy on entering the capital was allayed by the news of his father's death, and sight of the ruined palace. As he entered the *Harâm*, an old woman threw her arms about his neck in transports. This was the lady his mother, who, disguised in a slave's habit, had, ever since the *Afghân* invasion, submitted to all the offices of drudgery.

Route the
Afghâns.

TAHMÂSP. by his conduct so won the hearts of his subjects, that, notwithstanding their poverty, they contributed liberally to support the army which was increased to 40,000 men. Expressing his concern, that the *Afghâns* should be still at *Shirâz*, where they exercised great cruelties, and his female relations held in slavery; *Kûli Khân* said, "He was "ready to march against them, provided a power was given

“ him to levy money for paying the army ; adding, that military operations were often defeated by the intrigues of a court, as in the case of *Lut Ali Khán*.” The king (C) was startled at this demand, which was in some measure to demand the sovereignty : but being advised to temporize till a proper time should arrive to punish his insolence, *Tahmásp* complied. *Kúli Khán* begun his march in the end of December, and in twenty days reached *Astakhar* (D). Although his army was much diminished by the severe season, and want of provisions in a ravaged country, yet, on the 15th of January 1730, he attacked them with such vigour, that he put them instantly to flight. 1730.

ASHRAF's affairs now grown desperate, he offered to deliver-up the princesses, and all his plunder, for liberty to depart with his troops. This proposal *Kúli Khán* rejected, and threatened to put all the *Afgháns* to the sword, unless they delivered-up their chief. Mean time *Ashráf*, who expected nothing but a cruel death, if he fell into the hands of the *Persians*, marched off in the night. His troops, to facilitate their retreat, separated into parties ; after whom the *Khán* sent several detachments. *Ashráf*, distressed for want of provisions in the depth of winter, and attacked on all sides by the peasants, was obliged at length to abandon all his baggage and the captives. Some of his followers killed their women, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. The *Afgháns* being now quite dispersed, their chief had with him no more than 200 men, when he was attacked by a body of *Ballowchis*. He made a gallant defence ; but in the end was with his people cut to pieces (E). This ended the usurpation of the *Afgháns* *. *Ashráf slain.*

* HANWAY, p. 35—40.

(C) He had made him governor of *Khorassán*, and intended to give him his aunt for a wife.

(D) Supposed to be the ancient *Persépolis*.

(E) There are different accounts of his death. The *Guzestés*, among others, reported, that he was carried to death on a scaffold at *Isfábhán*.

SECT.

S E C T. VI.

The Reign of Shāh Tahmāsp.

The Turks
defeated.

1731.

AMONG the captive ladies thus recovered, were the aunt and sister of the *Shāh*, who gave the former in marriage to *Kāli Khān*. This general, after two months stay at *Shirāz*, marched towards *Hamadān*, with intent to wrest from the *Turks* what they had conquered during the late troubles. After a complete victory over them near that city, he took it; and then, by a quick march, got before *Kyopriki Bāsbā* to *Tauris*, which he also subdued with *Ardebil*. The enemy terrified, demand a peace; which he granted, that he might punish the *Abdollis* of *Herāt*. After defeating them, he took that city, and put the governor with the principal rebels to death. *Tāhmāsp* distrusting the *Turks*, marched from *Kazbīn* with 50,000 men, by the way of *Tauris* to *Eriwān*, to which he laid siege, after escaping an ambuscade, and defeating *Ali Bāsbā*: but, for want of provisions, was obliged to raise it. In his retreat to *Tauris* the *Bāsbā* followed; and, being joined by *Kyopriki*, defeated him at *Astābād* on the *Zenghi*. His army now reduced to 30,000, he abandoned *Tauris* to secure *Hamadān*. Joined there by the garrison, a bloody battle was fought with *Ahmed Bāsbā* of *Bāgdād*, and lost together with that city^b.

Tahmāsp
makes a
peace.

1732.

THE *Bāsbā*, induced by the troubled state of affairs at *Constantinople*, where *Ahmed III.* was deposed, proposed a peace. His late defeat, and the exposed condition of *Isfāhān* without an army to defend it, moved the *Shāh* to accept of the proposal. By this peace, concluded in *January 1732*, the *Arrās* was to be the *Persian* boundary: so that he gave up his right to all *Armenia* and *Georgia*, comprising a country near 200 miles in extent. The *Othmāns* on their side were to assist him, to compel the *Russians* to quit their acquisitions along the *Caspian* sea, where, since the death of *Peter I.* they had made no conquest but that of *Lahijān*. This peace was against the earnest solicitations of *Kāli Khān*, who entreated him to persist in the demand of all the conquered provinces, promising to join him soon with a powerful army.

Kāli
Khān re-
sents it.

THE *Shāh* having disbanded his army, wrote to his general to do the same, and return to *Isfāhān*. This conduct increased *Kāli Khān's* jealousy of the court. He told his officers, That "this peace was inglorious, and tended to in-

^b HANW. Revolut. Pers. vol. iv. p. 40, & seqq.

" volve

“ volve *Perfia* in new troubles ; that there was the less reason for sacrificing so many provinces to the *Turks*, when there was an army on foot sufficient to humble them : that therefore those measures seemed to be levelled at them by the ministers, who were always jealous of their success.”

Having by these speeches, which had the air of patriotism, attached to him the army, now augmented to 70,000, most of them *Tatars* in whom he might confide, he marched for *Isfâhân* ; near which he encamped in *August*. He then waited on the king ; and having told him, that those who advised the peace were his enemies, he produced letters to shew how much he was abused by evil counsellors ; and that they were playing off the same diabolical engines used by those in the time of *Husséyn*, to cut-off *Lust Ali Khân*, when the army under his command might have saved *Perfia* ¹.

THE *Shâh* was astonished at the perfidy of several he most confided in, and believed his general to be as faithful, at least, as his other ministers. But *Kûli Khân* finding that the letters had no effect with regard to the persons whom he wanted to destroy, he judged himself to be marked out for destruction. His officers were of the same opinion ; and, considering his interest to be their own, readily agreed to prevent their common danger, by deposing *Tahmâsp*, and setting his son, prince *Abbâs Mirzâ*, but six months old, in his place. With this intent, he invites *Tahmâsp* to a review. As he rode through the ranks, many of the soldiers let him know, “ that if he had any particular command for them, they were ready to execute it.” *Kûli Khân* surprized, desired the *Shâh* to tell them, “ that the proof of their obedience to him was to obey their general.” After the review, he invited *Tahmâsp* to a repast ; where being intoxicated with a little wine, he was conveyed under a strong guard to an apartment in the royal gardens. His attendants were confined, and next day, an assembly being called, he set forth the king’s incapacity to reign, and the bad consequences which would attend the peace, unless he was deposed. The general having bribed the great officers of state, as well as of the army, they approved of his advice ; and swore allegiance to the young prince, then lying in his cradle, by the name of *Abbas III* ².

Seizes the
Shâh.

¹ HANW. p. 63, &c.

² Ibid. p. 70, & seqq.

S E C T. VII.

Reign of Abbâs III.

Gives the
Turks

1733.

two great
defeats.

KULI KHAN, now in effect sovereign of *Persia*, conferred the principal governments on his own relations; and disposed of every thing at pleasure. He sent to acquaint the *Bâsbâ* of *Bagdâd*, that he intended soon to pay him a visit: on which advice war was proclaimed at *Constantinople* the 6th of *October*, and *Topal Osmân Bâsbâ* dispatched with an army of 80,000 men. *Bagdâd* had been besieged for three months with an equal force, but without cannon; and, though defended with a garrison of 20,000, could not hold out above four days when the *Seraskier* approached. *Kûli Khân* met him with 70,000; and had gotten the better, when the *Bâsbâ* of *Mosul* came up, and turned the scale. About 30,000 were killed on each side, and *Kûli Khân* had two horses slain under him, and lost all his baggage. Mean time the *Bâsbâ* of *Bagdâd*, falling forth, raised the siege: and the *Persian* general retired, sending him word, that he would be with him early next year, that it might not be thought he intended to fall on him the same winter. But, having with speed repaired his losses, he, in *October*, forced his way into *Turky*. *Topal Osmân*, who had often in vain wrote for troops, at length got together 100,000 men; and met the *Persians* at *Leylam*, five leagues from *Kerkowd*. *Kûli Khân* attacked the *Turks* on the 25th, and was repulsed; but next day, the battle becoming general, he obtained a complete victory. The *Turks* lost 40,000 men, among whom was the brave and honest *Seraskier* pierced with two wounds, all their baggage and military chest. He was diverted from visiting *Baghdâd*, to march against his general *Mohammed Khân Balluchi*, who at *Shirâz* had proclaimed *Shâh Tahmâsp* at the head of 30,000 men. *Kûli Khân*, with the like number, attacked and routed him; who, being taken, hanged himself to avoid a worse fate.

1734.
The con-
quered
countries
recovered.

1735.

IN spring 1734, with 100,000 men, he entered *Georgia*, which submitted, as did *Armenia*; the *Turks* retiring unable to oppose him. Then entering *Shirwân*, he destroyed *Shamakiya* for favouring the *Leshi Fatars*. Next year he sent an embassy to *Russia* in the name of *Abbâs*, to desire an alliance with the empress, and demand restitution of the conquered provinces; which, being too expensive to be kept,

were surrendered, and a treaty concluded. His forces now amounting to 120,000 men, he marched from *Teflis* to *Eri-vân*, where the *Turks* had 80,000 commanded by the *Seraskier Kyoprili*. *Kûli Khân*, who had then but 50,000, feigned a hasty flight, till he came to a certain defile, where, posting some troops in ambush, he made a stand. The van coming-up were attacked in both flank and rear: the action was bloody, and lasted five hours. *Kyoprili*, after having two horses killed under him, was slain himself with several other general officers, besides 20,000. The baggage and military chest were taken, with 32 pieces of cannon. The rear, which could not come up to assist the van, fled, and suffered much in the pursuit. Hereupon *Eri-vân* surrendered, and, by the end of the year, all the conquered provinces were recovered. The *Turks* wanted to make peace: but *Kûli Khân* would not hearken to it, unless *Bâghdâd* was restored, and the expences of the war paid ^m.

S E C T. VIII.

The Reign of Nadir Shâh.

IN the beginning of the year 1736, the young king *Abbâs* died, whether naturally or by art is uncertain. On the 10th of *March*, the *Persian* new year, all the governors, great officers, and generals, were convoked in the plains of *Mogûn*, near the river *Arrâs*, to chuse a new king; *Kûli Khân* recommending *Shâh Tahmâshp*, if they thought him fit to govern: but, at the end of three days, he was desired, by the deputies, to accept of the diadem himself, as none, they said, was so worthy of it as he who had restored the glory of the *Persian* monarchy. The general accepted of it on three conditions; 1. That they made the crown hereditary: 2. That they should not entertain in their houses any of the family of their old kings: 3. That they should not curse *Omar*, *Osmin*, and *Abu-Bekr*, nor meet to commemorate *Hussayn's* (F) death.

1736.
Kûli
Khân'elec-
ted king.

^m HANWAY, p. 112—121.

(F) Eldest son of *Ali*, who was horridly butchered by them, with his whole family (†). In memory of which, the *Persian* priests were obliged to bid the people to curse them as often as they called them to their prayers. They moreover ordered an annual cavalcade thro' the city of *Isfâhân*, attended with magnificent pageants, representing that horrid scene to the life, with the most affecting gestures, songs, music, &c.; both which customs *Kûli Khân* now abolished, in compliment to the *Turks*.

(†) See before, vol. ii p. 100, §3 seq.

The

A. D.
1736.

The high-priest, offering to dissuade him from changing the established religion, was rewarded with a bowstring; and next day, he was proclaimed king by the name of *Shāh Nadir*. On his arrival at *Kazvin*, he assembled the ecclesiastics of the neighbouring provinces, and confiscated the revenues of the church, telling them, "That their prayers, not having prevented the present calamities, shewed that God was not pleased with them; but that the deity having made his soldiers the instruments of redressing them, they were the priests most worthy to be supported by the revenues of the church." Presently after he published a decree to unite the *Shiyy* and the *Sanni* sectsⁿ.

Subdues
the Uz-
beks.

1737.

TOWARDS the end of the year, a peace was concluded with the *Turks*; whereby all the conquered provinces were yielded back, and liberty given the *Persians* to perform the pilgrimage to *Mekka* duty-free. After this he marched to *Ispāhān*, which he repaired; and, having done several acts to encourage husbandry and commerce, set out in *December* to reduce *Kandahār*, possessed by *Husseyn Khān*, brother of *Soltān Māhmūd*. He defeated *Husseyn's* troops; but, for want of heavy cannon, could not take the place: so that after a long siege, he was obliged to confirm him in his government, on condition to surrender the town and recruit his army. Mean time his son *Rizi Kālī Mirza*, governor of *Masbhad*, subdued the *Uzbeks* of *Bākh* and *Bokhārā*. He likewise renewed an invitation from several lords of the *Mogol's* court to march his forces into *India*; which he did about the middle of the year 1738: of which famous expedition we shall give a more full account in its proper place^o. On his return to *Kandahār* with 120 millions sterling, he set out with 50,000 men to chastise the *Uzbeks*, who, during his absence, had invaded *Persia*. The *Khān* of *Bokhārā* submitted, and was restored. But he of *Khyeva*, after a brave resistance with 20,000 troops, was obliged to surrender; and had his throat cut, with thirty of his attendants, for murdering *Nadir's* ambassadors^p.

Escapes

being shot.

IN his return to *Masbhad*, he was shot at, and wounded in the left hand, by an *Afghān*, employed by his son *Rizi Kālī* to kill him. This prince, on a report that the *Persian* army was defeated in *Hindustān*, revolted, and murdered *Shāh Tahmāsp* in the fortress of *Sebzwar*. The fear of his father's anger made him contrive his death. *Nadir Shāh*, who loved him, would have pardoned his crime; but provoked with

ⁿ De his vid. sup. p. 34. HANWAY, p. 123—131. ^o See hereafter, ch. x. p. 464, & seq. ^p HANWAY, ubi sup. p. 134—150.

his offensive language, and justifying what he had done, he ordered his eyes to be put out. After two expeditions against the *Arabs* and *Uzbeks*, who had revolted, he entered *Dagestân* to chastise the *Lezgbi*; but, advancing too far, was greatly harrassed, and narrowly escaped an overthrow. The *Turks* alarmed, declare war; and, while the *Shâh* besieges *Bâghdâd* and *Bâsrah*, a pretender is sent into *Persia*, but defeated. At the same time *Afkarahad* and *Shirâz* revolted. The *Turks* having assembled an army of 130000 men near *Eriwân*, *Nadir* met them in *August* 1745 with 80,000 troops, and overthrew them, killing 28000, with several *Bâghbâs*, and among them *Abdâllah Kycprili*. The *Persians* lost 8000, and *Nadir* had two horses killed under him. Revolts in *Georgia* and *Khorassân* prompted him to propose a peace; by which the *Persians* were allowed free access to *Mecca*, and a priest at *Masbhad Ali*, another place of pilgrimage (G) ⁹.

ALL this while *Persia* was reduced to the deepest distresses, by the avarice and cruelty of the *Shâh*, who, on his return to *Ispâhân*, committed great barbarities, as well as made cruel exactions. He afterwards did the same at *Khermân*; and then at *Masbhad*, where he arrived next with his army. From thence he marched to the plains of *Soltân Meydân*, a day's journey to the north-west: but there his fate met him; for some time after he had gone to rest, *Salah Beg* (H), colonel of the *Afghân* body-guard, with four chosen men, under pretence of business, rushed by the guards into the outer partition of the *Harâm*, where they killed an eunuch. Then entering the inner *Harâm*, slew an old woman also whom they met. They were still at a loss to know *Nadir's* tent, till, by the light of a lamp, they espied some jewels. There they found him arisen from his bed (I), roused perhaps by the woman's cries. The *Shâh* drawing his sabre, demanded what they wanted? *Salah Beg* answered him by a cut on the left side of his collar-bone. For all this, he killed two of the soldiers who advanced to strike him; and then went to retire out of the tent; but stumbling over the cords, *Salah*

A. D.

1741.

1742.

1743.

1744.

1745.

Over-
throws the
Turks.

1746.

Miseries of
Persia.

1747.

Nadir
Shâh
slain

⁹ HAWWAY, p. 205—224—234—258.

(G) Near *Hellâb* on the *Euphrates* in *Arabian Irâk*.

(H) *Mohammed Kûli Khân* is praised as the person who destroyed this tyrant, by the procurement of his nephew and successor *Alil Shâh*, p. 287; and

Present Troubles of Persia and Georgia, p. 27.

(I) It is said his wife, the daughter of the *Great Mogol*, was in bed at the same time. *Present Troubles of Persia and Georgia*, p. 29.

gave

A. D. 1747. gave him a mortal wound. *Nadir* cried; "Mercy, and I will forgive you all." The *Beg* replied, "You have not shewn any mercy, and therefore deserve none." And then cut-off his head¹.
 to prevent
 a massacre.

It is said, that *Nadir Shāh* had formed a design of putting to the sword, that night, all the *Persians* in his camp; and that, while he communicated it to the chiefs of the *Uzbeks*, *Turkmāns*, and other *Tatars*, who composed a great part of his army, a *Georgian* slave overheard the plot: that this slave discovered it to the principal *Persian* officers, who agreed to dispatch the tyrant; and that *Saleh Beg*, an officer of great intrepidity, offered to be his executioner. The *Tatars* enraged, took to their arms, and attacked the *Persians*, so that 5000 fell on both sides; mean time a general pillage was carried on. After which, both the body and head being produced to the *Tatars*, the whole army disbanded.

His person
 and cha-
 racter.

THUS fell the scourge of *Persia* and *India* at the age of sixty-one, after a reign of eleven years and three months. He had a comely aspect; his forehead was high; his eyes large and expressive; his complexion swarthy, and hair black. He was of a robust make, and six feet high. His whole person and aspect were awful, especially when he spoke. His voice was exceeding strong, and memory great. His presence of mind remarkable, and his resolutions as quick as his thoughts. He was far in years before he learned to read; and owed no part of his knowledge to books. He studied the finances thoroughly, and knew the exact revenue of each province. His diet was simple; his dress thin, and not shewy, for his soldiers to imitate. His pride lay in precious stones, with which his diadem as well as turban was adorned. He often amused himself, when alone in his tent, with a large sapphire. And, when he gave audiences, played with a battle-ax; the use of which he revived. It is said he always wore a chain-work coat of mail under his cloaths. He loved women, and severely punished sodomy. Though his avarice and jealousy made him latterly very cruel, yet our author never heard that he put any man to death in cold blood with his own hands, as his predecessors used to do².

Diet and
 dress.

¹ HANWAY, p. 259, & seqq. ² Ibid. p. 262—268.

C H A P. IX.

The History of the Arab Kings of Hormûz, or Ormûz, in Persia.

THE kingdom of *Hormûz*, or *Harmûz*; which the Portuguese write *Ormûz*, or *Ormus*, contained part of the Kingdom of *Har-mûz* on both sides of the *Persian* gulph, with the islands lying between them: but it is not easy, by the history, to determine the exact bounds of it, when in its greatest extent. We can only say, that, on the side of *Arabia*, it seems to have comprised the maritime parts, from *Râs al Gât*, the most eastern point of that country, to *Al Katîf*; with the islands of *Babrayn*, lying off of that port: and that, on the *Persian* side, it reached from *Cape Jâsk*, or *Jâskes*, as the Portuguese call it, to *Bânder Kongo*; and perhaps a good deal farther, so as to include the country of *Mogostân*, in the province of *Kermân*, and part of the coast of *Pârs*, or *Proper-Persia*, with the adjacent islands. The chief of these, beginning our reckoning westward, are *Lar*, or *Lara*, *Andarvia*, *Keyson*, or *Keysh*; *Nabjan*, or *Peytambo*; to the south of which are two others, *Brokht*, or *Kismis*, called also *Kisbom*, and *Jerân*, or *Hormûz* and, to the south of it, *Larek*. All these islands are small, excepting *Brokht*, or *Kismis*; which is about 50 miles long, and 13 broad; *Jerân* and *Larek* lie off the eastern end of it; those three islands being about two or three leagues distant from each other. But we shall not enter into the description of places here; because there will be occasion to speak of them more properly in the course of our history.

Our materials, so far as relate to the kings of *Harmûz*, to its origin, the time of *Turân Shih*, who was of the number, are taken from the history written by that prince (A); who gives two somewhat different accounts of the original of the *Harmûzian* monarchy. The first is this. An *Arabian* prince, named *Mo-*

(A) He died in the year of the *Hjrah* 779, or of *Christ* 1377. The history, written in the *Persian* tongue, both in prose and verse, is intitled, *Shâh Noma*; that is, *a relation of the king or kings*; and begins from *Adam*. It makes a considerable volume, of which an abstract was published in *Portuguese*, by *Pedro*

Tessira; who has added the succeeding kings to his time; and interspersed several remarks, relating to places mentioned in the history; which is to be found at the end of his history of the kings of *Persia*, extracted from *Mirkhond*, a famous historian of that country.

hanned Dirhem Kûb (B), descended from the antient kings of *Sabab* (C), a province in *Arabia*, being ambitious to extend his dominions, subdued the neighbouring countries, as far as the shores of the *Persian* gulph (called by the *Portuguese* the *Gulf of Ormuz*). Not content with these conquests, he persuaded his troops to cross over to *Persia*, intending there to build a *bander*, or port-town; which should, in splendor and trade, exceed that of *Sobâr*, in *Arabia* (D), then much frequented by foreign merchants.

according
to some.

HAVING fixed this resolution, he marched to *Kalayât*, a port near *Cape Ras al Gât*: where leaving his son, under care of a *Wazir*, with orders to secure that port for a retreat, in case of the worst, he embarked with his followers, and arrived at *Jask*, or *Jaskes*, a well-known place on the coast of *Persia*; from whence, sailing northward, he put into *Kushek*, or *Kostek*, another port on that side of the gulph. There landing his men, and seeking for a proper place to settle in, he was informed, that there was a very commodious one a little farther up. Thither he marched; and, finding the situation agreeable to his mind, founded the city of *Harmûz*; where he resided in peace and justice. The lands, which were in the neighbourhood, he divided among his people, and coined money in his own name; from whence he had the appellation of *Dirhem Kûb*. As *Shâh Mohammed* was of a good temper, wise, and brave; the governors of *Shirâz* and *Kermân* maintained a strict amity with him. At his death, he left *Hormûz* in a prosperous condition to his son *Soleymân*; who had accompanied him in his expedition, and by whose industry the new city greatly increased^a.

Another
tradition.

THE other account, which *Turân Shâh* gives of the origin of the kingdom of *Hormûz*, is thus. When the father of *Shâh Mohammed* was king in *Arabia*, being at war with another prince, he lost a battle; and, not thinking himself se-

^a TURAN SHAH, apud Texeira Hist. Pers. p. 377, & seq.

(B) Not *Drangkû*, as *Texeira* writes; so we are told by *D'Herbelot*, who seems to have read the original history of *Turân Shâh*; not *Torunxa*, as the other spells it. See *D'Herb. Bibl. Orient.* p. 457. art. *Hormouz*.

(C) In the kingdom of *Yaman* (by Europeans called *Arabia Felix*); and where the queen

of *Shebah*, who visited *Solomon*, is supposed to have reigned.

(D) *Soar*, or *Zoar*. It is now an inconsiderable place; but its ruins, with the convenience of its situation, convinced *Texeira*, that it was formerly a place of note. It lies to the east of *Masât*, near *Kalayât*, and *Cape Ras al Gât*.

cure

cure in that country, crossed over the gulph to *Mogostân*, in *Perfia*, and settled there, with his son *Mohammed*, who bore him company. About that time, a tyrannical king reigned in those parts; who, besides the other wrongs which he did his subjects, obliged them to give him the first night's lodging with every maid, who was to be married. *Mohammed*, who, though young, had, a great soul, taking compassion on those oppressed people, offered to deliver them, at the hazard of his life. The method which he took to accomplish his design, was this. He pretended to marry a maiden of quality, belonging to the town where the tyrant resided. And, being as yet beardless, as well as handsome, he clothed himself in a woman's habit. Thus disguised, but armed underneath, and well attended, he was brought in the evening to the king; who immediately retired into his bed-chamber with the supposed maid. *Mohammed*, by pretending bashfulness, gained time, till he had a fair opportunity to dispatch him with his dagger: after which he quitted the apartment, and having informed those, who waited the event, that he had slain the tyrant, they immediately proclaimed liberty through the city.

THIS piece of service was so acceptable to the people, that ^{1st. King,} they made their deliverer king; who took on him the title of *Moham-Shâh Mohammed*; adding the surname of *Dirhem Kâb*, for med. the reason before-mentioned. After this, the better to improve his dominions, he founded the city of *Hormûz*, in a plain of the same name (E); from whence all the kingdom was denominated. And this *Texeira* judges to be the most likely account of its origin: but the time (F) when these transactions happened is not mentioned ^b

THE second king of *Hormûz* was *Soleyman*, son of *Shâh* ^{2. Soley-} *Mohammed*; who succeeded him, as hath been said before. *mân.*

^b *TEXEIR.* ubi sup. p. 378, & seq.

(E) According to this account, *Hormûz* took its name from the plain wherein it was built, by one of the antient kings of *Perfia* of that name. See *D'Herb.* p. 457, art. *Hormoux*. *Hormoux fils de Schabour*, & *Hormoux fils de Narfi*. This city belonged to the province of *Kermân*, the *Persian Karamania* of the *Greeks*.

(F) The first date we meet with, is the year of the *Hejrah* 676; that is, of Christ, 1277; when *Roku'ddin Mohammed*, the 12th king of *Hormûz*, died. If then you subtract from that year 216 years, for the reigns of the first 12 kings (allowing 18 years to each), there will remain 1061; about which time the kingdom might have been founded.

He was affable, and beloved for his virtue and justice; which gained him great renown. He reigned many years in peace, and left the throne to his son,

3. Iza. *IZA*, the third king; who proved a good prince also; so that his reign was blessed with peace and prosperity. He made his people apply themselves to tillage, and planting of palm-trees; in which he was very assisting to them. On the other hand, they were ready, on all occasions, to serve him in his wars; so that he considerably extended his dominions. He was succeeded by his son,

4. Lash-kari. *LASHKARI*: who was as good as his father; a lover of justice, and protector of the poor. Among his sons, one was named *Kay Kobad*; to whom, for his excellent qualities, he resigned the crown, and retired himself from court, to lead a solitary life; in which state he died some years after.

5. Kay Kobad. *KAY KOBAD* no way degenerated from his predecessors, but was a lover of justice, supported the needy, curbed the great ones; and, dying, left the throne to his son,

6. Iza II. *IZA H.* who was a martial prince, and successful in the wars, which he undertook. The kingdom of *Hormúz* prospered under him; and, at his death, devolved to his son,

7. Mahmud. *MAHMUD*. He was a good prince, and had many children. It was a custom of the kings of *Hormúz*, for their own greater security, and to prevent commotions, to send all their kindred, who might aspire to the crown, to forts, and other places remote from their residence. Among the rest, *Mir Shahábo'ddin Molongh*, one of *Mahmúd's* nephew's, was appointed to reside in the fortress of *Gát*, which is in *Persia*; and in the lands of *Brahm* and *Mossagam* (G). But *Mahmúd*, being informed, that his nephew had contrived to kill him, ordered him to be secured; intending to put him to death, in case the treason was proved. *Mir Shahábo'ddin* had intelligence of this, and fled to the fortress of *Skugon*; where he was well received by the governor, who also gave him his daughter in marriage; by whom he had a son, called *Noferát Regbdar* (H); and a daughter, named *Setalkánám Shahábo'ddin*. In the mean time, *Mahmúd* died at *Harmúz*; and was succeeded by his son,

8. Shahân Sháh. *SHAHAN SHAH*. This prince used all his endeavours to get *Molongh* into his power; but could not. After

(G) There were several other fortresses, and lands, in *Persia*, possessed by the kings of *Hormúz*, and subject to the *Portu-*

guese, in the time of *Taxeira*.

(H) This name is much corrupted; as are many others, so as not to be intelligible.

some

Some years, great numbers of men, from the land of *Htr*, invading his territories, he marched to oppose them; though with a force much inferior to theirs. *Mir Shahābo'ddin Molongh*, thinking this a proper opportunity to be reconciled to his uncle, with his father-in-law's leave, raised all the troops he could, and went to his assistance. After kissing his foot, he fell back, and followed him, attended by his forces: but the uncle made him ride by his side, and expressed other marks of much affection. As soon as they met the enemy, they engaged; and *Shahān Shāh*, being slain in the battle,

MIR SHAHABO'DDIN was proclaimed king. He prosecuted the war against the people of *Htr*; whom he entirely routed; and then returned to *Hormúz*, where he reigned to general satisfaction. He married his daughter, *Set al Kadeh Shahābo'ddin*, to *Amir Seyfo'ddin ibn Azar*, son to his brother *Ali*, king of the island of *Keys*. Soon after this match, *Ali* died; and the people of *Keys*, at the instance of the king of *Hormúz*, received *Amir Seyfo'ddin* for their king; who immediately repaired thither, with his wife. Not long after, died *Molongh*, king of *Hormúz*; and one *Rasb Shāh-rasr* usurped the throne. As soon as this news reached *Keys*, the people deposed *Amir Seyfo'ddin*: who, fearing farther mischief from them, went to *Hormúz*; where he was well received by the inhabitants. *Shāh-rear*, the usurper, was then at the fortress of *Karcām*, with ten of his kindred: but *Seyfo'ddin* hastening thither, after an obstinate resistance, slew them all.

SEFFO'DDIN becoming thus possessed of the crown; the first thing he did, was to marry the three daughters of *fo'ddin Rasb Shāh-rear* to three of the chief men of his court. Then, calling to mind how he had been treated by the inhabitants of *Keys*, he invaded their island with his troops; and overthrew them in a battle, with great slaughter. He likewise took several of the principal men prisoners; and, carrying them away with him, at the island *Jerūn* (now called *Hormúz*, and then not inhabited), into which he put with his ships, slew them there on a hill; from whence called *Keri Kāsharān*; that is, *the hill of the slain*; which name it still retains. After this, he returned to the city of *Hormúz*, on the opposite coast: where he spent the rest of his days in peace; and was succeeded by his nephew,

SHAHABO'DDIN Mahmūd II, son of *Iza*; who enjoyed peace all his reign, and did nothing remarkable. At his death, he left the crown to his nephew,

A. D.

1277.

12. Mahmūd.

AMIR Rokno'ddīn Mahmūd; under whom *Hormāz* prospered exceedingly. He kept on foot a considerable number of good forces, who gained him considerable victories, and enlarged his dominions; extending them as far as *Zafar*. He reigned 35 years; and died in that of the *Hejrah* 676; of Christ 1277 (I).

13. Naserāt.

AMIR Seyfo'ddīn Naserāt, his son, who succeeded him, was opposed by two of his brothers, *Amir Kothbo'ddīn Tabatān*, and *Amir Moezo'ddīn Fulād*, or *Pulād*; and, although most of the army favoured *Naserāt*, yet he could not prevail against his competitors; who, at length, obliged both him and his mother, *Babi Banek*, to fly the kingdom. *Babi Banek* retired to *Kermān*; which province was then governed by *Soltān Jalālo'ddīn Suragetmesb*; who gave her an honourable reception, and such a supply of forces, as restored her son *Naserāt* to his dominions. However, his brothers did not give over molesting him; but, at length, he took one of them; viz. *Amir Moezo'ddīn Fulād*, and put him to death. *Mir Kothbo'ddīn*, the other brother, being supported by one *Mālek Seyfo'ddīn Abubekr Haoni*, invaded *Hormāz*; and, coming to a battle with *Naserāt*, at *Denu*, defeated him; who, thereupon, fled to *Konzāra*; and thence, in a Tarranki (a kind of light boat), passed over to *Last*; a port-town in the island of *Brokht*, generally called *Queysbom*, by the *Portugueses*.

Civil wars.

AFTER *Naserāt*'s flight, the two confederates fell so much at variance, that *Malek Seyfo'ddīn* killed *Kothbo'ddīn*: but the army, as well as the people, disapproving of his proceedings, they called home *Naserāt*, and expelled the usurper. However, the restored prince did not long enjoy the throne; for two other of his brothers, *Amir Masand*, and *Amir Turkān Shāh*, aspiring to the crown, basely murdered him, with his sisters, *Bibi Banek*, and *Bibi Neyzi* (K), in the year 689, after he had reigned 12 years^d.

Hej. 689.

A. D.

1290.

14. Masand.

MASAND, having killed his brother, possessed himself of the kingdom. He was of a martial temper, and very brave; but so cruel and stern, that he soon incurred the hatred of every body. Being sensible that he had lost the affections of the people, he, through fear, put to death many of the nobles and commoners. Upon this, most of the prin-

^d Tex. p. 381, & seqq.

(I) *Taxira* puts 1278; which is wrong; as are most of his computations of the year of Christ; which are generally out by one or two years. But we

have rectified them as we go along.

(K) *Bibi* signifies, in *Persian*, lady.

capital men repaired to *Amîr Bahâo'ddin Ayâz Seyfin*; whom *Noferât*, the late king, had advanced to be Wazîr of *Kalagât* (or *Kalayât*), a port in *Arabia*, before-mentioned. He, pitying the calamities of the kingdom of *Hormûz*, raised forces; and, transporting them over the *Persian* gulph, fought, and defeated *Amîr Masand*; who fled to *Kermân*, and thence removed to *Sirjân* (L): where he died several years after, having reigned no more than three years.

UPON this victory, *Mîr Bahâo'ddin Ayâz Seyfin*, who had been a slave to *Noferât*, taking upon him the regal power, began to restore things to their former order; but was hindered by the troubles which ensued: for *Mîr Turkân Shâh*, and *Mîr Salsak*, two brothers of *Masand*, holding a correspondence with him, attempted to restore him. However, *Ayâz*, being informed of it, had them seized, and cut off their heads. This execution procured him some quiet for a while: but in the year 700, the *Turks* (M), who had already possessed themselves of several provinces of *Persia*, breaking into the kingdom of *Kermân*, came down from thence into that of *Hormûz*; destroying all the country, as they passed. Yet might this have been tolerable; had not the wealth, which they found in those parts, invited them to come so often, that the *Hormûzians*, no longer able to bear their oppressions, resolved to abandon their lands in *Persia*, and retire into the island of *Brokht*.

THIS island, called *Quisbom* (N) by the *Portuguese*, is the largest, as hath been said, of all the islands belonging to the kingdom of *Hormûz*, on the side of *Persia*; and is separated from the continent only by a very narrow chanel. Thither the *Hormûzians*, by order of *Ayâz*, passed over; taking with them all which they had saved from the rapacious hands of the *Turks*. After a few days rest, *Ayâz* set out again in quest of some other island, more convenient, to settle in with his people (O); and, at length, come to one, which was desart, two leagues distant from that of *Brokht*. On the north point of this island; where afterwards the *Portuguese* built a

(L) There seems to be some mistake here; for *Sirjân*, otherwise called *Kermân*, is the capital of the province of *Kermân* in *Persia*.

(M) These must be the *Tatars*, who then reigned in *Persia*; for the *Seljukian* Dynasties both of *Irân* and *Kermân*, were

extinct before the year 590 of the *Hejrah*.

(N) *Quisbom*, or *Keybom*; and, by others, *Kisfnis*, or *Kisfnish*.

(O) It was possibly too large, and near the continent, to be defended easily; as is remarked in *Purchas. Pilgrim*. vol. ii. p. 1786.

F 4

fortress,

A. B.
1300.

fortress, they found an old man, named *Jerân*, with his wife, who lived there upon fishing; furnishing the ships, which passed to and fro between *India* and *Keys*, with what fish he caught: in return for which, they gave him rice, cloth, and other necessaries of life.

sends to
Keys;

THIS *Jerân*, understanding that *Ayâz* was looking out for an island to settle in, advised him to come over thither, as being the only one to be found fit for his purpose; and the king, having viewed it, resolved to beg it of *Nêin* (P), the king of *Keys*, to whom it belonged; as did all the other islands in the gulph of *Persia*.

KEYS (or *Kays*), so called by the *Arabs*, as well as *Persians*; and, by the *Portuguese*, *Quays*; is a small island in the gulph, well wooded and watered. It was once the head of a kingdom (Q); though, in *Texeira's* time, not inhabited (R): because the trade was fallen off, for fear of the *Nawtaki* and *Nichelus*, two sorts of pirates, continually infesting that sea. It was formerly possessed of all the trade, which afterwards was removed to *Ormâz* (S); but lost all by the wars, and scarce retained its name.

and buys
Jerân.

WHILE *Ayâz* was at *Jerân* (T), so called from the old man, there came over one *Sheykh Ismael*, a *Mollâb*, born in

* TEIX. p. 384, & seqq.

(P) In *Texeira*, *Neyn*, and *Neyn*.

(Q) There was formerly in this island a very rich and splendid city; of which the ruins are still to be seen, as well as the memory preserved. But this once populous, trading, island, is now desert. *Purchas. Pilgr.* vol. ii. p. 1786.

(R) The descriptions of places, with which this history is intermixed, seem to have been inserted by *Texeira*, without distinguishing his additions from the rest.

(S) *Keys* is about two leagues and a half from the coast, and five from the island of *Andarvia*; although they reckon sixteen from *Lars* to *Keys*. It reaches, in length, from W. S. W. to E. N. E. and is about five leagues in compass. It is

very low and flat, like the other two; which are very near the shore: and when *Thevenot* saw it, in 1665, was inhabited by several people; who had houses dispersed here and there upon it. *Thev. Trav.* part 2. p. 173.

(T) Or *Jarân* and *Jarân*; the *Portuguese* often using the *m*, instead of *n*, when the preceding vowel is long. In *Parcbas*, *Jarun* is said to signify a wood; from some thin woods and trees, which grew about the isle, like apple-trees of *Anasaga*, and bearing the same sort of ill-tasted apples, called, by the *Portuguese*, *Small Apples* (perhaps the *Manzanilla*). *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. 2. p. 1786—these seem to be the *Konar* mentioned afterwards.

a village

a village near *Lár*, in *Perſia*; who uſed to go every year all about thoſe iſlands, begging for himſelf, and the poor of his hamlet. *Ayáz*, finding this *Mollab* ſit for his purpoſe, ſent him to treat with the king of *Keys* about that iſland; and he managed the affair ſo well, that *Nerh* offered to beſtow it on *Ayáz*: but this prince would not take it, without paying for it. For this ſervice, done by the *Mollab*, the kings of *Hormúz* gave every year to his deſcendants a certain acknowledge-ment; which our author has ſeen them come to demand.

ATAZ, having thus obtained the iſland, gave it the *its ſituation* name of *Hormúz*, in remembrance of their ancient country; though the *Persians* and *Arabs* generally call it *Jerén*. Nor has the ancient *Hormúz* on the continent loſt its name, but ſtill retains it. *Jerén*, or *Hormúz*, ſtands juſt within the mouth of the *Persian* gulph, which is divided by it into two parts; one called the gulph of *Hormúz*; commencing at *Port Gaddel*, in *Perſia*, and *Cape Rds al Gilt*, in *Arabia*, and extending to that iſland about one hundred leagues: the other is named the *Gulph of Baſrah*; reaching from *Jerén* to the mouth of the river *Tigris*; near which that city is ſeated, the ſpace of almoſt 200 leagues. This iſland is betwixt ſix and ſeven miles in compaſs (five from *Dowár*, the neareſt part of *Perſia*; and nine leagues from the coaſt of *Arabia*). Formerly it was on fire; which left it ſo uncouth, that it is amazing to behold. A high mountain croſſes it from eaſt to weſt: from the foot whereof, to the north point, where the city and fort ſtand, being about a mile, there is a plain, ſomewhat more level than the reſt, where the city is built; but beyond the mountain (ſouthward), there is nothing to be ſeen, but diſmal hills, clefts, and rocks.

It yields abundance of fine ſulphur, and very transparent mineral ſalt. During the ſummer alſo, the water which deſcends from the mountain in winter, and overſpreads the plain about the city, is converted into ſalt by the heat. Beſides theſe ſtores of ſalt, there are three ſprings, which guſhing from the foot of the mountain, form three rivulets of very clear water; but as ſalt as that in the ſea. The ſurface of theſe ſtreams is turned into ſalt, by the ſun, as they glide along; which makes ſo hard a cruſt, that our author, *Texeira*, has often croſſed on horſe-back, without breaking it; the water running underneath. Both the mineral ſalt, which is found to grow, and the other fort, are very medicinal; ſo that the ſort only, which is made by the ſun's heat, is uſed for ſeaſoning of meat: for the mineral is ſo ſharp, that, inſtead of

A. D. 1300. preserving flesh, it corrodes and spoils it; or any other thing which it is used with (U). At *Torunpuka*, which is a piece of white salt clay-ground, at the south-west end of the island, among certain rocks not far from the sea, there gushes out some brackish water; which the natives call *Ab Dorman*, or medicinal water; which, having a purging quality, is much resorted to at one time of the year.

no fresh
water;

THE island has no fresh water, but what is gathered from the rain in cisterns; which are numerous. Only at *Torunpuka*, above-mentioned, there is a little fresh water, made use of to water the orchards of the king and his Wazir. *Ferragut Sháh*, who reigned in 1596, found out another stream of fresh water; in hopes thereby to marry a rich widow, who enjoined him that task (W). These gardens produce every thing, which is planted, in perfection, contrary to all the rest of the island; where there is neither tree, nor plant; unless in the plain some prickly shrubs, bearing a fruit like haws, called *Konar*, green all the year; some few mallows, and purging fenna, called *Senna Moki*, or fenna of *Moka*.

heat ex-
cessive.

THE summer heats are here prodigiously great, almost intolerable, and scarce credible to such as have not experienced them; which is surprising, considering it lies in 27 degrees and a half north latitude. For all this, the air and climate is healthy, and there is seldom any distemper in summer: for the terrible heat expels all peccant humours, by excessive sweat: but, in autumn, they pay for all disorders committed in summer.

THE island has two *banders*, that is, ports, or bays; one to the east, the other to the west, of the sandy point, where old *Jerán* lived, and the *Portuguese* built a fort.

City of

Hormúz;

THE city of *Hormúz*, founded in the year 1300, was formerly large: but not so in our author's time; the best and noblest part of it having been blown up, to make a spacious parade, or place of arms, before the fort. The houses were well built, of a softish stone, found in the island, and another fort taken out of the sea: for these are light, and best to with-

(U) Some ships, particularly those from *Kochán*, in *Málabár*, take in this mineral salt, as ballast, and carry it to *Bengál*; where, for want of other salt, it goes off.

(W) Her name was *Bisatima*, an old woman, widow of his Wazir, who governed his *Mogosián*, in *Persia*. She, who

was said to be vastly rich, to put off the old king, who was in love with her; said, she would marry him, when he had planted a new garden, and found another fresh spring, at *Torunpuka*; thinking it impracticable. However he performed the task, yet got not the money.

stand

stand the earthquakes, which the island is subject to. They have three sorts of mortar : one made of fine lime, called *Ghecha*, brought from the continent : another red sort, found in the island, but not so good ; and a strange sort, called *Charu*, made of rotten dung : which is dried, and burned ; then beaten, and used warm from the battoon : for it won't do if it stands till it be cool. No water can penetrate foundations laid with this cement. This city thrived so fast, that, in 200 years, it extended its dominion over the greater part of *Arabia*, much of *Persia*, and all the gulph as far as *Basrah*. It continued in this flourishing state, till subdued by the *Portugueses* : since which time it began to decline, by reason, says *Texeira*, of the insolence and oppression of the governors and officers of that nation ; they being at too great a distance from those, who were able to curb them.

A. D.
1300.

THE *Hormúzians* are fair, and well shaped ; the men polite, and genteel ; the women beautiful. They all speak the *Persian* tongue, but not pure. They are all *Mohammedans* ; part *Shiays*, and part *Sunni* ; which last sect the king professed, in *Texeira's* time. Besides the original inhabitants, and the *Portugueses*, who conquered them, people of several nations were settled there : as *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Syrians*, *Banyans* from *India*, and about 150 families of *Jews*.

THE island affords plenty of game : as *Gazellas* ; a kind of creatures like wild goats ; *Adibes*, which are a sort of foxes ; partridges, turtle-doves, and other sorts of fowl. The wonder is, where these animals drink ; since there is no fresh water, but what has been mentioned ; which makes some people think they sip salt water. Although the soil produces no vegetables ; yet the city is so well supplied with necessaries from abroad, that all things were sold at moderate rates : in short, *Hormúz* was, when the *Portuguese* had it, a mart and fair for all the world ; whither all sorts of commodities were to be found, and the merchants of all nations resorted (X). There is a manufactory here for drinking-cups, and pots to hold water : which are made of the salt clay ; and, when become fresh, keep the water cool, and give it an agreeable taste.

* *Tex. p. 388, & seqq.*

(X) The inhabitants used to say, that the world was a ring, and *Ormúz* the gem, or stone in it. The officers of the customs assured *Texeira*, that they yield the king of *Portugal* 150,000 pounds ; besides what it was supposed that the *Moorish* officers purloined. *Texeira* was here in 1604.

To

A. D.

1311.

Ayâz dies.

Hej. 711.

A. D.

1311.

16. Gordon

Shâh ;

To return to the history. *Ayâz Seyfîn*, having reigned ten years, died in the year 711. Others say, that, after settling the affairs of his new state, he resigned the crown in the year just mentioned, to *Amir Ayâzo'ddîn Gordûn Shâh*, the son of *Soldar* and *Bibi Zeyneb*, grandson to the former king ; and that, after his resignation, he returned to his Wazirship of *Kâlagât*, in *Arabia* ; where he some time after died.

A M I R Ayâzo'ddîn Gordûn Shâh, 16th king of the old, and 2d of the new, *Hormûz* ; as soon as he ascended the throne, thought of ratifying the peace with *Nésh*, king of *Keys*, of whom *Ayâz* bought the island : but his ambassadors insisted on such unreasonable terms, that *Nésh*, perceiving he intended a rupture, resolved to prevent him. To this end, he raised forces ; and, with the assistance of *Mâlek Ayâzo'ddîn*, governor of *Shîráz*, sailed for *Hormûz*, with 120 *Terrada's*, which are small vessels, full of men. The chief reason which he alledged for this invasion, was, that *Gordûn Shâh* had detained the *Indian* ships at *Hormûz*, which were bound for *Keys* ; and, by that means, wronged him of his customs. Mean time, *Gordûn Shâh* passed over, with his army, to *Sirmien* ; a village (Y) in the island of *Brakht*, or *Queysboma*, with a design to cut off the enemy's water. While he was there, news came to him, that ten sail of *India* ships, bound for *Keys*, richly laden, were passing between *Hormûz* and *Lârek* ; an island four leagues to the north. On this advice, he set out, with his fleet, to meet them ; and, after an engagement, took, and carried them to *Hormûz*.

invaded
from

Keys ;

ABOUT this time, the forces of *Keys* and *Shîráz*, being arrived near *Sirmien*, were surprised by a violent storm, and the whole fleet shattered. Ten ships, however, escaped, and put into the little isle of *Aujem* ; which, lying very close to that of *Brakht*, helps to form a safe and spacious harbour between the two. Here the king of *Keys*, incensed afresh with the news of the late capture of the *India* ships, landed his men ; designing, the next night, to pass over to *Hormûz*. *Gordûn Shâh*, having intelligence of this, disposed his forces in a proper manner to receive the enemy : posting about one third of them on the shore, about 1000 paces distant from the city ; at a place called *Karu*, very proper for making a descent. Accordingly, the confederates attempted it ; but were repulsed, with the loss of many men and ships. After this, putting off to sea, they sent to make propositions of peace. But *Gordûn Shâh* rejected them ; and, following the advice of

(Y) Near a cape of the same name, on the western end of the isle.

Sanger

Jangor Rokno'ddîn, his general, resolved to fall on his enemies by surprise; who, hearing of it, fled; yet not so timely, but that the *Harmûzians* made a great slaughter of them. A. D. 1314.

Thus roughly handled, they returned to *Keys*; where, having recruited their forces; they, in the year 714, returned to invade *Hormûz*, with a greater number of men and ships than the time before. With these they beset the island so closely, for four months, that, had not *Gordûn Shâh* supplied it in time with plenty of provisions, he must have been obliged to surrender. The king of *Keys*, perceiving how little he prevailed, proposed a peace, with a view to ensnare him. As it was agreed, that the two kings should have a conference on the shore, he of *Keys* came in a small boat; and leaping on land, when the king of *Hormûz* advanced to embrace him, laid hold of him, being strong, and forced him into the boat; which hasting to the fleet, they immediately set sail for *Keys*. Nor was it any way in the power of the *Harmûzians* to hinder them.^b *Hej. 714. A. D. 1314.*

When *Bibi Soltâna*, *Gordûn Shâh's* consort, was informed of what had happened to her husband, she ordered *Mâlek Ghayâzo'ddîn Dinâr*, son to her brother *Shahîn Shâh*, to take upon him the government. Four months after, the king of *Keys* set out again for *Hormûz*, carrying with him *Gordûn Shâh*. But, when he was about half-way, there arose so violent a tempest, that most of the ships were wrecked, and the rest dispersed into different ports. That wherein *Gordûn Shâh* was prisoner, happened to be saved on the shore of *Hormûz*; whither a multitude of people resorting, they conducted him, with great joy, to the city: but *Ghayâzo'ddîn Dinâr*, having assumed the state of a king, refused to resign the government to him. Hereupon, *Gordûn Shâh* retired to the house of *Konia Mehemed Kâlab*: but, not thinking himself safe there, went over the same night to the fort of *Minab*; which signifies *Enamel*; on the coast of *Persia*. *Dinâr*, finding that all the people forsook him, and resorted to *Gordûn Shâh*, left the island, and went to *Makrân*, a kingdom lying between *Persia* and *India* (Z). As soon as he was gone, *Gordûn Shâh* returned to *Hormûz*, where he was peaceably received; and, two years after, died in the year 717, leaving the throne to his son, *Hej. 717. A. D. 1317.*

^b Tex. p. 393, & seqq.

(Z) It is properly a maritime province of *Persia*.

A. D.

1317.

17. Bah-
râm Shâh;

AMIR Mobârezo'ddin Bahrâm Shâh. At the same time, the garrisons in the forts on the continent proclaimed his brother, *Shâh Kothbo'ddin*; and conducted him, as king, from the fort of *Barkamîn*, where he was, to that of *Minâb*. *Bahrâm Shâh*, hearing of these commotions, set out with his forces; and, meeting him, joined by another brother, named *Mâlek Nazâmo'ddin Ajen Shâh*, defeated them both, and returned victorious to *Hormûz*. Soon after, *Mir Shahâbo'ddin Iffuf*, or *Yusef*, and *Mir Taya'ddin Zenghi Amir*, his two commanders in chief, one at sea, the other by land, fell at variance about their prince's favour; and, as they disturbed the public peace by their factions, he seized them both. Mean while, the king of *Keys* invaded *Hormûz* a third time: but met with so warm a reception, that he returned with no better success than he had before. Upon this occasion, *Gordân Shâh* had released those two commanders out of prison; of whom *Mir Shahâbo'ddin Iffuf*, thinking himself wronged, meditated revenge.

treacher-
ously slain.

As the king was desirous to put an end to the troubles raised by his brothers, who still molested him, he embarked with some troops to pass over to the continent: but, being hindered by contrary winds, went back to lie in his palace that night. When all were gone to rest, *Iffuf* repairs, with some horse and foot, to the gate; calling out for the king to come forth: pretending, that *Bibi Soltân Sangor* was landed on the island, with an armed force. *Bahrâm Shâh*, upon this alarm, hastened forward, followed by his mother, and brother *Nazâmo'ddin*, who had been reconciled to him. But, as soon as they came out of the palace, they were all secured by *Mir Shahâbo'ddin Iffuf*; who took upon him the title of king, in the year 718.

A. D.

1318.

18. Sha-
habo'ddin
Iffuf.

THIS revolution divided the *Hormûzians*. One part following the usurper *Iffuf*: the other, *Mir Kothbo'ddin*, brother to the prisoner king; who had defeated him, as before related, on the continent. *Mâlek Dinâr*, who had fled to *Makrân*, hearing of these troubles, returned towards *Hormûz*, with a good body of forces; giving out, that he came to assist *Mir Shâh Kothbo'ddin*: but finding, on his arrival, that *Iffuf's* party prevailed, he made friends with this latter. *Bibi Soltân*, sister to *Dinâr*, and *Bibi Nazmâlek*, wife to *Iffuf*, undertook to reconcile the contending parties: but *Iffuf*, as the best way to secure himself, cut off the heads of the prisoner king, *Gordân Shâh*, his mother, and brother: upon which, *Shah Kothbo'ddin* went over to *Kalagât*, in *Arabia*; with *Bibi Marian*, wife to *Ayâz Seyfin*. After this, *Shahâbo'ddin Iffuf*, being informed that the forces of *Keys* were sail-
ing

ing towards him, set forward to meet them : but, when he came in sight of them, returned home in a fright. For all this, the invaders reaped no advantage by their expedition ; returning the fourth time from *Hormûz* without success. It fared quite otherwise with *Shâh Kothbo'ddin* ; who, the next year, accompanied with *Mâlek Jalâlo'ddin Queyzi*, and *Khoaja Jamâlo'ddin Nein*, departed from *Kalagât* ; and, falling unexpectedly upon the island, got possession of it ¹.

M I R Shâh Kothbo'ddin, the son of *Gordûn Shâh*, having thus recovered the kingdom of *Hormûz*, immediately put to death *Mir Shahâbo'ddin Issuf* ; his wife, *Bibi Nazmâlek* ; and his two sons, *Mir Omâdo'ddin Hosselyn*, and *Amir Hassan* ; who had been prisoners in the fortrefs of *Gât*. Not long after, *Queyzi* and *Nein*, who had restored *Shâh Kothbo'ddin* to the throne, conspired to kill him, and secure the kingdom to themselves. *Kothbo'ddin*, being informed of their villainy, intended to have seized them ; but they, discovering his design, fled out of the island. *Nein* was drowned in crossing the sea ; but the other, with a few followers, got safe to *Keys*. After this, *Kothbo'ddin*, and his kingdom, enjoyed peace for ten years : at the end of which, a new attempt was made against it from *Keys*.

M A L E K Ghayâzo'ddin, who had succeeded in that island, on the death of a former king, taking the opportunity, while *Shâh Kothbo'ddin* was in *Mogostân*, in *Persia*, during the summer heats, invaded *Hormûz* with a considerable fleet ; and had made himself master of that island, had it not been for the gallant defence made by *Mohammed Sorhâh*, and *Ibrâhim Salgor*, two of the king's porters ; to whom he had committed the guard of it. *Shâh Kothbo'ddin*, on this advice, returned to *Hormûz* ; and, fitting out a fleet with great expedition, sailed for the island of *Keys* ; which he attacked, and made himself master of, with great slaughter of the inhabitants. He likewise took king *Mâlek Ghayâzo'ddin*, and some of his relations ; whom he afterwards put to death. He left a good garrison at *Keys*, and then departed ; resolving, before he returned to *Hormûz*, to attack the island of *Bahrayn* (A) : which accordingly he subdued.

B A H R A Y N, or *Bahreyn*, lies in the *Persian gulph*, midway between the island of *Hormûz*, and the city of *Basrah* ;

and *Bahrayn* described.

¹ *Tex. p. 397, & seq.*

(A) Which signifies, the two most of his proper and local names. *Bâbrayn* is the dual of the *Arabic Bâhr*, the sea.

A. D.

1319.



100 leagues distant from each, and near the coast of *Arabia*, opposite to the port of *Katif*, which is in the government of *Lakat*; one of these possessed by the *Turks* in these parts. It is inhabited by *Arabs*; only, ever since the year 1602, when it became subject to *Persia*, the garrison and government are *Persians*. The country is pleasant, and abounds with fruit, especially dates; but produces little of wheat, or barley: and rice, which, next to dates, is the common food, was carried thither from *Hormuz*, in the time of the *Portuguese*.

Strange
springs.

THIS island is famous through the world, for its excellent pearls, and fresh water springs; both found in the sea, which surrounds it. Before *Mandana*, which is the chief town in the isle, at about three fathom, or three and a half, deep, there gush out certain springs of pure fresh water; which is brought up in skins by divers, and sold very cheap. *Texeira* was told by some of the oldest inhabitants, that those springs were formerly upon the land, remote from the sea; which, at length, gained ground on that side: and hence he imagines, that the island took the name of *Bāhreyn*, or *the two seas*; meaning a fresh and a salt one; rather than from two considerable streams, which cross the island. Both these are brackish, like the other waters on land; the best whereof is that of *Namiyah*, in the middle of the isle, found in exceeding deep wells.

Pearl
fishery.

THERE are two considerable pearl fisheries in the east: one at *Manar*, in the chanel between *Seylan* and *Tutan Kori*; which is *Cape Kori*; corruptly, *Komori*, or *Komorin*; the extreme point of *Malabar* (B): but the pearls of *Bahrayn* surpass all others in goodness, and weight. About 200 *Terada's*, or vessels, joining there, go to *Katar*, a port of *Arabia*, 10 leagues to the southward; where the fishing continues all *July* and *August*. There are other fisheries of less note, in *September*, at *Nikhelu*, *Bahrayn*, and *Julfar*: also at *Masfat*, *Teve*, and *Rafal Gat*; but the pearls of these last places are of very little value. They are found in oysters, which are brought up by divers; and lie from 12 to 15 fathom deep.*

Other con-
quests.

BUT to return. *Shāh Kōshv'eddān*, having possessed himself of *Bahrayn*, went and took *Katif*, *Karga*, and *Darab*.

* *TEXEIRA*. p. 398, & seqq.

(B) OR, as *Texeira* makes it, *Kori* (which Europeans corruptly call *Tutokori*, and *Tutekorin*) is properly a town on the coast to the east of *Cape Kori*, or *Komori*; that is, as he says, *the Port of Rice*; so called from its plenty on that coast. *Tutan ori*:

Encouraged

Encouraged by this great success, he pursued his good fortune, and conquered all the coast of *Persia*, and *Arabia*, within the gulf; from whence he received a considerable yearly income. Some time after his return to *Hormúz*, he crossed over to *Persia*, in order to take the diversion of hunting, accompanied by his brother, *Názomo'ddin*; who, in return for the affection he bore him, contrived to murder him. To this end, being then at *Rúdsbahr*, he pretended to follow a hare towards *Meridan*; by which means, getting at a distance from the king, he came, with his confederates, to the mouth of the *Dozár*; a rivulet opposite to *Jerun*, or *Hormúz*, five miles distant: and, embarking there in *Tarranka's*, passed over to that island; which, being destitute of the principal men, was easily subdued by him; who thereupon assumed the title of king, in the year 745.

A. D.

1319.

Hej. 745.

A. D.

1344.

As soon as *Sháh Kothbo'ddin* understood which way his brother was gone, he pursued him full-speed: but, by the time he reached the banks of the *Dozár*, the usurper was landed at *Hormúz*. So that, not being able to proceed any farther for the present, he withdrew to *Kolongo*, on the continent; from whence he sent expresses into all parts of his dominions, demanding men, and other assistance, to reduce his rebel brother. At the same time, *Málek Názomo'ddin* sent advice of his usurpation to all the *Wazirs*, or governors, throughout the kingdom of *Hormúz*, requiring them to acknowledge, and submit to, him; with promises of great rewards, to such as complied. However, the success did not answer his expectation; for no towns obeyed his summons, excepting some few belonging to *Kiriakesfán*; and these, so soon as summer arrived, sent to tell him, that, unless he sent them forces to defend their date-trees, which are the main support of the inhabitants, against the troops of *Kothbo'ddin*, who infested them, they should be obliged to submit to him¹.

Názo-
mo'ddin
rebels;

NAZOMO'DDIN, taking into consideration the distress of these people, resolved to go over to the continent: but first thought proper to sound the inclinations of the *Wazirs*, and chief men about his brother; on whom, however, his practices had no effect; excepting one *Omar Sboyo'ddin*, who was *Kothbo'ddin's* porter, and a colonel in his army. Having gained this man, he passed over into *Persia*; and marched towards *Kolongon*. *Kothbo'ddin*, on this advice, advanced to meet him; and engaged his troops: but, in the heat of action, the traitor, *Sboyo'ddin*, going over to the usurper, with the greater part of his army, he immediately retired towards

20. usurps
the crown;¹ *TEXEIR.* p. 405, & seqq.

A. D.
1344.

Jusker, a maritime town, 40 leagues distant ; and crossed the gulf to *Kalagât*, in *Arabia*. He continued a twelve-month at this port, which, by his presence, throve exceedingly ; the ships, bound from *India* to *Hormûz*, stopping there. At the year's end, he received advice, that *Nâzom'ddîn* was dead ; and had ordained in his will, that the eldest of his two sons, *Shâmba* and *Shâdi*, should immediately repair to *Kalagât* ; and, kissing *Shâh Kothbo'ddîn*'s foot, resign the kingdom to him, as being his due. However, the young prince did not think fit to obey the dying commands of his father.

21 His sons
succeed ;

ON the other hand, *Kothbo'ddîn* seemed to be much concerned at his brother's death ; and performed his obsequies with extraordinary pomp : putting himself, and all his attendants, in mourning. At the same time, he wrote consolatory letters to his nephews ; offering to look upon them as his own sons. But they, little regarding their uncle, or his kind professions, behaved after such a manner, in the government of affairs, that the whole kingdom was offended at their follies and cruelties. *Kothbo'ddîn*, hearing of the disorderly proceedings of his nephews, prepared to invade them : but, in his passage over to *Jakin*, one of the *Arab* towns in *Persia*, there met him a great number of armed *Tarrada*'s, sent by the young princes ; which he engaged, and defeated, destroying abundance of the forces on board. After this victory, he held on his voyage to *Kostak* ; from which place *Amâr Ayeb Shams'o'ddîn* came to meet him, with a good number of men from *Old Hormûz*, to join his forces. From thence sailing to *Jerân*, or *New Hormûz*, he landed at *Karu*, and possessed himself of that post.

submit to
Koth-
bo'ddîn ;

HIS nephews, perceiving they were undone, and could neither defend themselves, nor fly, delivered themselves up to their uncle ; who, at the intercession of some persons of note, condescending to allow them wherewithal for their support, gave them the island of *Bahrayn* to dwell in, with their followers. *Shâh Kothbo'ddîn*'s return considerably advanced the affairs of *Jerân*, or *Hormûz* ; which had suffered exceedingly under the government of the two brothers. Peace ensued ; justice was administered ; the price of provisions fell, which, till then, had been very high : and they, who had fled, or been banished by the usurpers, were restored to their houses, and estates ^m.

raise new
commo-
tions ;

MEAN time, *Shâmba* and *Shâdi*, who were of a restless nature, had not been long at *Babrayn* before they began to raise

men, and gather vessels, in order to invade *Hormúz*. King *Kothbo'ddin*, being informed of their design, embarked to oppose them, with the greatest force he could levy. As soon as he arrived at *Keys*, where *Shádi* then was, he landed his men : but, meeting with much opposition, proceeded but slowly. As those in the island were greatly strengthened, and the king's men were incensed, that they held out so long ; some of them, willing to put a speedy end to the enterprise, without orders, provoked *Shádi* to an engagement. As that prince had the advantage on his side, he accepted the challenge ; and obtained the victory, with a great slaughter of the *Hormuzians*. *Sháh Kothbo'ddin*, on this defeat, retired, with such as had escaped the battle, to his vessels, and hastened back to *Hormúz* ; where having recruited his forces, he returned to *Keys*. *Shádi*, not thinking himself safe there, went away to *Babrayn*, where his brother was ; while the king, who found no resistance after that prince's departure, gave the plunder of the island to his soldiers : and, leaving a good garrison there, returned to *Hormúz*, with an intent to prepare for an expedition against *Babrayn*.

As soon as he was departed, the two brothers gathered all the force they could in that island ; and went over to *Keys*, in hopes to recover it : but, when they were half-way, most of their commanders deserted them, in order to join the king. Among the rest, were *Shams'o'ddin Mahmád*, *Kamalo'ddin Ismael*, and *Náfro'ddin Meselek*, men of the first rank and quality. These, as they passed by *Keys*, gave notice to *Mír Tagah*, the governor, that he might be prepared to receive the two brothers, who were on the way to attack him. When they came up with the island of *Brokht*, or *Queysboma*, they called in at *Láft* and took on board *Sabeko'ddin*, who was there in garrison ; lest, having but a small force with him, he should not be able to withstand a sudden attack. *Shámbar* and *Shádi* were not moved, by the desertion of their troops, to desist from their enterprise ; but, being refused admittance at *Keys*, held on their way to *Brokht*. *Kothbo'ddin* had already sent a force of men and ships to *Dargán*, a town near *Láft*, in order to secure that island ; who, on the enemies arrival, engaged them at break of day, and bravely repulsed them both by sea and land, with considerable loss.

THE two brothers, being returned to *Bahrayn*, fell at variance ; each charging the other with the late disappointment. The difference ran so high, that, at length, *Shádi* imprisoned *Shámbar*, and would have put him to death, had it not been for his mother, who reconciled them, and obtained his liberty. But *Shámbar*, after this, not caring to remain in *Bahrayn*, went

A. D. 1346. over to *Persia*, and settled near *Shiráz*, in a village called *Fál*; whence several great men of the kingdom of *Hormúz* draw their origin. The governor of *Shiráz*, being informed of the prince's arrival, sent for him, and did him much honour; on account of the friendship which had subsisted between their fathers and predecessors ⁿ.

MEAN time, summer coming on, Sháh *Kothbo'ddîn*, king of *Hormúz*, resolved to pass that season at *Nálestân*, a pleasant place in the country of *Mogostân*, in *Persia*, abounding with water and fruits. But, soon after his arrival there, he fell sick and died, in the year 447.

Hej. 447. A. D. 1346. 22. Turân Sháh. *TURÂN Shân* succeeded his father *Kothbo'ddîn*; and, proving a good prince, was loved and honoured by his subjects. As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent one *Mahmûd Omar*, a man of valour and experience, to govern the isle of *Keys*; for all this *Shâdi*, who knew his abilities, did not desist from his design of invading that island from *Bahrayn*. He accordingly landed there, and had several engagements with the governor: but, finding he made no great progress in his enterprize, he tampered with a kinsman of his, who promised to deliver him up on the first opportunity. To bring this plot to bear, *Shâdi* pretended to come to an accommodation; and, to that end, demanded a conference with *Mahmûd Omar*; who too readily consenting, they had an interview. *Shâdi*, while they walked together, amused him with discourse, that he might not suspect his designs; and, when he had insensibly drawn him at a distance from his men, seized him before he was aware, and deprived him of sight (C). After which, he took possession of the island.

Shâdi auct. ON this news, *Turân Sháh* set out for *Keys*, and arrived suddenly, that *Shâdi* had not time to escape: however, it being winter, he made a shift, in a very dark night, to get off in a *Tarrankîn*, although closely watched at land as well as

ⁿ TEXEIR. p. 408, & seqq.

(C) This was practised long before and since by the kings of *Hormúz*, as well as *Persia*. There were at *Hormúz*, in *Texeira's* time, on a hill about a mile from the city, the ruins of certain houses where the kings kept their blinded kindred. The operation was performed with a copper basin, made violent hot; which, passing three or four times

before the eyes, took away the sight, without altering them to appearance. *Maffey* informs us, in his *Hist. Ind.* l. v. that, when *Albuquerque* took possession of the island, in 1514, or 15, there were no fewer than thirty lords of the blood royal, who had been blinded by the tyrants, jealous of their authority.

t sea ; and fled to *Lâst*, in the island of *Brokht*, or *Quey-sbom*. The king, informed of it, immediately pursued him ; and, casting anchor at *Dargân*, near *Lâst*, those who were with *Shâdi* abandoned him, and repaired to *Turân Shâh*. *Shâdi*, finding himself forsaken, halted to his Tarran-kin, and set sail, with such expedition, that he got clear away before the persons sent to seize him could come up. However, he did not long survive this disgrace : for, soon after his arrival at *Bahrayn*, he died for mere vexation, leaving a son very young ; on whom king *Turân Shâh* bestowed his father's possessions.

A. D.
1346.

MEAN time, *Shâmba*, who had fled to *Shirâz*, hearing of his brother's death, halted to *Bahrayn* ; where, finding the opportunity favourable, he seized on the island, and took a bloody revenge on all those, who, in the late troubles, had sided with *Shâdi* against him. He put many of them to death, without sparing his infant nephew ; whilst others fled the island for fear of the like treatment. However, *Mir Ajeb*, a prime man of *Bahrayn*, resenting so much tyranny and insolence, with the assistance of his relations, and others who joined him, assaulted *Shâmba*'s house, and killed him. After this, he set at liberty one *Ali Mohammed Palavân*, whom *Shâmba* had imprisoned ; thinking, by his assistance, to usurp the sovereignty of the island. *Ali* not only consented, but, taking with him *Sheykh Hâmed Râsb.d.*, another Arab commander, went over to *Kâtif*, in *Arabia*, and demanded some forces of the governor *Sheykh Majed*, under pretence of opposing *Mir Ajeb*. The governor, supposing that these two intended to usurp the island of *Bahrayn*, not only refused to grant what they asked, but secured, and sent them in custody of an officer to *Hormûz* °.

As soon as *Turân Shâh* was informed of what had happened at *Bahrayn*, he set sail for that island, and carried his prisoners along with him. On his arrival there, *Mir Ajeb* required of him the sovereignty of the island, in return for the service, which he pretended he had done him, in killing *Shâmba*. But the king refused his request, and resolved to punish him. Whereof *Ajeb* being informed, he left *Manânia*, the principal port-town of *Bahrayn*, and retired to *Thiâr*, another on the back of it ; where being found by the king's party, he was brought before him, and had his head struck off. As to the two prisoners, *Turân Shâh*, finding that they had not served against him, not only gave them their lives, but preferred them. Having settled the affairs of this island, he had a mind to see *Kâtif*, on the opposite coast, and only separated by a narrow

*Troubles
at Bahr-
ayn.*

A. D. 1376. arm of the sea. He went over with his forces, and was well entertained by *Sheykh Majed*; where having diverted himself for some days, he returned to *Bakrayn*, and from thence to *Jerûn*, or *Hormûz* (D). *Turân Shâh* spent the rest of his life in peace, and died in 779, after a reign of thirty years.

Hej. 779.

A. D. 1377.

23. Mas-
sûd.

His sons succeeded him in the following manner. *Massaid*, the eldest, mounted the throne on his father's decease, and enjoyed it peaceably during his life.

24. Sha-
habo'd-
din.

SHAHABO'DDIN, the second son, succeeded his brother *Massud*; and although in his time there were some commotions, yet they were neither considerable, nor difficult to suppress.

25. Salgor
Shâh;

SALGOR Shâh, the third son of *Turân Shâh*, ascended the throne next. In his reign, there started up in *Persia* *Sufi Khâhl* (E); who possessed himself of that whole kingdom, to the very shore opposite to *Jerûn*; to which he would fain have passed over, but could not for want of shipping. And it is said, that, for mere vexation, he designed to have levelled mountains to fill up the sea; while *Salgor* went about the island and city, singing *Persian* verses to this purport: *my enemy's heart burns, because I am encompassed by the sea*. At length *Khâhl* went away, without taking any thing from him, but what he had on the continent; where the king of *Hormûz* possessed, even in the time of our author (though not so absolutely as before), seventy leagues along the coast, and twenty-eight within land; wherein are comprehended the *Amadizes* and *Gaules* (F), fierce and warlike nations. They enjoyed these lands, paying to the kings of *Persia* a certain acknowledge-ment, called *Mokararias*, that they might not ravage them; as they did sometimes when the tribute was held back. *Salgor* had no other remarkable war besides this, but spent his days in peace.

invaded
by Khalil.

26. Shâb
Weys.

SHAH Weis ascended the throne on the death of *Salgor*; and, as no disturbance happened during his reign, *Hormûz*

(D) Thus fair *Texeira* has taken from the history written by this prince, which ends here. What he adds cannot be very exact; for he omits *Mohammed Shâh*, under whom, in 1397, *Timûr* conquered *Hormûz*. See vol. v. p. 297.

(E) This must be *Sufi*, or *Sofi Khalil Mutulun*, general to *Bay Sanker Mirza*, son of *Yakub Beg*, a prince of the *Ak Koyunlu-dynasty*, who succeeded his fa-

ther, in the year 896 of the *Hejrah*, and of *Christ* 1490; so that it could not be long before the time of *Sufi Ismael*, as *Texeira* represents it. And the great distance of 118 years, from *Turân Shâh's* death, shews there is an omission of one or more reigns.

(F) *Texeira* knows not whether the fiction (or romance) of *Amadis de Gaul* may not be derived from hence.

throve

throve considerably by the advantage of peace. Shâh Weiss dying (G), A. D. 1508.

SEYFO'DDIN inherited the crown of *Hormûz*, or *Ormûz* P. In his time, the *Portuguese* subdued this island, under the conduct of the renowned *Alfonso de Albuquerque*, This general sailed from *Lisbon* in *March* 1508, in company with *Nunna da Cunna*; from whom he parted in *August*, with seven ships and 460 soldiers: directing his course for the coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, pursuant to orders received from the king of *Portugal* before he set out. He first touched at *Kâlayât*, or *Kâlagât*, often mentioned before; and, settling a peace with the governor, proceeded ten leagues farther to *Kûriât*: where being ill received, he stormed and took the town, after great opposition, though with the loss of only three men. His soldiers plundered the place, and then burned it, with fourteen vessels in the harbour: after which he sailed eight leagues farther to *Maskât*, a place stronger than the former, and well provided with men; who flocked thither to defend it. But the governor, unwilling to hazard an assault, made peace with him, and sent provisions to his fleet; when on a sudden the cannon of the town began to play on his ships, and obliged him to draw off: for, having in the interim received a supply of 2000 men from *Hormûz*, the officers refused to stand to the treaty. But *Albuquerque*, landing his men next morning by day-break, attacked the town so boldly, that as the *Portuguese* entered at one gate, the *Arabs* fled out of another.

AFTER having plundered *Maskât*, he passed on to *Sohâr* (H); whose governor submitted to pay king *Manuel* the same tribute which he paid to the king of *Hormûz*. *Orfukam*, a town fifteen leagues farther, being deserted by its inhabitants, was plundered; which done, he hoisted sail for *Hormûz*; whose reduction was the principal object of his voyage.

He arrived there about the end of *September*; at what *Albuquerque* the king being but twelve years old, *Hormûz* was under the government of *Khojâ Attâr*, a man of parts and courage: who, hearing of *Albuquerque's* exploits, had laid an embargo on the ships in harbour, and hired troops from the *Persians*

† *TEXEIR.* p. 413, & seqq.

(G) In the first place it is written *Shawwas*, which probably stands for *Shâh Weiss*, *Veis*, or *Avis*; and in this place *Shames*; but the *English* translation of *Texeira* (which we make use of) is faultily printed, as well as the original.

(H) Written also *Soar*, and *Zoar*; but faultily.

A. D.
1508.



and *Arabs*. So that, when the *Portuguese* fleet entered the port, there were in the city 30,000 fighting men; and in the harbour 400 vessels, sixty of considerable bulk, with 2500 men on board. *Albuquerque*, to shew those people the greatness of his resolution, came to an anchor among five of the largest ships; firing his cannon, to strike a terror along the shore, which was soon covered with 8000 men. Finding that no message came from *Sayfa'ddîn*, he sent for the captain of the biggest ship, and told him he had orders to take the king of *Hormúz* into his protection, and grant him leave to trade in those seas, provided he paid a reasonable tribute: but in case of refusal, he was to make war. It was doubtless no small presumption to offer a king the liberty of his own seas; and impose conditions on him, with that handful of men, and few ships, against such a numerous force.

and at-
tacks
Hormúz.

THE message however, bold as it was, was delivered to the king, and *Khajâ Attâr*: who, after some delay, to gain time, on being pressed for an answer, sent word, that *Hormúz* used not to pay, but receive, tribute. Next morning discovered the walls, shore, and vessels, crowded with armed men; while the windows and tops of houses were filled with both sexes, as spectators of what should ensue. Presently, the cannon beginning to play furiously on both sides, the enemy, by favour of the smoke, twice attacked the *Portuguese* ships, with 130 boats well manned: but many were sunk, and the rest forced by the artillery to retire. By this time, several ships were sunk as well as taken, and thirty set on fire; which cutting their cables, were driven flaming on the *Persian* coast, where they burned others which lay aground. This struck so great a terror into all the gazing multitude, that they fled the city; and sending to offer *Albuquerque* whatever had been demanded, he stopped farther proceedings. Thus, with the loss of only ten men, most of the enemy's vessels, full of riches, were destroyed, and 1700 of themselves killed.

The king
submits.

KHOJÂ Attâr would have eluded the agreement; but, on the general's threats, the articles were drawn, and sworn to by both parties. Their substance was, that the king of *Hormúz* did submit himself to king *Manuel*, with a tribute of 15,000 Sharfins (I) yearly; and should assign the *Portuguese* ground to build a fort. The fort was immediately begun (at the point of *Jerûn* before mentioned), and much advanced in

¹ DE FARIA Port. Asia, vol. i. p. 126, & seqq. MAFFEE, Hist. Ind. l. 2, & 3.

(I) Sharafin, or Xerefin, is about half a crown.

a few days : but the Wazir, who could not bear it, designed to kill *Albuquerque* ; and, for that purpose, urged him to give audience to ambassadors, which he pretended came from *Persia*. Finding his artifice did not succeed, he endeavoured to corrupt the *Portuguese* with money ; and met with such success, that some of his captains opposed all his designs, gave intelligence of his small force to the enemy (K), and persuaded five sailors to desert : which animated *Khojâ Attâr* to break the peace.

A. D.
1508.

ALBUQUERQUE, burning with revenge, attempted *Albuquerque* to fire some ships in the arsenal : but, failing, resolved next to besiege the city, battering it for eight days with his cannon. There was a hot dispute at some wells, which supplied the besieged (L), where he was in great danger, his retreat being cut off by the king, and *Khojâ Attâr*, who came to support their men : but a fortunate ball opened a way for him, by putting the enemy's horse in confusion.

retires.

In these actions he found his soldiers but ill disposed to obey him. His captains jealous about the command of the fort, when built, three of them drew up a paper of reasons against the enterprise, and left him at a time when the city must have surrendered for want of water : two others would have done the same, if he had not, by severity, forced them to obey him. However, after sailing to the island of *Queysbom*, and burning the town there, he thought fit to return to the island of *Sokâtra*, finding he had but a few men left, and winter drawing on. But as soon as that season was passed, he set out again for *Hormûz* ; though too weak to effect what he intended, yet at least to sound the designs of the king, and his Wazir *Khojâ Attâr*. Having in the way taken and plundered *Kalayât*, in revenge for some injuries lately done the *Portuguese*, he cast anchor before *Hormûz*, on the 13th of September, and sent notice to the king and his minister of his arrival. They answered, that they were ready to pay the tribute agreed on, but would not consent to the building a fort.

The treaty
eluded ;A. D.
1509.

* DE FARIA, p. 130, & seqq. MAFF. l. 3, 4.

(K) *Maffes* says it was the building of the fort, which discovered the small number of *Portuguese* ; whom *Attâr* imagined to have been at least 2000 ; and that it was the being obliged to serve as labourers in that work, which made the men

of quality, and others, to murder.

(L) These wells were at *Turumpûka*, or *Turumbâka*. *Maffes* writes *Turumbata*, in the S. W. part of the isle, as hath been already said.

As

A. D.
1509.



As to that which *Albuquerque* had begun, *Kboja Attâr* had finished it, the better to oppose him. Upon this, he resolved again to besiege the island, and stationed his ships accordingly; but the success was much the same as before. One of his captains, with eight private men, were killed, and he in great danger himself: whereupon he returned to *India*, and next year succeeded *Don Francisco de Almeyda* in the dignity of viceroy:

ratified at
last;

A. D.
1514.

and a fort
built;

ALBUQUERQUE was diverted from the thorough reduction of *Hormúz*, by other famous conquests, for the three first years of his government: but in 1514, resolving to complete his design, he set out from *Goa*, on the 20th of *February*, with a fleet of 27 sail, and 1500 *Portuguese*, besides 600 *Malabars* and *Kanârans*. On the 26th of *March*, he anchored at *Hormúz*, and sent to demand of the new king (M), and his Wazir, *Reis Nûro'ddin*, the delivery of the fort he had begun there, with the instrument of submission, made of that kingdom by his predecessor *Sayso'ddin*; who was since dead. Every thing was consented to, because there was no power to resist, and the treaty ratified by the Wazir. After this, *Albuquerque* went on with building the fort to his own mind; and, on a scaffold near it, received an ambassador, who came from *Shah Ismâël*, king of *Persia*, to conclude a treaty of peace (N). Before the arrival of the viceroy, *Reis Ahmed* (O) was sent to *Hormúz*, with a design to seize it for *Ismâël*; and, having gotten the intire ascendant over the king, had brought people secretly into the city to kill him, when a favourable opportunity should present. To deliver him from this danger, *Albu-*

(M) His name was *Tor*, according to *Maffey*. Soon after *Albuquerque's* departure the first time from *Hormúz*, *Attâr* died of age; and *Nuro'ddin*, governor of the city, slew *Seyso'ddin*, setting up his brother *Tor*, and placing his own friends in the chief offices of state; among whom were the three brothers, *Motbaser*, *Ali*, and *Ahmed*. *Maff. Hist. Ind. l. 5.*

(N) According to *Maffey*, it was not till after the death of *Ahmed*, that the ambassador came from *Ismâel*; who, finding *Hormúz* to be reduced with so small a force, thought it better to lose

his tribute from thence, and make a peace, than begin a war with the conqueror.

(O) According to *Maffey*, he was the *Ahmed* mentioned in the last note but one, who, by degrees, got the power into his own hands, and, after *Tor* had yielded up the fort, would hear speak of no other conditions; chusing rather to yield the kingdom to the king of *Persia*, than him of *Portugal*, in case it was to be yielded. For this reason, and others which were discovered, *Albuquerque* had him killed; and then all things were easy,

querque

querque procured an interview with him, though not without much reluctance on the part of the Wazir; who entering foremost in a rude manner, and being known to be armed, as well as some of his followers, was presently slain by the viceroy's command. When the fort was finished, *Albuquerque* persuaded the king, against his will, that it was for the safety of the city to remove all its cannon thither. And thus was this rich kingdom brought in subjection to the *Portuguese*.

A. D.
1514.

THE native kings were still allowed to reign from father to son, as they did before, with this difference: that what formerly they held independently of any other power, they afterwards enjoyed by grant of the king of *Portugal*; and had only the government of their *Mohammedan* subjects; nor even that without some restriction. They maintained the state of kings, and had considerable customs: but the *Portuguese* governors converted the greater part of it to their own use; and whereas his *Hormázian* majesty could not go out of the island without leave of the governors, they for some time used to grant it, but afterwards wholly debarred him of that liberty. In this condition *Hormáz*, or *Ormúz*, continued; the natural kings succeeding one another, under the dominion of the *Portuguese*, the space of 114 years; till 1622, when it was taken from them by the *Persians*, assisted by the *English*, as hath been already related.

Condition
of the
kings.

* DE FARIA, p. 140, & seqq. MAPY. l. 4 & 5. † TEX.
Hist. Pers. p. 415. " See before, the reign of Sháh Ismael
Saf, vol. 5.

BOOK VIII.

The History of the Turkmâns and Uzbeks.

CHAPTER I.

History of the Turkmâns.

SECTION I.

The Origin, Name, Branches, and Settlements, of the Turkmâns.

*Oriental
Turk-
mâns.*

*Their ori-
gin ;*

MIRKOND, a famous *Persian* historian, often cited in our history of the first dynasties of the *Turks*, in his account of *Ogûz Khân*, the great ancestor of those people, informs us ; that the children of this prince, and part of the tribes descended from them, spread themselves not only over *Mâwara'n-nahr*, or the countries beyond the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, which bounds *Persia* on the north ; but also to the south of that river, and along the borders of *Khorassân*, a province of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large : that those people, taking wives out of the women of the country, their children retained in their speech something of the harshness found in that of their parents ; and this gave occasion to the inhabitants of *Khorassân* to call them *Turkmâns*, or *Turkomâns* ; that is to say, *Like the Turks* : for, in the *Persian* language, *Turkmân*, and *Turkmannen*, have this signification ^a.

and name ; **JEMALO'DDIN**, in his history dedicated to *Mirza Iskânder*, a prince descended from *Timûr*, or *Tamerlan*, says, that the *Turkmâns* formerly dwelt in the country beyond *Târkestân* : from whence removing in great numbers into *Persia*, the inhabitants of those parts, who observed that they had a great resemblance of the *Turks*, their neighbours, and came from the same quarter, called them *Turkmâns*, in the sense above recited ^b. According to *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, the *Turkmâns* are sprung from the antient inhabitants of *Turkestân* ; and dwelt in the sandy grounds with the tribe of *Kânkli*, till, separating themselves, at length they went to inhabit towns and villages ^c.

^a MIRKOND in *Ogûz Khân*, ap. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 900, art. *Turkmân*. ^b D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

^c ABU'L-GHAZI KHAN. Genealog. Hist. of the *Turks*, &c. p. 32.

WHETHER

WHETHER the *Turkmâns* quitted their native country by *Oriental* constraint, or choice, does not distinctly appear : but this is *Turk-* certain, that in the reign of Soltân *Sanjar*, sixth Soltân of the *mâns*. *Seljûk Turks* of *Îrân*, a colony of *Turkmâns*, under the name of *Gâz*, and *Cheſhm Gâz*, settled themselves in the countries of *Baklân*, *Kandar*, *Khotlân*, or *Katlân*, and *Khafanian*, in the province of *Badakhſbân*, spreading themselves within a little way of the city *Bâlkh*, to the number of 40,000 families. In return for this liberty, they agreed to pay the Soltân, yearly, 24,000 sheep, by way of tribute : but the officer, who levied this tribute, happening into a dispute with their chiefs about the quality of the sheep which they delivered them, they fell from words to blows ; and in the fray the officer was killed. After this, the *Turkmâns* ceased paying the tribute for some years ; during which time, the Soltân's kitchen was supplied with the usual number of sheep at the expence of his steward ; who at length complained to the governor of *Bâlkh*, letting him know, that he could furnish no more provision of that kind till the *Turkmâns* payed the tribute as formerly. *first mi-grations ;*

THIS affair being reported to the king's Divân, or council, *take San-* the *Turkmâns* were adjudged to pay 30,000 sheep, instead of *jar prison-* 24,000, which they paid before ; and to receive an officer *er ;* from the court, that there might be no failure of the kind for the future. But the *Turkmâns*, refusing to admit of any officers over them, excepting those of their own nation, made away with him whom the Soltân had sent them. Hereupon the governor of *Bâlkh* marched out to chastise their insolence : but the *Turkmâns*, routing his forces, killed both him and his son. On the news of this defeat, Soltân *Sanjar* marched in person against these strangers : who, terrified at his approach, sent deputies to implore his clemency ; and offer, besides the usual tribute, to pay two rubles of silver, which make about two marks, for every family. The Soltân was inclined to pardon them, and accept of the satisfaction : but he was dissuaded by the chief officers of his army ; who engaged him in a very unfortunate war : for his troops were entirely defeated, and himself, with all his women, taken prisoners^d by the *Turkmâns* ; among whom he remained a prisoner for some years, as hath been already related in the reign of that prince^e.

THE *Turkmâns*, after this, passed into *Persia*, and settled *settle in* in several provinces of it, by favour of the princes both of *Armenia* ; the *Seljûk* and *Karazmian* dynasties ; who employed them in their service. By this means, at length, they migrated westward into the countries of *Azerbejdân*, and *Armenia* ; where

^d D'HERBEL. ubi suprà.^e See before, vol. 4. p. 152.

their

Oriental
Turk-
mâns.



their power increasing, by the accession of numbers, who retired into those parts, either through choice, or to avoid the arms, first, of the *Karazmians*, and then of the *Mogols*, under *Jenghiz Khân*, they at length founded two monarchies; of which we shall treat hereafter. It has been already observed, that both the *Seljuk* and *Othmân* Soltâns have been considered as of the race of *Turkmâns*, by the Soltâns of other *Turkish* dynasties: but whether this be fact or not, it seems a very difficult matter to determine.

and Ka-
razm.

AT the same time that several tribes, or bodies, of *Turkmâns* migrated in the manner now mentioned, another part of them staid behind, and settled about the banks of the river *Amû*, and the shore of the *Caspian* sea; where they still possess a great number of towns and villages in the country of *Astarabad* and *Karazm*, which they inhabited long before the irruption of the *Tatars*. From these two different establishments of the *Turkmâns*, they may be divided into eastern and western. The former of these have been hitherto little known to the *European* historians and geographers; although they are much more numerous at present than the western *Turkmâns*: for those authors, who, before *D'Herbelot*, had given extracts from the oriental writers, take little notice of them; and others relate no more than what occurs in the *Byzantine*, and such western historians, who lived at too great a distance to be acquainted with their affairs.

Oriental
Turk-
mâns;

ABULGHAZI, Khân of *Karazm*, who was a great enemy to the *Turkmâns*, settled in that country of which he was sovereign, mentions them in his history on several occasions; sometimes, according to the parts which they inhabited, as when he speaks of the *Turkmâns* of *Mankishldk*, *Abu'lkhn*, and *Dehistan*^f; which last territory belongs to *Persia*: but oftener on account of their different tribes, or branches: of which the chief are, 1. *Adâkli Khisser-ili*; these dwell on both sides of the *Amû*, from the province of *Pishga* to that of *Karakizet*^g. 2. *Ali-ili*; inhabiting from the province of *Karakizet* to the mountain of *Abu'lkhn*. 3. *Ti-u-âzi*; who possess the rest of the banks of the *Amû*, from *Abu'lkhn* to the sea: these three tribes are surnamed *Utzil*^h. Besides them, we meet with the following; viz. *Taka*, *Sarik*, *Tamut*, *Irsari*, *Khorassân-saluri*ⁱ (these five formerly made but one tribe); *Itzki-saluri*, *Hassan*, *Idur*, *Dsauduz*, *Arabaz*, *Koklân*, *Adâkli*^k, *Karâmit*^l, and some others less considerable^m. A

^f Genealog. Hist. p. 235.

^g Ibid. p. 256.

^h Ibid.

p. 236. 239.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 238.

^k Ibid.

^l P. 256.

^m P. 238.

C. 1. *Their Origin, Branches, and Settlements.*

95

curious *English* traveller in this country, in the 16th century, remarks, that all the country from the *Caspian* sea to *Urghenj*, the capital of *Karazm*, is called the land of *Turkmân* °.

Oriental Turk-mans.

THE *oriental Turk-mans* are tall and robust, with square flat faces, like the occidental; only they are swarthier, and have a greater resemblance of the *Tatars*. In summer, they wear long gowns of callico, or thick cloth; and in winter, the like gowns of sheep-skin. Cattle and husbandry afford them subsistence, according to the different parts they possess. In winter, they dwell in towns and villages about the river *Amu*, and towards the shores of the *Caspian* sea: in summer, they encamp where they can find the best pasturage, and good water (A). They are, as to belief, all *Mohammedans*. Such as are settled in the country of *Astarabad* generally follow the *Persian* sect: but the tribes, who dwell in *Karazm*, conform with the *Uzbek-Tatars*, in sentiments of religion; although neither one nor the other give themselves much trouble about it.

way of living;

THESE *Turkmans* are extremely turbulent; and submit with great reluctance to the *Tatar* yoke in *Karazm*. They are very brave; and, at least, as good horsemen as their lords the *Uzbeks*: by whom being treated as conquered subjects, they are obliged to pay them tribute; and suffer several other impositions from those rigid masters. It is on this account chiefly, that they bear them so great animosity: but the *Turkmans*, who dwell under the dominion of the *Persians*, are much better treated. Both together may amount to about one hundred thousand families °.

their character;

WHEN the *Uzbeks* entered *Karazm*, under *Ilbars Khân*; subject to that prince, after driving out the *Persians*, was joyfully received by the *Sarts*, or old inhabitants, and proclaimed *Khân* in 1505 °: but they met with great opposition from the *Turkmans*. However, under *Sofian Soltân*, third *Uzbek Khân*, they submitted to a considerable tribute; part in sheep, and part in merchandize °. Yet, not brooking this subjection, they often refused to discharge that obligation, till they were compelled by force. They likewise took part in the disputes,

° JENKINSON. Voy. to Boghar, in Purch. vol. iii. p. 237.

° BERTING, in Genealog. Hist. p. 397. 426, & seq. ° Ibid. p. 220. ° Ibid. p. 229, & seq.

(A) *Jenkinson* says, that those of the land of *Turkmân*, above-mentioned, dwell in tents, roving in great companies, with their camels, horses, and sheep; which last are large, and have tails weighing sixty or eighty pounds;

which,

Oriental
Turk-
mâns.
Usbeks of
Karazm.

which, from time to time, arose among the *Usbek* princes ; who sometimes carried their point by means of their assistance. This naturally increased the stubborn humour of the *Turk-mâns*, and made the *Usbeks* jealous : infomuch that, although they had been very instrumental in setting *Abu'lghâzi Soltân* on the throne of *Karazm*, and were the first who proclaimed him *Khân*, in the year 1644 ; yet, in remembrance of the troubles they had occasioned in the reigns of his predecessors, he cut off 2000 of them at one time by treachery. And, being resolved to reduce them so low, that they should not be able to raise disturbances for the future, he made several expeditions against them ; in which they suffered severely *. We find, by the latest accounts of travellers, that the *Turk-mâns* still maintain a footing in the above-mentioned countries, and produce men eminent for their valour, and experience in war ; of which the late *Nadîr Shâh*, or *Tamâsh Kâli Khân*, the conqueror of *Persia* and *India*, may be alleged as an instance. This is all that we think necessary to say of the oriental *Turk-mâns* ; who, having always been subject to the dominion of other princes, never erected any sovereignty of their own.

Occidental
Turk-
mâns ;

THE occidental *Turk-mâns*, who for a long time possessed the western provinces of *Persia*, with the provinces westward as far as the *Euphrates*, are supposed, by some authors, to have separated from their brethren of the east, when they first departed out of *Turkestan* ; and, marching westward through the countries situated to the north of the *Cassian* sea, thence passed southward into *Armenia*, and the other provinces, which they afterwards subdued : but it seems more probable, that they migrated thither in the manner as hath been before suggested (B). These *Turk-mâns* became very potent, under two dynasties, or successions, of their princes ; and were, for some time, masters of a great part of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large (at least, of those provinces which the *Selûk* Soltâns of *Irâk* had under their dominion) ; after they had driven out the descendants of *Timûr*, with all the *Tatars*, by the valour and conduct of *Usûn Haffân*, founder of the second dynasty. But since the race of *Haydr*, or the *Shâhs*, have possessed themselves of the *Persian* empire, and the *Othmân Turks* become

as it was
various for-
tune ;

* Ibid. p. 349, & seqq.

(B) *Al Jannâli* says, that these western *Turk-mâns* left *Turkestan*, their native country, in the time of *Argûn Khân*. *Pocock*. *Suppl. ad Hist. Compend. Dynast.*

p. 58. *Argûn* was 4th *Khân* of the *Moguls*, successors of *Hûiâkû*, in *Persia* ; he began his reign in 682 or 3 of the *Hejrah*, and died in 690, or A. D. 1291.

masters

masters of all the provinces west of the *Tigris*, the occidental *Turkmâns* have been reduced to a very low state. Nevertheless they still enjoy the finest plains along the banks of the *Euphrates* : but, from being lords, as they were before, they are now fallen to be subjects of the *Turks* ; who, for all their endeavours, have not been able absolutely to subdue their restless disposition, and reduce them every-where to a thorough dependence.

THEIR manner of living is much the same now that it was when they first came to settle in these parts ; dwelling under tents made of thick felt (C), without any fixed habitations. In make and features they resemble the oriental *Turkmâns* ; but their women are very fair, and of a becoming size. They wear in winter long gowns of sheep-skins, with peaked bonnets of the same ; and, in summer, vests of callico, shaped like the *Kaftâns* of the *Turks*. They are good horsemen, and very brave. They profess *Mohammedism* : but perform the duties of it no better than their brethren in the east. They have their own chiefs, or heads of tribes, who govern them according to their laws (D). However, they are obliged to pay tribute to the *Othmân Soltân*, and to furnish a certain number of horsemen, whenever the *Porte* requires it. In winter, they come in quest of pasture along the banks of the *Euphrates* ; and, in summer, encamp in the valleys, inclosed within the mountains of *Armenia*, towards the springs of that river and the *Tigris*.

THESE *Turkmâns* are naturally great robbers ; but the *Turkish* Pashâs, who command in those parts, take all the care possible to bridle them : because they are interested in securing the roads, as the frequent passage of the *Karawâns* makes a considerable article in their revenue.

THE occidental *Turkmâns* are able to arm about 40,000 and men. They are continually fighting with the *Kurds*, or *Kyurds*, who are their neighbours to the east ; and with the *Arabs*, who border on them to the south : because these two nations often come and break the horns of their cattle, and carry away their wives and daughters¹. They sometimes march two or three hundred families together, to secure them-

¹ BENTINCK ubi supr. p. 424.

(C) These tents are made in a round form, like towers. *Le Febvre, Theatre de la Turquie*, p. 362.

(D) They are governed by an Aga, or lord, of their own nation, independent of the Pashâ ; who has nothing to do with the government of the *Turkmâns*. *Le Febvre*, ubi supr.

Occidental
Turk-
máns.



very in-
dustrious;

first settle-
ments ;

in the
west.

selves against the *Arabs* ; attended with such numerous droves of camels, goats, and sheep, that the land appears covered with them for the space of two leagues : so that they pass for the richest shepherds in the *Othmán* empire. They have some fire-arms among them ; although they, for the general, make use only of the bow.

BOTH men and women are never idle ; but always doing something. Even on the road, they employ themselves either in spinning, or grinding their grain, with little hand-mills, placed on the back of their camels : which carry a bag also on each side ; one full of what is to be ground, and the other to receive it when ground. Their language is the *Turkish*, a little corrupted, and different from the vulgar tongue. They likewise approach nearer the *Turks* in dress and religion, than any other nation inhabiting the *Othmán* empire *.

HAVING premised, thus much concerning the manners and living of the *Turkmáns*, we shall proceed to give an account of the two dynasties founded by them in the west of *Asia*, which went under the denomination of *Kara Koyunlu*, or the *Black Sheep*, and *Ak Koyunlu*, or the *White Sheep* (E) ; so named from the figures of those animals being painted, or woven, in their ensigns or colours.

KONDAMIR observes, that, as these *Turkmáns* spread much in *Anatolia*, and dwelt there, their name is still given to the country about *Trebizond* ; which is called by the *Turks* *Kara Koyunlu-ili* ; that is, the *Country of the Black Sheep*. In like manner, the *Lesser Armenia* retains the name of *Ak Koyunlu-ili*, or the *Country of the White Sheep* *. But this seems to be a mistake, for the *Greater Armenia*, or some neighbouring country to the east of the *Euphrates* ; and, according to *Al Jannábi*, the *Ak Koyunlu* kings began their dynasty in *Diyárbekr* ; which is part of *Mesopotamia*, adjoining to the *Greater Armenia*. The same author says, that the *Kara Koyunlu* princes erected their dominion about *Arzenjân*, and *Síwás*, in *Anatolia* x.

* LE FEBURE Theatre de Turquie, p. 362.

† D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. p. 253. art. Cara Coin, & p. 900. art. Turkman.

x Pocock. Suppl. ad Hist. Dynast. p. 58.

(E) The modern *Greeks* call those two races *Maureprobatæ* and *Asproprobatæ*, which signify the same things as *Kara Koyunlu* and *Ak Koyunlu* ; or as

others terminate them in *li*, instead of *lu*. Some write *Koinlu* for *Koyunlu* : but the latter seems the truer pronunciation.

S E C T. II.

The Turkmân Dynasty of the Kara Koyunlú, or Black Sheep.

THIS first dynasty of the *Turkmâns* does not properly take its rise from the dominion, which their princes exercised over their own nation; although they seem to have had a sort of independent authority in *Armenia*, and the other parts where they were settled; in the life-time of *Kara Mohammed*, father of *Kara Yusef*; but from the time that this latter, having made himself master of *Azerbejdân*, about the year 809 of the *Hejrah*, and of Christ 1406, began a new succession of princes in that country; whose title, however, was not completely established till 813, by the death of Soltân *Ahmed Jalayr*; which put an end to the dynasty of the *Ilkhâniâns*, and brought all their dominions under the power of the *Turkmâns*. This happened on the following occasion.

A. D.
1410.Dynasty of
Kara Koyunlu;

AHMED Jalayr Ebn Avis, or *Weis*, *Ilkhâni* (F), 4th Soltân of the *Ilkhâniâns*, who reigned in *Irâk-Arabi*, and *Azerbejdân*; having, in the year 783, or the following, defeated and put to death his elder brother *Husseyn*, who was in possession of those countries, *Adel Aga*, general of *Husseyn's* army, set up *Bâyezid*, the youngest brother, who, for fear, had fled to him, and defeated *Ahmed*. Not content with this victory, he pursued that prince; who had retired to *Marualrudh*, in *Khorassân*: but when he was advanced near that city, the principal officers of the army mutinied against him, in favour of *Ahmed*; so that he was obliged to retire, with his new Soltân, to *Soltaniya*, in *Persian Irâk*. On this advice, *Ahmed* made haste to seize on *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*; which was abandoned: but he was scarce arrived, when, being informed that *Sheykh Ali* and *Pîr Ali* were advancing to besiege him, he went out to meet them; and had certainly gained the victory, if, as the

Hej. 783.
A. D.
1381.

(F) Soltân *Avis*, or *Weis*, called also *Sheykh Veis*, was son of the Amîr *Sheykh Hassan Ilkhâni*, surnamed, in *Turkish*, *Buzruk*, or *the Great*; who descended from *Abu Saïd*, last emperor of the *Moguls* in *Persia*. For, after his death, several *Tatar* princes divided his dominions among them. Of these *Sheykh Hassan Ilkhâni*, the fa-

ther of *Sheykh Veis*, was one. *Abusaid* gave him the government of *Anatolia*; and after his death, which was in *Hejrah* 736, A. D. 1335, he conquered several provinces. The title of *Ilkhâni* denotes his being descended from *Hûlâkû*, founder of the *Mogul* dynasty in *Persia*; who was surnamed *Ilkhân*.

A. D. 1381. two armies came in sight, *Omar Kipchaki*, who was in the Soltân's army, had not gone over with his men to *Sheykh Ali*.

AHMED, being weakened by this piece of treachery, made what haste he could to *Nakshivân*, there to join *Kara Mubammed*, or *Mehemed*, the *Turkmân*; who, putting himself at the head of 5000 horse, marched along with the Soltân against the two princes, whom they intirely defeated, and slew. *Ahmed's* affairs being by this means re-established, he returned in triumph to *Tauris*; and, to reward *Kara Mehemed* for so signal a piece of service, not only made him general of all his forces, but also gave him his daughter in marriage.

FOUR years after, *Timûr*, or *Tamerlan*, having, after the conquest of the rest of *Persia*, taken *Soltaniya*, *Tauris*, *Nakshivân*, and the rest of *Azerbejan*, from Soltân *Ahmed*, with little or no opposition, he, in 789, marched from *Nakshivân*

A. D. 1385. against the *Turkmâns*; who, he was informed, were continually molesting the *Mohammedans*, and attacking the *Karawâns*. In his way he plundered the castle of *Bâyezid*, called

A. D. 1387. before *Aydîn*, with the country about *Avenik*, or *Vân*, where *Mefer*, son of *Kara Mehemed*, resided; and, having taken *Azerûm*, he sent in pursuit of *Kara Mehemed* himself; who having retired to the top of an inaccessible mountain, the troops were forced to return without success.

How long *Kara Mehemed* lived after this, does not appear from the authors in view. We find indeed that, in 795, *Timûr*, being on his way to besiege *Bâghdâd*, met *Mehemed*, prince of the *Turkmâns*, near *Sherezûr*, in *Kurdestân*, whom he attacked, at the head of 100 men, and routed.

A. D. 1393. Whether this was *Kara Mehemed*, or another chief of the *Turkmâns* in those parts, we are not positive; but this is certain, that, after his death, his son *Kara Yusef*, or *Issuf*, succeeded to the command, not only of the *Turkmân* militia, who were in the Soltân's service, but also to that of all his troops, in the same extent that his father had enjoyed it. Mean time, Soltân *Ahmed*, finding himself too weak to resist such a power as was coming against him, as soon as *Timûr* arrived before *Bâghdâd*, fled to *Hilleh*, a city on the *Euphrates*, with *Kara Yusef*; and, after some skirmishes, wherein he behaved with great bravery, escaped from a party of *Tatars*, sent in pursuit of him. *Timûr*, having thus become master of *Bâghdâd*, without opposition, staid there two months, and then departed, to reduce *Takrit*, a strong fort-

Y D'HERB. p. 129, art. *Avis Ahmed*; and p. 253, art. *Cara Coin*, and *Cara Coinlu*.

SMARIFODDIN. Hist. Timur Beg, l. ii. c. 49, p. 256, and 278.

D'HERB. p. 254. art. *Cara Josef*.

refs,

refs, and the rest of *Irâk Arabi*: which having done, he left a governor in *Bâghdâd*, and marched towards *Di-yârbekr* ^{b.} A. D. 1393.

KARA YUSEF had retired on this side, to defend his possessions in those quarters; but, on *Timûr*'s approach, in 796, to besiege the castle of *Alenjâk*, he fled with his *Turk-mîshî*, *mân*s; whom the *Tatars* were ordered to pursue to the utmost. The same year, that conqueror took *Avenik*, or *Vân*, after a most obstinate defence, made by *Messer*, brother of *Kara Yusef*; who was sent prisoner to *Samarkand*, and *Atîlmîsh* made governor. But some time after, while *Timûr* was in *Tatary*, *Kara Yusef* attacked *Atîlmîsh*; and, having defeated and taken him, by way of requital, sent him in chains to *Bârkok*, Soltân of *Egypt*. ^{A. D. 1394.}

It is not certain whither Soltân *Ahmed* was retired after his flight from *Baghdâd*. *Ebn Arabshâh* says, he went to *Ahmed Egypt*, and put himself under the protection of Soltân *Bârkok*: but that does not appear from *Sharîf Addîn*'s history of *Timûr*; who, it is to be presumed, would in such case have made it an article of complaint against that Soltân. However it be, we find, that *Ahmed* at length recovered *Bâghdâd*: for, in 801, *Mirân Shâh*, *Timûr*'s third son, who was governor of *Azerbeijân*, marched to besiege him in that capital: though he was obliged to return, by an insurrection at *Tauris* in his absence. But, next year, the *Mirza Rûstem*, son of *Omar Shbeykh*, *Timûr*'s second son, set out from *Shîràz*; by his grandfather's order, toward *Irâk Arabi*, with a design to reduce the country once more to his obedience. On advice of *Rûstem*'s being arrived at *Mendeli*, in *Kurestân* (*), Soltân *Ahmed* shut the gates of *Baghdâd*, intending to sustain a siege. Just at this juncture a conspiracy was formed against him by *Sherwân*, *Timûr*'s governor of *Kurestân*; who, having revolted, fled to *Bâghdâd*; and, by his money, bribed *Ahmed*'s officers to his interest: but the Soltân, coming to discover this plot, by the account of money paid, which *Sherwân*'s secretary had accidentally dropped, put that traitor to death, with 2000 of his own corrupted officers ^{d.} ^{Hej. 801. A. D. 1399.}

This done, not thinking himself safe, he fled by night into the country of *Kara Yusef*, and with him returned to *Bâghdâd*. Yet, soon after, hearing that *Timûr* was on his march to *Siwâr*, and fearing, if that conqueror should once more enter *Anatolia* and *Syria*, the passages would be blocked up, ^{retires to Turkey;}

^b Hist. Timur, l. iii. c. 30, 31, 33, 35. p. 431, 439, 447, 450.

^c Ibid. c. 43. p. 468, and l. v. c. 17. p. 158.

^d Ibid. l. v. c. 1. p. 108, & c. 7. p. 131.

(*) *Kurestân* seems to be put instead of *Kuzestân*, or *Khuzestân*.

A. D. 1399. whilst he should be obliged to fly, they departed for *Anatolia*; and, at *Haleb*, defeated *Temürtâsh*, the governor, who advanced to oppose the Soltān's passage: but, on the way to *Siwās*, being informed that a party of *Timūr*'s army was advancing against them, they turned out of the road. However, the *Tatars* overtook their baggage, and brought off the Soltāna *Dilshâde*, eldest sister of *Kara Yusef*, with his wife and daughter: but *Kara Yusef* himself and the Soltān, pursuing their route, escaped to the court of *Ilderim Bâyezîd*, the *Othmân* Soltān^c.

returns
again;

TIMUR, after the taking of *Siwās*, instead of proceeding farther against *Bâyezîd*, turned towards *Syria*; which having subdued, he marched through *Mesopotamia*, subduing all the

Hej. 804. places as he went; and, in 804, encamped before *Bâghdâd*.
A. D. 1401. This city was then governed by *Farraj* (or *Farruj*), who commanded in the absence of *Ahmed*, with orders not to shut the gates against *Timūr*: but *Farraj* making opposition, the city was taken by assault, after a very strenuous resistance, and almost all the inhabitants (G) put to the sword. *Timūr*, not content with this slaughter, ordered all the buildings, except mosques, colleges, and hospitals, to be destroyed^f.

fled to
Helleh.

HAVING taken this severe revenge on the once capital of the world, he marches back to *Anatolia*, in order to attack *Bâyezîd*; who, by the instigation of Soltān *Ahmed* and *Kara Yusef*, had brought an army into the field; and, in revenge for the ruin of *Siwās*, resolved to besiege *Arzenjân*, governed by prince *Tabârtan*; to whom *Timūr* had given it. As soon as *Ahmed* was informed, that *Timūr* was advancing towards *Anatolia*, he left the *Othmân* camp at *Kaysariya*, and returned to *Bâghdâd*, with a design to rebuild it. But, before he could make any great progress, *Mirza Abubekr*, son of *Omar Shейkh*, arrived there one evening, when least expected. The Soltān was so surprised and pressed on this occasion, that he fled in his shirt; and, crossing the *Tigris* by boat, with his son *Taber*, got to *Hilleh*, and thence lower down the *Euphrates*; where he staid all winter, while the *Tatars* remained in the country, and then returned^g.

Kara
Yusef

MEAN time, *Kara Yusef* continued in *Anatolia*, invading the provinces, and robbing the *Karawāns* under the protection of *Bâyezîd*; which made *Timūr* resolve to invade the *Othmân* dominions. *Bâyezîd*, on this advice, sent ambassa-

^c Hist. Timur, c. 15. p. 154.

^f Ibid. c. 32. p. 211.

and ARABSHAH Hist. Timur, l. vi. par. 3.

^g Ibid. l. 5.

c. 34. p. 219. and c. 38. p. 226.

(G) *Arabshah* says, to the number of 90,000.

dors

dors with a letter, in very submissive terms, to *Timûr*; who, in answer, required, that *Kara Yusef*, the greatest robber and villain upon earth, as he called him, should either be put to death by the Soltân, sent in chains to *Timûr*, or expelled out of the *Othmân* dominions. Instead of complying, either on this or a second embassy, *Bâyezîd* sent a haughty answer; which determined *Timûr* to attack him, as we have before related in the reign of that Soltân: who, being defeated and taken, was reproached by *Timûr* for hazarding a war, rather than deliver up the *Turkmân*.^b

WHEN *Timûr* was about *Casaria*, in his way to fight *Bâyezîd*, *Kara Yusef*, who was then at *Prusa*, or *Bûrsa*, fled to *Hilleh*, in *Arabian Irâk*, and thence to the deserts; where he assembled all the *Turkmân* hords at *Payan Hit*. At the same time, Soltân *Ahmed* retired from *Bâghdâd*, to his son Soltân *Tâher*; who, excited by some of his father's *Amîrs*, crossed the *Tigris*, and revolted. Upon this, *Ahmed* sending for *Kara Yusef* to join him, they both passed the river, and defeated the troops of *Tâher*; who was drowned in his flight. But afterwards, Soltân *Ahmed* growing jealous of *Kara Yusef*, this last went to *Hilleh*; where gathering his troops, he marched back to *Bâghdâd*, and took it. Soltân *Ahmed* in this distress hid himself in the city till night came, and then escaped to *Takrit*; from whence he retired to *Syria*, leaving *Kara Yusef* in possession of the country.

NEXT year, *Timûr*, being at *Kârs* in *Armenia*, sent his grandson, the *Mirza Abubekr*, to rebuild *Bâghdâd*, with orders to pursue and ruin *Kara Yusef*, who had made himself master of *Irâk Arabi* (H). *Abubekr*, having reached *Bâghdâd*, marched to *Hilleh*; where, being joined by *Mirza Rustem*, he passed the *Euphrates*, and met *Kara Yusef* over-against the town of *Sib*, on the *Nahr al Ganam*, below that city. And although they had then with them but 3000 men, yet they attacked the *Turkmân* prince, who was intrenched with a

^b Hist. Timur, c. 39. p. 230. and c. 43. p. 242. ARAB-SHAH, l. vi. p. 4.

(H) *Mirkond*, father of *Kondamir*, according to *Texeira*, relates, that *Timûr* had bestowed *Bâghdâd* on Soltân *Ahmed*; but that, while *Timûr* was gone into *Rûmestân*, or *Anatolia*, against *Bâyezîd*, *Kara Yusef* took it from *Ahmed*: that *Timûr*, at his return, sent *Abubekr*, his grand-

son, who recovered it from the *Turkmân*, and restored it to the Soltân. *Texeir. Hist. Pers.* ch. 45. But this is contrary both to *Sbariso'ddin's History of Timûr*, and that of *Kbondamir*; of which *D'Herbelot* has given an extract.

A. D. 1402. numerous army, and defeated him, killing his brother *Yar Ali*. *Kara Yusuf* himself, with some of his domestics, fled into *Syria*: but his subjects, consisting of between 10 and 15,000 families, were pillaged, and his oxen, sheep, and camels, carried away. The soldiers of *Mirza Rûstem* brought in chains to their lord the wife of *Kara Yusuf*, mother of *Eskânder* and *Espendeh*, attended by the ladies of her court, and her relations. After this, *Mirza Abûbekr* ordered *Bâghdâd* to be rebuilt¹.

is detained there, It may be presumed, that on this defeat *Kara Yusuf* fled to *Egypt*, as *Soltân Ahmed* had done the year before. For we meet with no farther mention of their affairs in the history of *Timûr* till the year 807, when an ambassador arrived at *Samarkand* from *Mâlek al nâsr Farruj*, *Soltân of Egypt*, to that conqueror, who was preparing for his expedition to *China*, with a letter concerning those two fugitive princes. *Timûr* sent back the ambassador with an answer², for the purport of which, not mentioned in *Sbarîfo'ddîn's* history of that monarch, we must have recourse to other authors.

with Soltân Ahmed. ACCORDING to *Kondamîr*, *Timûr* being informed that *Soltân Ahmed* and *Kara Yusuf* were fled into *Egypt*, he wrote to *Farruj* to send him the first under a strong guard, and keep the latter prisoner. *Farruj*, who was willing to preserve the laws of hospitality, and, at the same time, in some measure satisfy *Timûr*, set guards over them: but, as they were not deprived of the liberty of conversing together, they made an agreement to attach themselves firmly to the *Egyptian Soltân*; and never make war on, but mutually assist, each other, as soon as they should recover their liberty. This however did not happen till the death of *Timûr*, in the year 807, before-mentioned (I), soon after the ambassador of *Farruj* had left his court.

Both released. ON the news of this death *Farruj* caressed his prisoners exceedingly, and gave them their release. But *Kara Yusuf* was no sooner out of *Egypt*, than, putting himself at the head of his *Turkmâns*, he subdued great part of *Arabian Irak*, and *Jazîreh*, or *Mesopotamia*, for *Soltân Ahmed*; who paying no regard to the complaints of the king of *Egypt*, this latter intirely withdrew his protection from him. The *Ilkhânian*

¹ Hist. Timur, l. v. c. 51. p. 262. l. vi. c. 3. p. 302, 304, & c. 11. p. 325.

² Ibid. p. 25, 26.

(I) He died at *Otrâr*, or *Fa-abân*, which answers to the 25th *râb*, on the river *Sibûn*, in his of *March*, 1405.
way to *China*, the 10th of *Sba-*

prince,

prince, seeing himself abandoned by so powerful an ally, had recourse to stratagem; and, getting into *Bâghdâd*, with some of his followers disguised like beggars, raised such a sedition against the governor deputed by *Abûbekr Mîrza*, to whom *Timûr* had given it, that the inhabitants drove him out, and proclaimed *Ahmed Soltân*.

TOWARDS the end of the year 808, while *Abûbekr Mîrza Kara* was employed in the siege of *Isfahân*, the *Amîr Ibrâhm* (K), *Yusef's* marching out of *Shîrwân*, seized *Tauris*: but on Soltân *Ahmed's* approach he returned home. However, he did not let *Ahmed* long enjoy his diversions there: for, next year, after he had taken *Isfahân*, he obliged the Soltân to yield him *Tauris*, and make a precipitate retreat to *Bâghdâd*. Mean time *Kara Yusef*, taking advantage of these divisions, fell with his fresh and warlike troops on the province of *Azerbejdân*; and, in two or three years, made himself intire master of it.

A. D.
1404.Hej. 808.
A. D.
1405.

IT is from this expedition (which he undertook about the year 809), that the beginning of his reign seems to be dated; at least from his conquest of *Tauris*, the capital of *Azerbejdân*, which he took, after having defeated and slain in battle the *Mîrza Abûbekr*, son of *Mîrzân Shâh*, near the city of *Nakhshivân*, and afterwards *Mîrzân Shâh* himself, in the year 810.

begins to
reign;
A. D.
1406.

SOLTÂN *Ahmed*, unable to see this conquest made of his patrimony without reluctance, resolved to come to a rupture with the *Turkmân*; and, taking the opportunity, while he was at war against *Kara Othmân* in *Armenia Major* (L), came and surprised *Tauris*; which he entered, without any opposition, in 813. As soon as *Kara Yusef* heard of this loss, he marched with a potent army against the Soltân; who went to meet him with all his forces, two leagues from that city:

defeats
Soltân
Ahmed;Hej. 812;
A. D.
1409.

¹ D'HERR. p. 149. art. *Avis Ahmed*, and p. 254. art. *Cara Josef*.

(K) Doubtless the same whom *Texeira*, from *Mirkond*, calls *Shaykh Ebrahim*, king of *Shirwân*.

(L) It is so in the article of *Cara Josef*; but in that of *Avis Ahmed ben Avis* he is said to have been in *Gurjesân*, or *Georgia*. This may be reconciled from *Texeira*, who says, he marched against *Kara Oxmân*

Bayânduri, then possessed of *Diyrâbekr*; who, on his approach, fled; and that afterwards, in 815, he entered *Gurjesân*, slew *Constantine* its king; then, returning by *Shirwân*, brought away its king *Shaykh Ebrâhim*. This is said to be done after the death of Soltân *Ahmed*.

where

A. D.

1419.

puts him
to death;

where a bloody battle was fought; in which *Ahmed* was defeated, and so hotly pressed, that he had scarce time to save himself in a garden, where he lay concealed for some time: but, being at length discovered, he was carried to his conqueror; who reproached him with his treachery, yet took not away his life. However, he disposed of his dominions, and laid him under an injunction not to attempt any thing against his authority. But, soon after, the principal lords of *Irâk*, who were exasperated against the Soltân, advised *Kara Yusuf* to dispatch him; under pretence, that, being naturally of a restless temper, he would not continue long without drawing on them a new war, which would complete their ruin (M). The *Turkmân*, following their counsel, ordered both him and his children to be put to death the same year. Thus fell the family of the *Ilkhânians*, and that of the *Black Sheep* took its place^m.

dies him-
self.

AFTER the death of Soltân *Ahmed*, *Kara Yusuf* rose to a great pitch of power: for he possessed the provinces of *Irâk Arabi*, *Aljazîreh* or *Mesopotamia*, and *Azerbejân*, a great part of *Gurjestân* (or *Georgia*), and *Armenia*. As he went on extending his dominions, he had begun to threaten *Syria* (N) and *Anatolia* with an invasion, when *Mirza Shâh Rukh*, fourth son and successor of *Timûr*, after he had pacified the most eastern provinces of his empire, resolved, in the

Hej. 822.

A. D.

1419.

year 822, to revenge on him the death of his brother *Mirân Shâh*, which he had designed ever since that disaster. With this intent he entered *Azerbejân* with a formidable army; where *Kara Yusuf*, with a like force of veteran troops, marched to meet him. In short, they were at the eve of one of the most bloody battles that ever was fought in *Asia*, when, luckily to *Shâh Rukh*, *Kara Yusuf* died in his camp at *Awjân* (O), near *Tauris*.

His reign;

THE *Turkmâns* being thus left without a commander (for none of either the children or relations of *Kara Yusuf* were in the camp) they soon dispersed. Part of the troops rifled the tents of their prince. Some soldiers were so insolent as to cut off his ears, for sake of the pendants; and all in general

^m D'HERB. p. 149, art. *Avis Ahmed*; and p. 254, art. *Cara Josef*.

(M) *Arabshah* says, he was far as *Antâb*, in *Syria*, when accused of governing in a very tyrannical and cruel manner. the news of *Shâh Rukh's* invasion made him return.

(N) According to *Mirkond*, in *Texeira*, he was marched as

(O) *Herbert* writes *Ojone*.

abandoned

abandoned his corps, which continued a long time unburied; till some of his friends had it carried to *Arjis* (P), and there interred it. The death of this prince happened in the year 823, and fourth of his reign.

HE had six sons. *Pîr Buda Khân*, who died before his father: *Amîr Iskânder*, who succeeded him: *Mirza Jehân Shâh*, who succeeded *Iskânder*: *Shâh Mohammed*, who had the government of *Persia* (Q): *Amîr Absal*, who died also before his father; and *Abu Saïd*, who was killed by his brother *Iskânder*.

A. D.

1419.

A. D.

1420.

and children

AMIR ISKANDER, or *Mîr Iskânder* (that is *Alexander*) second son of *Kara Yusuf*, succeeded his father, in the year 824; and continued the war against *Mirza Shâh Rukh*, by whom he was overthrown in *Diyârbekr*: after which he retired towards the *Euphrates*, while the victor marched back to *Tauris*. Yet he was obliged to withdraw into *Khorassân* with his army, not being able to gain that city, the inhabitants refusing to admit him, both for love and fear of *Iskânder*, who on *Shâh Rukh's* departure returned thither. In 828, he deposed and put to death *Amîr Shâms'oddîn*, king of *Kalât* (or *Aklât*), in *Armenia*; and, in 830, did the like by *Soltân Ahmed Kûrdî*, governor of the province of *Kûrdestân*.

2. Iskân-

der de-

seated

Hej. 824.

A. D.

1421.

Two years after, 832, he took *Soltântyah*, in *Persia* by *Shâh Irâk*: of which *Mirza Shâh Rukh* being informed, marched again into *Azerbeijân*; and, at *Salmâs* (R), was met by *Iskânder*, and his brother *Jehân Shâh*; where they came to a battle; in which *Iskânder* being routed fled into *Rûmestân* (or *Anatolia*). Yet could not *Shâh Rukh* even this time make himself master of *Tauris*. However, having, upon his return to *Khorassân*, recruited his army, he marched back to the city of *Rey*, in *Irâk*, and took it. There *Jehân Shâh*, *Iskânder's* brother, was reconciled to *Shâh Rukh*, who made him a present of the city of *Tauris*, though not in his possession.

* D'HERB. p. 254. art. *Cara Josef*, TEXEIRA, c. 45. p. 324.

(P) A city in *Armenia*, on the north side of the lake of *Wân*, near *Kellat*, or *Aklât*.

(Q) He held it twenty-three years, till 833 of the *Hejrab*, of *Cbrist* 1431, when he was killed by *Abmed Hamadâni*. *D'Herbelot* says, he was the second prince of the *Kara Koyunlu*

race: that he succeeded his father, and reigned in *Persia* till slain, as above. See *Bibl. orient.* art. *Mohammed Schach ben Kara Josef*, p. 614.

(R) A city about 70 miles from *Tauris*, on the *Shâbi Dariâsi*, or the *Shâb's* lake, which is about 80 miles long.

Yet,

A. D. 1421. Yet, on this grant, *Jehân Shâh* armed against his brother ; who, being vanquished in battle, shut himself up in *Kakât Alenjâk*, where the other besieged him. But, while *Iskânder* continued to defend himself in that almost impregnable fortrefs, his son, *Shâh Kobâd*, tired with his father's ill fortune, murdered him, in the year 841 of the *Hejrah*(S), and sixteenth of his reign ; as *Iskânder* had his own brother, *Abu Saïd*, soon after he ascended the throne, upon a very slight suspicion °.

3. *Jehân Shâh.*
slain by his son.

AFTER the death of *Iskânder*, his brother *Jehân Shâh* possessed himself of his dominions ; and, when well established in the throne, marched against the king of *Gûrjêstân*, or *Georgia*, whom he took prisoner. After this, moving about to several parts of *Pârs*, he reduced them all under his obedience ; expelling from some of them the garrisons placed there by *Mirza Mahmûd*, the son of *Baysangor* (T), who was dead. These things he performed in the years 856 and 857 ; in which last he also subdued the province of *Kermân*. In 861 (U), he marched towards *Khorassân* ; and, the next year, made war on *Mirza Ibrâhîm*, the son of *Alâ-o'ddawlat*, whom he defeated : in which battle *Amir Zadoka Jagatay* was killed. Hereupon *Soltân Abû Saïd*, who then reigned in *Bâlkh*, advanced against him : but *Jehân Shâh* having received advice that one of his sons had rebelled in *Tauris*, he came to an agreement with *Abû Saïd* ; and, returning to his capital, seized the disobedient prince, and closely confined him.

His large dominions ; THIS commotion was no sooner suppressed, than *Pîr Budak*, another of his sons, who was governor of *Bâghdâd*, revolted also. *Jehân Shâh* marched thither with his forces ; and, after he had held him besieged a whole year, by the mediation of friends, matters were accommodated, about the

year 869 : but, when all things were amicably settled, his brother *Mehemed* murdered him without the father's knowledge. *Jehân Shâh* now arrived to a great pitch of power, being possessed of *Azerbejân*, *Irâk*, *Pârs* or *Proper Persia*,

Kermân, and other parts of *Irân*, in the year 872, jealous perhaps of the growing power of the *Ak Koyunlû Turkmâns*, turned his arms against their chief, *Uzûn Hassan Beg*, who

° TEXEIR. Hist. Pers. c. 45. p. 325, and D'HERB. p. 320. art. *Eskander Emir*.

(S) *Al Jannabi* puts the end of his reign in 839.

(T) He was, son of *Mirza Shâh Rukh*, son of *Timûr*.

(U) A. D. 1456.

was then no more than governor (X) of *Diyârbêkr*; but he was forced to return, through the severity of the winter. A. D. 1467.

HOWEVER, he took the field again next summer. And, as it was his constant custom to make himself drunk over-night, and sleep till far in the day, the army marched before, and he followed afterwards, attended by about 1000 horse. *Uzûn Hassan*, who had intelligence of this, took 5000 men with him; and, waiting for him in an advantageous place, attacked him so opportunely, that, before any relief could arrive, he was killed, and two of his sons taken. *Mehemed Mirza*, the elder, was put to death on the spot, and *Yusef* or *Iffus Mirza* had his eyes put out. *Jehân Shâh* lived seventy years, and reigned thirty-two. As to his character, he was reckoned the most lewd and wicked prince in those parts, at that juncture of time.

KALKOKONDILAS, in his history of the fall of the Greek empire, says, this prince, whom he calls corruptly *Tzanisa*, son of *Kara Yusef*, and lord of *Bâghdâd*, sent to offer *Mohammed II.* the *Othmân Soltân*, 4000 quintals of butter and 1000 camels, not to meddle with the country about *Sebastê* (or *Sirwâs*) in *Anatolia*. This the Soltân agreed to, although the other had begun the war, entering that country with 8000 men, after subduing *Armenia*: but that, in the mean time, *Trokhies* (so he miscalls *Shâh Rukh*), a descendant of *Timûr*, marching from *Samarkant*, conquered all the country before him: and, laying siege to *Baghdâd*, sent from thence a great army, under the command of *Long Hassan* (*Uzûn Hassan*), to subdue *Armenia*, and the flat countries of *Asia*; which that general performed. So confused and erroneous are the accounts which that author has given of foreign affairs.

HASSAN ALI, third son of *Jehân Shâh*, inherited his father's kingdom, with all his treasures: which being very great, he raised an army of 200,000 horse and foot, to revenge his death; and, not being very wise, gave them a year's pay before hand. At the same time he was preparing to march against another, Soltân *Abu Saïd*, before mentioned, marched against him. The two armies met; but the battle was no sooner begun, than most of those who had received

slain by
Uzûn
Hassan.

4. Hassan
Ali

Hej. 872.
A. D.
1488.

† *TEXEIR. c. 45. p. 325. D'HERB. p. 367. art. Gehan Schah.* † *KALKONDILAS, l. iii. c. 14. and l. vii. c. 11.*

(X) As it is not said under what prince, it may be presumed, he was sovereign of

their

A. D. 1488. *defeated, and slain.* their pay in advance, went over to the enemy (Y). This treachery of his troops obliged *Hassan* to fly : but while he escaped from one enemy, he fell into the hands of another : for *Uzûn Hassan*, meeting him in the way, defeated the remains of his forces, and killed him, with two of his sons, in the year 873¹. Thus ended the sovereignty of the family or hord of the *Black Sheep*, which had continued for the space of sixty-four years, and passed to the family of the *White Sheep*.

S E C T. III.

The Turkmân Dynasty of the Ak Koyunlû, or White Sheep.

THIS dynasty went also by the name of *Bayandûrtyah*, which they took from the tribe or hord from whence they sprang. Accordingly *Hay ibn Tokdan* dedicated his *Persian* history to Soltân *Takûb Bayandûri*, the son of *Uzûn Hassan*, seventh prince of this race, though others reckon him but the second. For *Mirkond* and the author of the *Nighiaristân* make *Hassan* the founder of this dynasty : perhaps, because that of the *Kara Koyunlû* seemed to hold the sovereignty before he put an end to it, and succeeded to the dominion of its princes. But *Al Jannâbi*, and other oriental authors, give five predecessors to *Uzûn Hassan*, and accordingly assign thirteen princes to this dynasty, instead of eight : to which number the before-mentioned historians would limit them².

1. Târ
Ali Beg.

THE first of these princes, who made any considerable figure among the *Turkmâns* of this tribe or branch, was *Târ Ali Beg*. Yet there is nothing remarkable transmitted to us concerning him, further than that he erected his principality in *Diyârbekr*. Although others, as hath been observed, make *Armenia Minor* to have been the seat of the *Ak Koyunlû Turkmâns*.

2. Fâk-
ro'ddîn
Kotli
Beg.

HE was succeeded by his son *Fâkro'ddîn Kotli* or *Kotlu Beg* : of whom nothing is mentioned, by the historians before us, more than of his father and predecessor. Nor have we so much as the dates, or length of their reigns : but matters begin to clear up a little in that of his successor,

¹ TEXEIR: C. 45. p. 325. D'HERB. p. 435. art. Hassan Ali,
² See D'HERB. art. Ac Coinlu, Baianduri, and Turkman.

(Y) This affair is told differently by the same author, in the reign of *Uzûn Hassan*, founder of the *Ak Koyunlû* dynasty.

C. I. The Ak Koyunlu, or White Sheep:

III

KARA Ilâg Ozmân, or *Othmân*, son of *Fâkr'oddîn Kotli Beg*. This prince having submitted to *Timûr*, and conducted him into *Asia Minor*^b; the conqueror, in return, bestowed on him the government of *Malatîyah*, in *Anatolia*, near the *Euphrates*, after he had taken it from *İldîrm Bâyezîd*, Soltân of the *Turks*, in the year 803. He likewise conferred great honours upon him. The same year, when *Kara Ozmân* waited on him at *Bîr*, on the *Euphrates*, *Timûr* presented him with the *Kalaat*, or vest; and, marching forwards through *Diyârbekr*, ordered him to form the blockade of *Mardîn*, while he went forward to besiege *Bâghdûd*, from which Soltân *Ahmed Jalâyir* had retired. On *Timûr*'s return from that expedition, in 804, *Kara Ozmân* joined his army, on its way back to *Anatolia*, in order to give *Bâyezîd* battle. On which occasion the *Turkmân* prince, in conjunction with the *Amîr Jehân Shâh*, did wonders, breaking through the left wing of the *Othmâns*. After this, *Timûr*, at *Siwâs*, conferred on him several honours, and then sent him back to his principality.

A. D.
1400.

3. Kara
Ilâg Oz-
mân,

A. D.
1400.

Hej. 804.

A. D.
1406.

his bra-
very :

THIS is the account we meet with in *Sharîf'oddîn Alî's* history of *Timûr*^c; which does not agree with what the other oriental writers before us relate concerning *Kara Ozmân*. They say, that he obtained of *Timûr*, for his services, the government of the cities of *Arzenjân*, *Mardîn*, *Roha* or *Orfa*, with other territories of *Diyârbekr*, and even of *Siwâs* itself^d. But, as nothing of this appears from the history of *Timûr*, just now mentioned, there may be room to doubt of its being fact. On the contrary, the government, not of *Siwâs*, but *Malatîyah*, was bestowed on him, and *Mardîn* continued in the hands of Soltân *Aysa*, its own prince. The same author tells us, that he was afterwards slain in battle by *İf- kânder*, son of *Kara Yusef*, second prince of the *Kara Koyunlu Turkmâns*, in the ninetieth year of his age, and of the *Hejrah* 809. But this date, at least, must be a mistake: for, according to *Mirkond*, he was living in 813 or 814, when *Kara Yusef* drove him out of *Diyârbekr*^e; and *Efkânder* did not succeed his father till the year 823. If therefore we substitute 829 in the room of 809, it will give his successor a reign of twenty-eight years instead of forty-eight; which seems too long.

rewarded
by Timûr.

His death.

Hej. 829.

A. D.
1425.

HAMZA BEG succeeded his father *Karah Ilâg Ozmân*, with regard to whom we find nothing more than that he died in the year 848.

4. Ham-
za Beg.

^b D'HERBELOT, art. Turkman, and Pocock Suppl. p. 59.
^c L. v. c. 17, 29, 30, 38, 64. ^d Pocock Suppl. p. 59.
D'HERB. art. Turkman. ^e See before, p. 105.

A. D. 1467. *HAMZAH* had for his successor *Jehân Ghîr*, son of *Ali Beg*, son of *Kara Ozmân*. He died in the year 872; having been deprived of almost all his power by his brother *Uzûn Hassan*.

5. *Jehân Ghîr*.
6. *Uzûn Hassan*

UZUN HASSAN signifies, in *Turkîsh*, *Long Hassan*; whence the *Arabs* call him *Hassan al tawîl*, which imports the same. He is also named *Hassan Beg*, or *Beyg*; that is, *Lord Hassan* (A). It has already been observed, in the life of *Jehân Shâh*, third prince of the *Kara Koyunlû* family, that *Uzûm Hassan* slew him at an attack, in the same year; whereby he revenged the injury done his grandfather *Kara Ozmân*, by *Kara Yusef*, father of *Jehân Shâh*. *Hassan Ali*, who succeeded this last prince, immediately sent to implore the assistance of *Abû Saïd Mirza*, third successor in the empire of *Timûr* (B), who then wintered at *Marû*, in *Khorassân*. *Abû Saïd*, led by generosity, but more by ambition, thinking this would open a way to enlarge his conquest westward, he set forward, at the head of a great army, with a design to attack the provinces of *Irâk* and *Azerbeijân*. When he arrived on the borders of this last province, *Hassan Beg* sent several ambassadors, to demand peace: but *Abû Saïd*, still insisting that the other should come to his camp, at the same time marched in order to pass the summer at *Karabâg* (in the province of *Arrân*), where *Hassan Beg* usually resided. But this *Turkmân* having the address to cut off his provisions and forage, the greater part of the army dispersed, and the rest went over to his enemy. In this distress, fearing to be hemmed in, he took to flight: but, being pursued, he was brought to *Hassan*; who would have spared his life; but, by advice of his council, put him to death, in 873 c.

slays Abu Saïd,

Hej. 873.
A. D. 1468.
and Hassan Ali.

AFTER this defeat, *Hassan Beg* defeated and killed *Hassan Ali*, as hath been related; whereby *Tauris* and *Azerbijân* fell into the hands of the conqueror. When *Jehân Shâh* was slain, his son *Mirza Yusef* was taken, and had his eyes put out, as was said before; in which condition he retired to

c D'HERB. art. Abu Saïd Mirza, p. 34.

(A) Corruptly written *Ozun Azem Bek* by *Texeira*; and *Ufûm Chafan*, or *Cafan*, by *Leunclavius*, and other *European* authors.

(B) He was son of *Mohammed*, son of *Mirân Shâh*, son of *Timûr*, and succeeded *Abdallah*, son of *Ulug Beg*, son of *Shâh-*

rukhs, in the dominions of the province of *Mawarâ'nnahr*; having been in possession of *Khorassân* before. He afterwards extended his empire, from *Kösfagar* eastward, in *Little Bûkharia*, to *Tauris*, in *Persia*, westward. He had also *Kermân*, in *Persia*, and *Indostan*, as far as *Multân*.

Shirâz,

Shirâz, the capital of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*. Where he continued as sovereign; but not long: for *Uzun Hassan*, after the defeat of his brother *Hassan Ali*, marched against him; and, entering *Shirâz* by force, put blind *Yusef* to death. Being thus become master of the province of *Pârs*, he entered that of *Kermân*, and subdued it. Afterwards he turned towards *Bâghdâd*, and took it, with the rest of *Arabian Irâk*.

A. D.
1468.

THESE great successes, in so short a time as two or three years, made him think himself a match for *Mohammed II.* Soltân of the *Othmân Turks*; whose dominions he invaded in the year 876 (C): but, being met by the Soltân near *Arzenjân*, was overthrown, and his son *Zeynel* (or *Zeyno'ddîn*) governor of *Kasbîn*, slain, as is before related^d. *Al Jannâbi* observes, that after this defeat his affairs were not prosperous. He died in 882, after a reign of eleven years; as did much about the same time *Ogurlu Mohammed*, the eldest of his seven sons. The five who survived, were *Khalil Mirza*, *Makfûd Beg*, *Yakûb Beg*, *Masih Beg*, and *Yusef Beg*. Of these, *Khalil*, *Makfûd*, and *Masih*, reigned after him^e. He had to wife the daughter of *Kalo Johannes*, emperor of *Trebizond*, who brought him a daughter, named *Martha*: which *Martha*, according to the western historians, was mother of *Ismaël Sofi*, founder of the next dynasty in *Persia*.

defeated by
Mohammed II.A. D.
1471.A. D.
1477.

his death.

KHALIL Beg, by some called *Khalil Soltân*, ascending the throne upon his father's death, immediately sent his brother *Takûb Beg* to govern the country of *Diyârbekr*. Presently after, *Morâd Beg* invading his dominions, he routed his forces, and made him fly to *Firâz Kûh*, a strong fortress; whose commander, *Hussayn Beg Jelohi*, admitted him, and then sent him prisoner to *Khalil*, who put him to death. In the interim, *Takûb Beg*, revolting in *Diyârbekr*, marches with his army to *Tauris*, attended by his brother *Makfûd Beg*. On advice of this, *Khalil* hastes to meet them; but is routed and killed by his brother *Takûb*, in 884, when he had reigned but six months^f and fifteen days. Others say, he was so hated by his subjects, on account of his cruelty, and other vices, that he assassinated him^g.

YAKUB Beg, having slain his brother, took possession of the throne: in the year 886, one of his generals, called *Byander Beg*;

^d See Hist. Othmân Turks.^e Tex. c. 46. p. 329.

D'HERB. p. 916. art. Uzun Hassan.

^f Tex. ubi supra;^g Pocock, Suppl. p. 60.

(C) Some oriental authors place this action two years after. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Mohammed Khân, p. 614.

A. D. 1481. *Beg*, rebelled against him ; but, being met by him with the forces at *Savah*, or *Sawab*, a city near that of *Koh*, was defeated and slain. This same year, Soltán *Mohammed* II. died at *Constantinople*, and was fatal also to *Sheykh Hayder* : who,

marching from *Ardevil* into *Shirwán*, in order to revenge himself on *Ferokhzád* (D), its king, who had slain his father in a former invasion, was routed, and killed in battle, by the assistance of the troops of *Yakób Beg*, under the conduct of *Soleymán Beg Bigan*. This prince died at *Karabág*, near *Tauris*, in 896, in the 28th year of his age, after a reign of twelve

A. D. 1490. years and eight months^b. Other authors say but two months ; and that he was taken off by poison. This misfortune is attributed to the death of his mother, a woman of excellent qualities ; which happened eighteen days only before that of her son.

his death.

Her custom was every week to assemble the principal persons of that family, about twenty in number, and inculcate such things as tended to keep up peace among them : but, with her, concord also departed ; and they began to quarrel among themselves. He was reckoned to be learned ; and composed verses both in *Turkish* and *Persian*. He corresponded by letters with *Bayezid* II. Soltán of the *Turks* ; between whom there was a friendshipⁱ,

9. Bay Sanker ;

Bay Sanker Mirza, son of *Yakub Beg*, succeeded his father ; and, being only ten years old, was under the tuition of *Sufi Khálil Mufulu*, one of his generals^k. There were great commotions and troubles upon his accession to the throne ; because those of the hord of *Bayanduriyah* were for advancing *Masib Beg*, or *Mirza*, uncle to the infant king, and brother to his father. These, joining with him, made war on *Sufi Khálil* ; who, presently taking the field, came to a battle, wherein *Masib* was defeated and killed : his nephew *Rustam Beg*, son to his brother *Makšád*, was taken also, and sent prisoner to the fortrefs of *Alenjék* (in *Armenia*). At this time, *Soleymán Beg Bigan*, who had routed and slain Soltán *Hayder*, as before-mentioned, advanced from *Diyárbekr*, in defence of *Ferokhzád*, king of *Shirwán*, whom *Khálil* overthrew and killed at *Mogán* (E).

slain by Rustam.

IN the mean time, *Haybe Soltán Bayanduri*, who had the command of some troops, assaulted *Alenjék*, and rescuing *Ruf-*

^a TEX. p. 330. D'HERB. p. 467. art. *Jacoub Begh*. ⁱ Po-
cock, ubi supr. ^k TEX. p. 331.

(D) In *Texeira* he is called *Farrokyazar*. is a plain country to the south of the rivers *Arrás* and *Kúr*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea.

(E) *Texeira* writes *Mean* : it

Sam Beg, proclaimed him king. The new monarch, with these forces, joined with many more which resorted to him, marched towards *Tauris* in quest of *Bay Sanker*; who, on their approach, abandoned the country, and fled with his governor to *Diyârbekr*: but, being pursued by a body of *Rostam's* troops, *Khalil* was taken, and put to death: however, *Bay Sanker* escaped for that time, and *Rustam Beg* remained in possession of the kingdom¹. This is the account given by *Mirkond*. *Al Jannâbi*, who places *Masih Beg* in the throne, instead of *Bay Sanker*, says he had for a competitor, besides this latter, *Ali Beg*, son of *Khalil Beg*, the sixth prince of this dynasty: but the author of the *Lebtarikh* reckons neither *Masih* nor *Ali Beg* among the number, any more than *Mirkond*^m.

A. D.
1481.

R O S T A M Mirza (or *Beg*, as in *Texeira*), son of *Makhd Beg*, and grandson of *Uzun Hassan Beg*, as soon as he came to *Tauris*, released *Ali Mirza*, or *Pâdisbâh*, and *Shâh Ismael*, two sons of *Sheykh Hayder*, out of prison; and, taking the field with the first of them, marched in quest of *Bay Sanker*; who came to meet them between *Ganjeh* and *Bardaa* (F): but was there by them routed and slain. After this victory, *Ali Mirza*, to whom it was in great measure owing, retired with his brother to *Ardevîl*, his native country, with the permission of *Rostam*; who, repenting that he had let him go, as fearing his presence, and the memory of his father, might occasion some commotion in that city, presently set forward at the head of his army towards *Ardevîl*, in order to get *Ali Mirza* and *Ismael* once more into his hands. The two brothers, resolving to defend their liberty, with what forces they could gather, gave him battle, and were defeated. *Ali* was killed on the spot; but *Ismael* the younger had the good fortune to escape into the province *Ghilân*, or *Khildân*, in *Persia*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea.

10. Rost-
am Mir-
za;
Hej. 897.
A. D.
1491.releases
Hayder's
sons;

AFTER this, in the year 902, *Ahmed Beg*, son of *Oğartu* is slain. *Mohammed*, and grandson of *Uzun Hassan Beg*, marched from *Diyârbekr* against *Rostam*; who, engaging him near *Tauris*, lost the victory, and fled to *Gârjestân*, or *Georgia*; where he was killed, when he had reigned five years and six monthsⁿ;

A. D.
1496.

¹Tex. p. 331. D'HERB. p. 901. art. Turkman and Massih, p. 561. ^m Id. ibid. and Pocock, Supl. p. 61. ⁿ MIR-KOZÉ ap. Texeir. cap. 46. & ap. D'Herb. p. 740. art. Rostam Beg.

(F) Cities in the province of *Arrâs*; to which *Eriwân* belongs, between the rivers *Kîr* and *Arâs*.

A. D. and was succeeded, according to *Al Jannâbi*, in the year 904
1496. by his conqueror.

11. Am- *AHMED Beg* (or, as *Al Jannâbi* names him, *Soltân Ah-*
med Beg; *med*), having expelled *Rostam*, ascended the throne. He gave
the government of the kingdom of *Kermân*, in *Persia*, to *Hay-*
be *Soltân*; and that of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, to *Kazem Beg*
Hef. 904. *Pernâki*. These two, in requital of his favours, conspired to-
A. D. gether, and rebelled against him. *Ahmed*, on the news of their
1498. revolt, marched against them; but, after some encounters, he
was slain in a battle, which he lost near *Isfâhân*, in *Persian*
Irâk°. According to *Al Jannâbi*, this prince had fled to
Constantinople, for fear of his uncle *Yakûb*; from whence he
was invited by the great lords of the kingdom: but that, hav-
ing a mind, after his accession to the throne, to introduce the
more severe *Othmân* discipline among his soldiers, the princi-
pal officers of his army were so disgusted with him, that they
conspired to depose him. For this purpose, they sent to *Mo-*
râd Mirza, son of *Yakûb Beg*, who was then in *Shîrwân*, to
come and take the kingdom. *Morâd*, hastening to *Azerbeijân*
on this invitation, attacked *Ahmed Beg*; and, having vanquished
his forces, put him to death, when he had reigned about one
year. After this, the same licentious officers, violating their
faith to *Morâd*, called in *Alwand Beg*, or *Mirza*; who, by
their assistance, seized on, and threw him in prison°.

put to
death.

AT the time of *Ahmed Beg*'s death, there remained of all
the race of *Uzun Hassan Beg* only three youths, his grandsons;
Soltân Morâd (or *Morâd Mirza*), who was in *Shîrwân*, as
hath been said; *Alwand Beg*, the son of *Yusef Beg*, in *Azer-*
beijân; and *Mohammed Mirza*, brother to *Alwand*, at *Yazd*,
or *Yezd*, in *Pârs*. All the dominions of *Persia*, which had
been in possession of the hord of *Ak Koyunlu*, were then di-
vided among them°.

12. Al-
wand
Beg;

ALWAND, or *Alwend Beg*, was saluted king by *Kâzem*
Beg Pernâki, and *Gâzi Beg Bayândûri*, his generals, and kinf-
men: these were joined at *Tauris* by *Haybe Soltân*; who came
from *Kermân*. At the same time, *Mohammed Mirza*, who was
at *Yazd*, assumed the title of king of *Isfâhân*, or *Irâk*; but,
on *Alwand*'s marching against him, he withdrew, without
making any opposition, into the fortress of *Sthi*, then go-
vernèd by *Hussèyn Keyah Jelsbi*. This commander joining
Mohammed, they both advanced towards *Alwand*, who was
then upon his return; and, coming up with him, engaged in

expelled by
Moham-
med;

° MIRKOND, ubi supr.

° AL JANNAB. ap. Pocock. Sup.
ad Hist. Dynast. p. 61. D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. p. 901. art.
Turkman.

° MIRKOND, ubi supr.

battle;

battle ; which *Alwand* lost, and retired to *Tauris*. Being pursued thither by *Mohammed*, he ventured out again ; and was again routed, with the loss of *Haybe Soltân* ; upon which he fled to *Diyârbekr*. A. D. 1498.

DURING these confusions, the brothers of *Haybe Soltân* declared *Soltân Morâd*, who was then in *Shîrwan*, king of *Irâk* ; and, conducting him thence with a considerable army, moved in quest of *Mohammed Mîrza* ; whom they met near *Ispahân*, defeated and killed, in 905, after he had reigned one year. A. D. 1499.
Al Jannâbi says, that, although *Mohammed* had dispossessed his brother *Alwand* of the throne, yet he could not mount it himself : for that *Morâd Beg*, being delivered out of prison, seized it, and put him to death.

By this means he obtained the kingdoms of *Pârs* and *Irâk*, 13 Mo-
 while *Alwand* remained possessed of *Azerbejân*. In the year rad Beg ;
 906, they both raised forces ; and, taking the field, met at A. D.
Kasbîn, or *Kazvîn* ; where, without the decision of the sword, 1500.
 by the interposition of friends, they agreed that each party should hold what was already his own. This was a miserable time all over *Persia* for robberies, violence, famine, pestilence, and universal confusion. Next year, *Ismaël*, son of *Sheykh Hayder*, or *Haydor*, marched with his army from *Nakhshivân* to *Tauris*, the residence of *Alwand* ; who, abandoning the country, fled to *Bâghdâd*, and thence to *Diyârbekr* ; where he afterwards died. Thus *Azerbejân* fell under the dominion of *Ismaël* ; who, in 908, made war on *Soltân Morâd*. This prince advanced from *Shîrâz* to meet him ; and, joining battle at A. D. 1501.
Hamadân, was defeated with the loss of 10,000 men. Here-
 upon he fled back to his capital ; but soon after, leaving *Pârs* A. D. 1502,
 and *Kermân* to the victor, retired to *Bâghdâd* ; where he was received by the governor, *Bari Beg*. However, *Ismaël* would not let him remain there : for next year, advancing with his forces against them, they abandoned that city, and fled to *Karamân*, or *Karamânia*. *Morâd*, having continued there for some time, returned to *Diyârbekr* ; where the *Kezilbâsh* (G) killed him, A. D. 1514.
 in 920 : and in him ended the sovereignty of the hord of *Ak Koyunlu Turkmâns*, in *Persia*.

* *MIRKOND*, ubi supr. * *AL JANNABI*, ubi supr. * *MIRKOND*, ubi supr. *D'HERB.* p. 624. art. *Morad Beg*. *AL. JANNABI*, ubi supr.

(G) Or *Red Heads* ; that is, by the *Turks* and *Tatars*, from the *Persians*, so called in sneer their red bonnets.

C H A P. II.

The History of the Uzbeks.

S E C T. I.

The Origin and Affairs of the Uzbeks, till their Settlements in Great Bukharia, and Kárazm.

Uzbeks
whence
named.

IT has been observed before in the history of the Khâns of Kipjak, that the *Uzbeks* derive their name from *Uzbek*, the seventh Khân of that country, descended from *Jenghiz Khân*; which his subjects assumed in honour to him, for having introduced the *Mohammedan* religion into his dominions. This prince tried his fortune twice against *Abûsaïd Khân*, the last sovereign of the *Mungls*, in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; and died in the year 1342. But, to give our readers the history of the *Uzbeks* and their Khâns more distinctly, it will be necessary to ascend as high as *Juji*, or *Tusbi Khân*, eldest son of *Jenghiz Khân*, and first Khân of Kipjak.

Bâtu's
conquests.

THIS prince, intending to make war on the *Cberka's* (A), *Basbktrs* (B), *Urûs's* (C), and other bordering nations, had caused a prodigious quantity of provisions to be gotten ready; but death preventing him, his father, *Jenghiz Khân*, resolved that *Bâtu*, son of the deceased *Juji*, called by our author *Bâtu Saghin Khân*, should prosecute the design. Yet was it obstructed a second time by the death of that conqueror, till it was revived by *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*), successor of *Jenghiz Khân*, in the eastern parts of *Tartary*: who, after his return from his expedition into *Kitay*, or *Katay* (that is, the northern part of *China*) sent *Bâtu* (D), with a numerous army, into the countries above-mentioned; where, after he had taken many cities from the *Urûs* (or *Russians*) he, at length, set down before *Moskew*; near which the *Urûs*, with their allies, the *Nemetz* (E), had intrenched themselves.

(A) Or *Cberkassians*: the *Italians* write *Circass*; whence we corruptly *Circassians*, instead of *Cbirkassians*.

(B) A tribe of *Turks* or *Tatars*, called *Paskatir* by *Rubruquis*; dwelling in the north part of the kingdom of *Astrakân*.

(C) *Rûs*, or the *Russians*.

(D) Who had accompanied

Oktay in his expedition to *Kitay*, with five of his brothers.

(E) The orthography in the translations of *Abûlghazi Khân's* history is so corrupt, that it is difficult to tell whether this word must be pronounced *Nemetz*, *Nemej*, or *Nemecz*. By these people are to be understood the *Germans*. The *Arabs* call Germany *Nemfia*.

BÂTU,

BATU, having tried in vain for three months to force them, Sheybani his brother *Sheybāni*, who accompanied him in the expedition, *Khān*; procured of him a reinforcement of 6000 men; then causing all his troops to alight, at day-break attacked the enemy behind, while *Bātu* charged them in front, with such bravery, that they fled, after losing 70,000 of their best soldiers. This great victory rendered the conquest of several other cities and provinces easy. After his return, loaded with riches and glory, *Orda*, surnamed *Itzen* (F), eldest son of *Juji*, to reward *Sheybāni*'s good services, made him a present of 15,000 families. *Bātu* did the like, giving him, at the same time, all the places conquered from the *Russians* and their allies; with as many people out of the tribes of the *Kuris*, *Naymāns*, *Karliks*, *bi's settle-* and *Vigurs* (or *Oygurs*), as were necessary for the guard of *ment*. those towns, and support of his court: but on condition, that, settling in the country between his (*Bātu*'s) dominions, and the lands of *Orda Itzen*, he should pass the summer about the mountains of *Arāl* (or *the Eagles*) and river *Jaiik*; and the winter more to the south, about *Karakum* (G), *Arakum*, and the rivers *Sir* and *Sara Su*. Accordingly, he sent one of his sons to take possession of the *Russian* and *Nemetzian* cities, where he and his descendants dwelt: but, because of the distance, our author could not tell where they were situated.

SHEYBANI *Khān*, who left twelve sons (H), was succeeded by *Bāhadr*, his second; and *Bāhadr Khān* by *Badakul*, *Sheykh*. the eldest of his four (I). After *Badakul Khān*, his only son, *Mengu Timūr* (for his wit and courage named *Kutluk Mengu Timūr*), ascended the throne. He had six sons (K); from the last of whom, *Bekkondi*, was descended *Kujum Khān* (L); who, after forty years reign in the country of *Turān* (M); becoming blind with age, was driven out by the *Russians*, in 1594, and retired to the *Mankats* (N). *Mengu Timūr* Hej. 1003

(F) It may be read also *Ijen*, *Fulād*; 4. *Siunji*; 5. *Temür Bunge*; 6. *Bekkondi*. or *Iben*.

(G) That is *Black Sand*. Some desert towards *Kipjak*.

(H) Their names are, 1. *Bayzal*; 2. *Babadr*; 3. *Karak*; 4. *Balka*; 5. *Zirik* (or *Jirik*); 6. *Mergān*; 7. *Kurtga*; 8. *Ayaji*; 9. *Sagbilgan*; 10. *Bayanjar*; 11. *Majar*; 12. *Konji*.

(I) *Viz*. 1. *Badakul*; 2. *Bik Timūr*; 3. *Tankajar*; 4. *Yessubuga-Badakul*.

(K) 1. *Hsak*; 2. *Janta*; 3.

4. *Fulād*; 5. *Siunji*; 6. *Bekkondi*.

(L) Or *Kuchum Khān*. He was the son of *Murtāza Khān*, son of *Mamudak Khān*, son of *Hajim Mohammed Khān*, son of *Ali Oglan*, son of *Bekkondi*.

(M) Rather the country of *Tura*, in *Siberia*, where this *Khān* reigned.

(N) The same with the *Kara Kalpaks*; who are at present possessed of the western half of *Turkestan*.

dying, *Fulâd*, his third son, succeeded : after whose death, his sons, *Dawlat Sheykh Oglân*, and *Arabsbâh*, divided the dominions ; dwelling in summer towards the river *Jaik*, and in winter about the *Sir*.

Abûlgayir Khân. *DAWLET Sheykh* had a son, named *Abûlgayir* ; who made himself formidable to all his neighbours. He had eleven sons ; of whom *Shabadakh Soltân*, the eldest, had two : the first called *Mahamed*, surnamed *Shâbbakht* ; the other *Mahamed Soltân* ; whose son, *Obeyd Khân*, reigned in *Great Bûkhâria*. The second son of *Abûlgayir* was *Khoja Mahamed* ; but being exceeding foolish, the *Uzbeks* called him *Khoja Amtintak*. His son, *Janibek*, was as foolish as his father ; and *Iskander Khân*, the son of *Janibek*, was no less silly than his father and grandfather. However, he was very devout ; and loved both hunting and hawking. The son of *Iskander* was *Abdo'llah Khân* ; whose son, *Abdo'l'mumin*, was the last of that branch of *Sheybânî Khân* ; of which two princes, who were men of understanding, something farther will be said hereafter ^a.

Yadigar Khân.

ARAB Shâh, the other son of *Fulâd*, was succeeded, in his share of his father's dominions, by his son *Haji Taulay* ; who had his son *Timûr Sheykh* for his successor. *Timûr Sheykh* was a prince of great hopes : but dying young, and without issue (being killed in an engagement with the (O) *Kalmûks*, all his subjects retired to other princes, excepting the *Vigûrs* ; who, when they went to take leave of the Khân's widow, being informed by her, that she was three months gone with child, they resolved to stay till the time of her delivery ; when she brought forth a son, called *Yadigar*. Hereupon they sent word to the *Naymâns* ; who, having hovered about to wait the event, upon this advice, returned to their obedience : and ever since the *Vigûrs* have complimented them with the left hand ; which is the most honourable post.

Burga Soltân ;

YADIGAR Khân had four sons. The first, named *Burga Soltân*, was a prince of much courage. His breast was formed of one single bone. He lived in the time of *Abûlgayir Khân* above-mentioned ; but was much younger than he. *Abusâid Mirza* (descended from *Amîr Timûr* (or *Tamerlan*), who then reigned in *Mawara'nahr* (or *Great Bukharia*), after slaying *Abdo'latif Mirza*, over-ran the whole country, and forced his

^a ABULGHÄZI KHAN. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 205, part 8. c. 1.

(O) So the *Elûths*, or *Alûths*, them *Hassak Pûrûk*. See before, are nicknamed by the *Uzbeks* ; vol. iv. p. 65. who are, in return, called by

son,

son, *Mahamed Juki*, to fly for refuge to *Abūlgayir* (P); whose wife was *Juki's* aunt. Some time after, news being brought that *Abūsaïd* had marched, with all his forces, towards *Khorassân*, and from thence to *Mâzânderân*, *Abūlgayir* sent 30,000 men, under *Bârga Soltân*, and *Mirza Mahamed Juki*, towards *Tâshkunt*; which surrendered without opposition. Proceeding thence to *Shâh Rukhîya* (or *Fenakant*); it was soon taken. They then passed the *Sîr*, and turned towards *Samarkant*; whose governor, *Amîr Masjet*, advancing to meet them, was intirely defeated. After this, they reduced all the towns in the countries of *Kuzîn*, *Karmîna* (Q), and *Mawara'l-nahr* (R); excepting *Samarkant* and *Bokhâra*.

ABUS AÏD *Mirza*, who, on the first news of this invasion, turned back with all his forces, being arrived at *Bâlk*, *Bârga Soltân* was for preventing his passage of the *Amû*: but *Mahamed Juki*, and the lords of the country, contrary to his advice, repassed the *Sîr*, and got into *Shâh Rukhîya*; which, after four months siege, surrendered to *Abūsaïd*, in 860 (S). Some time after, *Mûsa Bey*, who dwelt in the dominions of *Yadigar Khân*, having been defeated by *Khojâsb Mirza*, another lord, fled for assistance to *Bârga Soltân*. This prince, who had a great respect for him, was willing to have succoured him: but perceived he could not do it effectually, till his father, *Yadigar*, was proclaimed Khân; though he had already been acknowledged as such by his subjects. As soon as this affair was settled, *Bârga Soltân* raised troops, and took the field, with *Mûsa Bey*; advancing through the snow, which fell very thick: nor would turn back, and put off the expedition to another time, although his troops suffered more and more every day. At length, when importuned by *Mûsa Bey*, and his officers, he declared, that he would give over the pursuit, in case they did not, within two days, hear any news of the enemy. After this, in crossing a high mountain, they discovered troops marching in the valley beneath; and finding by his spies, that it was *Khojâsb Mirza*, whom he was in quest of, he advanced with his forces; and attacked the enemy so briskly, that he intirely defeated them. A great number of men were killed,

(P) This was about the year 1449. is restrained commonly to *Great Bukhâria*.

(Q) In *Great Bukhâria*, towards *Karazm*.

(R) It is an *Arabic* word, and signifies *Transoxana*, or, literally, the country beyond the river; meaning the *Jibûn*, or *Amû*; and

(S) That is, A. D. 1455: but in the reign of *Abūsaïd*, we find this affair marked, *Hejrah* 865, A. D. 1460; which is doubtless the true date of it.

and

A. D. 1481. and among the rest *Kbojash* ; whose daughter, *Malay Khân-zâdek*, being found among the captives, *Bûrga Soltân* married her in the winter-quarters, which he took up thereabouts.

*injures
Shâh
Bâkht
Soltân ;*

MEAN while, *Abûlgayir Khân* was become so formidable to all the neighbouring princes, that, uniting their forces, they declared war against him ; and, having defeated his troops by dint of numbers, put him to death, with such of his children as fell into their hands. On this occasion, *Bûrga Soltân*, willing to fish in troubled water, appropriated to himself certain lands and subjects belonging to the deceased Khân, notwithstanding the great friendship which had always subsisted between them ; and that action cost him his life : for some years after, *Shâh Bâkht Soltân* returning into the dominions of his grandfather *Abûlgayir Khân*, all the ancient subjects of that prince came and submitted to him. But although he had thus re-entered into the possession of his patrimony, he did not immediately demand restitution of *Bûrga Soltân* : on the contrary, dissembling his resentment, he lived in good understanding with him ; not doubting but time would furnish him with an opportunity of revenge.

*who sur-
prises and
Hej. 886.*

A. D.
1481.

AT length, in 886, *Bûrga Soltân* happening to fix his winter-quarters near those of *Shâh Bâkht Soltân*, who was posted on the banks of the *Sir* ; this latter ordered a great number of his people to attend him, under pretence of a hunting-match the next day : but, setting forward at midnight, he on a sudden turned towards *Bûrga Soltân's* camp, telling his soldiers that he was going to attack that prince, and forbidding them to plunder, till they had secured his person. Being arrived thither at break of day, he pressed forward directly to the Soltân's tent : but *Bûrga*, on hearing the noise, jumped out of bed ; and, wrapping himself in a robe of fable, passed out at one side of the tent, as the soldiers entered the other. In this condition he fled to a pond at some distance, and hid himself among the reeds : but had the ill luck to wound his foot by the way so deeply, that he had much ado to stop the blood.

*puts him
to death.*

MEAN time they who had been sent by *Shâh Bâkht Soltân* to pursue such as fled, having met with a *Vigâr* of distinction, named *Munga*, he told them that he was the person they looked for : and being asked by *Shâh Bâkht*, who easily perceived the deceit, what were his reasons for so acting ? replied, " He had so many obligations to *Bûrga Soltân*, that he thought it his duty to risk any thing to deliver him from danger ; and judged that his personating him would create a delay, which might secure his escape." This answer exceedingly pleased *Shâh Bâkht*, and gave him a high idea of *Munga's* virtue. However, he did not forbear searching after *Bûrga*

Búrğa Soltán, but sent out men a second time; and, as it had snowed that night, some of them happened to discover the prints of bare feet; and, following the tract, found at length drops of blood, which brought them to the place where he lay concealed. In this condition, they led him to *Sháh Bakht Soltán*; who, after being convinced that they were not deceived a second time, commanded him to be put to death immediately, and seized upon all his subjects^b.

KHOJA Mahamed Soltán, the son of *Abú'lgayir Khán*, *Khoja* who had accompanied his nephew in this expedition, espoused *Mahamed* the widow of *Búrğa Soltán*, daughter of *Khojash Mirza*, above-mentioned, called *Malay Khánzádeh*. This *Khoja Mahamed* is the same who, for his silliness, was named *Khoja Amtintak*; and although every body knew that the widow of *Búrğa Soltán* was with child at the death of her husband, yet he was willing to have it thought, that *Jáni Bek*, of whom she was delivered (six months after), was his own son: and for such indeed he must have passed, had his foolishness been a proof in the case.

ALTHOUGH, by this misfortune which happened to their *Uzbek dy-* father, the children of *Búrğa Soltán* were deprived of their *naftis*; patrimony, yet some years after they acquired new dominions; to which the conquests, atchieved by *Sháh Bakht Soltán*, cleared the way for them. And here it may be proper to observe, that the descendants of *Sheybáni Khán* established two considerable dynasties in the countries to the south of the river *Sir*: the first in great *Bukhária*, possessed by those of the branch of *Abú'lgayir*; the second in *Karazm*, whose *Kháns* were of the posterity of *Yadigar Khán*^c; of whom we shall treat in their order.

HERE likewise we cannot forbear touching on a particular, *why so* which we have taken notice of elsewhere^d; viz. how the name *named* of *Uzbeks* came to be appropriated to those tribes who were subject to the descendants of *Sheybáni Khán*, and passed with them into great *Bukhária* and *Karazm*: for the name, we are told, came from *Uzbek Khán*, a descendant of *Bátu*, the brother of *Sheybáni*; who possessed a different part of *Kipják*; and that it was assumed by *Uzbek Khán*'s subjects. Yet, at present, we find it transferred to the posterity and subjects of *Sheybáni Khán*; while those of *Bátu* no longer retain it.

^b ABULGHAZI KHAN. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 210, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p. 220.

^d See the history of *Karazm*, which follows this.

A. D.

1498.

S E C T. II.

The Usbek Khâns of Great Bukhâria.

Introduction.

THE memoirs and extracts, transmitted to us from the oriental historians, speak but very little, and confusedly, of the *Usbek* princes who have reigned in this large region, which has been already described *. They give us neither all their names, in order of succession, nor the time when their respective reigns began, or ended. What is more extraordinary; although the dominion of the *Usbeks* still subsists, both in that country and *Karazm*, yet the authors, from whose hands we have received those extracts, represent it as extinct above 200 years ago (A). However, we learn from other quarters, that their power is still in being; although those authors afford little more particulars concerning them: but the *Shajarek Turki* of *Abûlghâzi*, Khân of *Karazm*, who was an *Usbek* himself, published in *English*, not many years since, furnisheth us with a series of the affairs of his own country, in the reigns of its Khâns, down to the middle of the last century. With the history of *Karazm*, he hath occasionally mixed that of *Great Bukhâria*, on account of the wars, which happened from time to time between those two states: so that it affords the best memoirs concerning these *Usbeks*, to be met with any-where; although they fall far short of forming a complete history of them, as he did not undertake to write it with the same preciseness that he did that of his own country.

I. Khân
Shâh
Bakht.

AFTER *Shâh Bâkht Soltân* (B) had surpris'd and put to death *Bûrga Soltân*, in the manner before related, he, by degrees, subdued all the neighbouring princes in *Tartary*; and having, by a long train of victories, considerably augmented his forces, he entered *Great Bukhâria*, with a numerous army, in 904 (C); and made himself master of it, after he had driven out *Soltân Bâbr*, the last of the descendants of *Timûr Bek* in that country; and from this year is his reign dated. *Shâh Bâkht*, with an intent to extend his conquests, pass'd the *Jihân*, and invaded *Khorassân*; where he was oppos'd by *Soltân Husayn Mirza*, who obtained some signal victories over the *Usbeks*, and designed to have expelled them. For this end, he

A. D.
1498.

* See before, vol. v. p. 108.

(A) See *D'Herbelot Bibl. Ori.* p. 771. art. *Schaibek Khân*; and *Texeira Hist. Pers.* p. 336.

(B) He is also called *Shaybeg*, and *Shaybek Khân*, by authors.

(C) Some place this invasion in the year 900.

raised

raised a numerous army, in order to invade *Great Bukhâria* : but dying by the way at *Wadekis*, in 911, *Shâh Bâkht*, in his turn, invaded *Bâdi Azzamân*, the son and successor of *Soltân Hufsayn* ; who, not being able to oppose him, abandoned the country to the enemy, and fled to *Kandahâr* ; where raising forces, he returned to meet the *Usbek* : but, being defeated, fled into *Persia*, to *Shâh Ismaël Sofi* ^b.

MEAN time, *Shâh Bâkht Soltân* conquered the greater part of *Khorassân*, and put to death all those of the family of *Soltân Hufsayn Mirza*, who fell into his hands : so that, as numerous as this family was but a little while before, not more than two or three of them escaped the slaughter. After this, *Shâh Bâkht* marched into *Karazm*, which had been under *Soltân Hufsayn's* dominion ; and subdued it also. Five or six years after this revolution, *Shâh Ismaël*, espousing *Bâdi Azzamân's* cause, marched against the *Usbeks* in 916 ; and, meeting them near *Marû*, a bloody battle was fought, wherein *Shâh Bâkht* was killed, with the greater part of his army, after he had reigned twelve years : in consequence of which, *Karazm*, and most of what the *Usbeks* had acquired in *Khorassân*, fell under the dominion of *Shâh Ismaël* : but, on his death, *Karazm* revolted to the *Usbeks*.

SHAH *Bâkht Khân* was succeeded by *Kusbânji Khân* ; who is reckoned the most noble and powerful of all the *Usbek* princes who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*. In 918, *Soltân Bâbr* returned out of *India* ; and, being joined by *Ahmed Isfâhâni* (D), passed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*), and ravaged the country about *Kârsbi*. In short, they had almost reduced the whole country, when *Kusbânj Khân*, setting forward with an army, met and defeated them. The *Persian* general was killed on the spot ; and *Bâbr* fled back to *India*. In 936, *Kusbânji Khân* marched into *Persia* against *Shâh Tahmâsb*, son of *Ismaël* : but was defeated, and retired to his own dominions. After this, he returned to *Marû*, and would again have broken into *Persia* : but a peace being concluded between the two monarchs, *Kusbânji* went back to *Samarkant* ; where he died the same year, after a reign of 28 years ^c.

^b ABULGH. ubi supr. p. 222. D'HER. Bibl. Orient. p. 38, 163. art. *Abulaid Mirza*, and *Miran Shâh* ; also TEX. Hist. Pers. p. 320. ^c TEX. Hist. Pers. p. 335. D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. p. 771. art. *Schaibek*.

(D) Perhaps the same with in *Texeira*, *Ismaël* sent with an *Najemi* (rather *Ajemi*) *Soni* ; army to assist *Bâbr*. whom, according to *Mirkond*

A. D. THIS prince was succeeded by his son *Abusaïd Khân* ; who
1532. reigned four years, without doing any thing remarkable ; and died in 939 ^d.

3. *Khân* *OBEYD Khân* succeeded *Abusaïd*, and was the son of *Mohammed Soltân*, brother of *Shâh Bâkht Khân*, who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*. This prince, entering *Khorassân*, took some cities ; while the *Usbeks* of *Karazm* doing the like on their side, *Shâh Tabmâsh* thought fit to conclude a peace with those unwelcome guests. Stirred up by *Omar Gâzi Soltân*, who fled to him from *Karazm*, this *Khân*, in conjunction with the *Khâns* of *Samarkant* (E) and *Tâshkunt*, in 949, entered that country ;

4. *Khân*
Obeyd.

A. D. which they over-ran, seizing *Avânish Khân*, and all the princes
1542. of his family : whom he divided, together with the towns, among his confederates. *Dîn Mahammed Soltân*, eldest son of *Avânish Khân*, invading *Karazm*, as soon as *Obeyd Khân* was withdrawn, retakes *Khayuk* and *Urghenj*. On this news, *Obeyd Khân* returns with a numerous army : but being met the same year by *Dîn Mahammed*, with much inferior forces, was intirely defeated ; and the princes, his relations, restored by an exchange of prisoners ^e.

A. D. ABOUT the year 957, *Obeyd Khân*, entering *Khorassân*, took
1550. *Marâ* from the *Persians* ; but growing jealous of the governor, and sending an army to displace him, that officer surrendered it to *Dîn Mahamed*, then *Khân* of *Karazm*. After this, *Nûr Mahamed Soltân*, grandson of *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, being envied the possession of his grandfather's estate in *Khorassân*, by the princes of his family, they combined to take it from him. Hereupon he delivered up his four cities of *Marâ*, *Nafay* (or *Nesa*), *Taurfurdi*, and *Duruhn*, to *Obeyd Khân* ; imagining that this prince would leave him in possession, and be content with receiving tribute from him : but he found himself deceived ^f. The time of *Obeyd Khân*'s death is not mentioned. *Texeira* and *D'Herbelot*, after *Mirkond*, place it in 1540 (F) ; allowing no more than six years to his reign : but this must be a great mistake. According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*,

^d *TEX. Hist. Pers.* p. 335. *D'HERB. Bibl. Orient.* p. 771. art. *Schaibek*. ^e *ABULGH.* ubi sup. p. 253, 256. ^f *Ibid.* p. 273, 277.

(E) In 1556, *Berrak Khân* yet, in 1556, according to a former note, *Boklâra* had its own *Khân* ; to whom possibly *Obeyd* succeeded by inheritance, or conquest.

(F) In the city of *Bokhâra* ;

he must have reigned above fifty years, and died about 1584, or the year following ⁵.

OBEYD Khân seems to have been succeeded by *Işkânder Khân*, son of *Jâni Bek*, son of *Khoja Mahamed*, son of *Abû'l-gayir Khân*, who reigned in *Kipjâk*. There is nothing remarkable mentioned relating to this prince, who was not right in his senses. On the death of his predecessor, *Nûr Mahamed* went and recovered his four cities out of the hands of the *Bukharian Uzbeks*. *Shâh Abbâs I.* of *Persia*, being also desirous to profit by that event (G), went and took *Marû* from him ⁵. We find nothing which may give light, either as to the beginning, end, or length, of his reign.

ABDO'LLAH Khân, son of *Işkânder Khân*: when he began his reign is likewise uncertain: only we find, that some 6. *Khân* years after the death of *Ali Soltân*, which happened in 1571, *lah*.

Abdo'llah invaded *Karazm*; but retired, on the approach of *Hajim*, or *Azim*, Khân. Some time after, the sons of the latter having stripped a *Turkish* ambassador at *Urgheñj*, who was on his return from *Great Bukhâria*, *Abdo'llah Khân* entered *Karazm* a second time, with a great army; and, having conquered it chiefly by fraud, carried ten princes of the Khân's family into *Bukhâria*; where he put them all to death.

MEAN time *Hajim Khân* retired into *Persia* to *Shâh Abbâs*, in the year of the *Serpent* (H). Two years after this, *Abdo'llah Khân* invading *Khorassân*, *Hajim Khân* took the opportunity, while the *Shâh* marched against the invader, to surprise *Urgheñj* and *Khayuk*: but those places were soon recovered again by the troops of *Abdo'llah Khân*; who in person besieged *Hazarâsb*, and reduced it. After this, he returned into *Great Bukhâria*; where he died the last day of the year 1597, Hej. 1006 called *Tauk*, or the *Hen*. According to *Texeira* and *D'Herbelle*, this active prince died in the year 1540, and reigned but Hej. 947: six months ¹.

ABDO'LMOMIN Khân, son of *Abdo'llah Khân*, by a 7. *Khân* daughter of *Dîn Mahamed*, Khân of *Karazm*, succeeded his father. Being at the time of his father's death in *Khorassân*, he *Abdo'll-momin*

⁵ See the history of *Karazm* in the next chapter. p. 278.

⁶ ABUL.

¹ Ibid. p. 290, 300, & seqq.

(G) As from hence it appears, that *Abbâs* took *Marû* soon after *Obeyd Khân*'s death; and, as *Abbâs* began his reign in 1585; therefore *Obeyd Khân* must have lived till that year, if not beyond it: unless the name of *Tahmâsb*

should be put instead of *Abbâs*; which would reduce the date of that event to 1575.

(H) This, reckoning back from the death of *Abdo'llah Khân*, must be the year 1593.

A. D. 1598. set forward to return home: but, on his way, at *Zamin* on the river *Amu*, was slain by his own people ^k.

IMAM Kuli Khân, son of *Far Mahamed Soltân*, succeeded *Abdo'momîn Khân* (I). In the year 1620, *Arap* (or *Arab*) *Mahamed*, Khân of *Karazm*, having been defeated by his two rebellious sons¹; *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, who had joined his father, fled, after the battle, into *Great Bukhâria*, and was received kindly by the Khân. In 1622, *Isfândiâr Soltân*, having recovered *Karazm*, and put his two rebellious brothers to death, *Abû'lghâzi* returned to *Urghenj*: but his subjects leaving the country on the appearance of a comet, a year or two after, he retired to *Turkestan*; where he staid two years at the court of *Türsum Khân*, and then went into *Great Bukhâria* (K) to *Imâm Kûli Khân*; who receiving him but coldly, because he had first taken refuge with his enemy, he returned again to *Karazm* on the invitation of the *Turkmâns*^m. *Imâm Kûli Khân* died about the time (L) that *Abû'lghâzi Khân* was proclaimed Khân of *Karazm*ⁿ.

8. Khân
Nadir
Maha-
med.

HE was succeeded by his brother, *Nadîr Mahamed Khân*. In 1644, the *Turkmâns*, who resided about *Kayuk* and *Hazar-âsh*, in *Karazm*, refusing to submit to *Abû'lghâzi* upon his being proclaimed Khân, put themselves under the protection of *Nadîr Mahamed Khân*; who conferred the government of those two places on his grandson, *Khifferan Soltân*: but soon after, recalling him, he sent one of his lords to command in his room. In the mean time he was himself dethroned, in 1646, by his vassal lords, for his harsh treatment of them^o.

9. Khân
Abdo'l-
aziz.

HE had for successor his son *Abdo'laziz Khân*. This prince having formed a design to conquer the country of *Balkh*, its sovereign, *Subhân Kûli Khân*, sent to intreat aid of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*; who, laying hold of so fair an opportunity to revenge the injuries done to his family by *Abdo'llah Khân*, entered *Great Bukhâria* for several years successively, destroyed several towns, and committed great ravages. At length, in 1658, a peace was concluded between them^p, as will be related more at large hereafter^q. Since that time we have no regular account of the Khâns of this country.

^k ABUL. p. 309, & seq.
p. 315. 324. 344, & seqq.
p. 356, & seqq. & TEXEIR. Hist. Perf. p. 336.
ubi supr. p. 365, & seqq.

¹ Ibid. p. 324.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 336.

^o Ibid.

^p ABULO.

^q See the history of Usbek Khâns

(I) In the year 1598, it may be presumed.

(K) About the year 1627.

(L) Perhaps in 1642.

THE *Persian* historians, according to *Texeira*, and *D'Herbelot*, make *Abdo'llatif*, son of *Kushânji Khân*, to succeed *Abdo'llah Khân*, 1540. The first says, he died the next year; and that in him ended the sovereignty of the successors of *Jenghiz Khân*, in *Mawara'nahr*¹. But this is probably some mistake committed by *Texeira*, since *D'Herbelot* says, from the authority of the *Lebtarikh*, that *Abdo'llatif* was living in the year 1541, when that book was written². However that be, the reader may perceive a wide difference between the account of the *Uzbek* affairs given by *Abûlghazi Khân*, and by the *Persian* historians; although, at the same time, he can be at no loss to determine, which of the two authorities is most fit to be relied on.

A. D.

1540.

Deaths of
historians.

CHAP. III.

Kingdom of Karazm.

SECT. I.

A Description of Karazm, its Name and Extent, Soil and Produce, Rivers and Lakes.

KARAZM, or *Karezm*, as this Country is called by *Abû'l-ghâzi Khân*, and the *Persian* writers, is pronounced by the *Arabs* *Khowarazm*; it was known to the antient *Greeks* by the name of *Khorasmia*, as appears from *Herodotus*, *Ptolemy*, and other authors of that nation. It was in this country, that *Kay Khosrû*, third king of *Persia*, of the *Kayamian* race, defeated and slew *Sheidah*, son of *Afrâsiab*, king of *Turkestan*; and the facility with which this victory was gained, gave name to this province; for *Kowarezm*, in the *Persian* language, signifies an easy victory.

THIS kingdom is at present bounded on the north by the country of *Turkestan*, and the dominions of the great *Khân* of the *Eluths*, or *Kalmûks*: on the east by *Great Bukhâria*; from which it is separated partly by the mountains of *Irdar*³, and partly by the deserts of *Karak* and *Gâznah*: on the south by the provinces of *Asterabad* and *Khorassân* (A) belonging to *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; from which it is divided by the ri-

¹ *TEX.* ubi supr. p. 336.² *D'HERB.* ubi supr. p. 772.³ See *ABULG.* Hist. Turks, p. 364.(A) *Kämpfer* confounds *Khorassân* with *Khowarazm*. *Aman. Exot.* p. 135.

Soil and
produce.

ver *Jihân*, or *Amû*, and sundry desarts of a vast extent : and on t' e west by the *Caspian* sea.

It may be about 440 miles in length, from south to north ; and 300 from west to east ; being situated between the 39th and 46th degrees of latitude, and the 71st and 77th degrees of longitude. The country consists for the most part of vast sandy plains, like those of *Great Tartary*. Some of them are barren desarts : but others afford excellent pasture. There is good land in several of the provinces, where vines grow ; of which wine is made : however, water is very scarce ; the rivers being very few, as well as the mountains ^b.

Soil and
produce.

KARAZM, according to *Bentink*, is extremely fertile, where watered ; and *Abûlghazi Khân* himself recommends it as a fine country ^c. The melons here, called by this last author *Arbûs* (and by *Jenkinson* *Karbus*), are the true water melons. They are of the size of ordinary gourds, or pompions ; commonly round, and green on the outside : but within of a much deeper colour than the common melons ; although some are perfectly white : but these are not the best. Their seed is quite black, and shaped like that of the pompion ; but rounder. It is also transparent, and dispersed all through the fruit ; the whole of which is eaten, excepting the rind and seed. The substance is much finer, and of a better flavour, than that of ordinary melons. It is exceedingly cooling, and one may eat as much as he will, without the least danger. The fruit will keep a long time ; on which occasion our author observes, that they carry them from *Astrakhân* (where they are near as good as in *Karazm*) to *St. Petersburg*, for the court of *Russia* ; and that they are as good in the middle of winter, as in their proper season : but he adds, that they are gathered green, and ripen afterwards ^d.

Rivers.

The Amû ; *KARAZM* owes all its fertility, in a manner, to three rivers, and a great lake. The rivers are the *Amû*, *Khêfil*, and *Sir*. The *Amû*, as it is called by the *Uzbeks* and *Persians*, is the *Jihân* of the *Arabs*, and *Oxus* of the antient *Greeks*. It has its source to the N. N. E. of the kingdom of *Kasbmîr*, towards the frontiers of *Little Bukhâria*, in those high mountains, which separate it from the dominions of the *Great Mogul*. It crosseth the southern part of *Great Bukhâria*, from east to west ; then, winding northwestward along the borders of that country, enters *Karazm* in the same direction ; and, forty leagues from its mouth, divides in two arms or branches.

^b Short way to know the world, or Compend. of Mod. Geogr. p. 253. ^c Hist. Turks, ubi supr. p. 230, & 419. ^d Ibid. p. 433, & seq.

That

That on the left hand, turning westward, falls into the *Caspian Rivers and sea* (B), towards the borders of the province of *Astarabâd*, be- ^{lakes.} longing to *Persia*. But the right hand branch, which formerly ^{~~~~~} passed before the city of *Urghenj*, and met the sea (C), twelve leagues to the north of the former, about fourscore years ago, quitted its antient chanel, six leagues from the place where it ^{changes its} separated from the other branch; and, changing its course ^{bed.} more to the north, threw itself into the river *Khesel*, on the other side of the little town of *Tûk*: so that its old chanel, which ran before *Urghenj*, is at present dry; which, leaving that city destitute of water, has greatly impaired it. The *Amû* abounds with all sorts of excellent fish: and its banks are the most charming in the world. Along them grow those excellent melons, and other fruits, so much esteemed in *Persia*, the *Indies*, and *Russia*; whither they are carried.

THE river *Khesel*, *Khêfil*, or *Kesil*, as the *Uzbeks* name it, ^{The Khe:} rises in the mountains to the north-east of the province of *Sogd*, ^{sel;} or *Samarkant*; and running westward, with some turning to the north-west, between the *Amû* and *Sîr*, falls into the lake of *Arâl*, fifty or sixty miles after it has been joined by the *Amû*. The sides of the *Khesel* are exceedingly fertile, wherever they are cultivated: but then it must be confessed, that the greater part of them are neglected by the inhabitants: nor do they make use of those excellent pastures which are found along this river; although they are much better than those which enrich the sides of the *Amû*. At present, there is not ^{its course} one considerable town to be seen upon the *Khesel*. Besides, ^{turned.} the few small ones, that are situated on it, are half desert: because the *Uzbek Tatars*, of both *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm*, chuse rather to be near the frontiers of the *Persians*, than of the *Eluths* (or *Kalmûks*), and *Karakalpaks*; seeing there is more to be gained by their incursions on one side than on the other. The waters of this river are vastly increased by the junction of the *Amû*, before-mentioned. But, of late years, the *Tatars* of *Karazm* have also turned the course of the *Khesel* from the *Caspian sea* (D) into the lake of *Arâl* (or *Eagles*), on the following occasion.

PETER I. emperor of *Russia*, having been informed, that ^{The Daria.} gold ore was found in great abundance on the coast of the *Caspian sea*, at the mouth of the river *Sîr*, called also *Daria*; and judging that a new course of trade, between *Siberia* and the

(B) Perhaps at the town of *Munkisblak*.

(C) It fell into the gulf, or bay, of *Bâlkân*, or *Abûlkân*.

(D) It fell into *Peter's Bay*, in the north part of the eastern coast of the *Caspian sea*, according to *D'Anville's* Map.

Rivers and lake. southern countries of *Asia*, might be carried on by means of that river, ordered certain persons, skilled in maritime affairs, to accompany the *Kossiks*, of *Jaik* in several of their expeditions along the shores of that sea, in order to discover the mouth of the *Daria*. These people, finding that no considerable river discharged itself into the *Caspian* sea, between the *Yemb*, or *Yemba*, and the *Amú*, excepting the *Kheshel* (E), concluded that this must be the river which they looked for : especially as the *Kossáks* assured them, that it was named *Daria* : not knowing that the word *Daria* is an appellative, signifying a river in general, among the *Persians* (F).

Expedition of Beckowitz. HOWEVER that be, after they had founded the entrance of the *Kheshel*, and taken notice of several marks whereby to know it again ; they returned, and made their report to the emperor : who thereupon, in 1719, sent one Brigadier *Beckowitz*, by the way of *Astrakhán*, with 2500 men, to take possession of the mouth of that river. He pitched upon that officer, because he was a *Cherkassian* (G), and understood the *Tatar* language perfectly well. But the *Tatars*, growing jealous to see him arrive several times on that occasion, turned the course of the *Kheshel* northwards, by three chanel, the land being low on that side, into the lake of *Aral* ; and then stopped up the entrance towards the sea : so that *Beckowitz*, arriving some time after with his vessels to the mouth of the river, found it quite dry.

The Khan's artifice NOTWITHSTANDING this discouragement, in obedience to his orders, he landed his troops ; and began to build forts thereabouts, as well as the ground, which was exceeding sandy, would permit. They were scarce in a condition of defence, when the *Tatars* of *Kiva* (so the *Russians* call the *Uzbeks* (H), of *Karazm*), came down upon him with great numbers of troops : but *Beckowitz* opposed them with so much resolution, that the *Khán*, who was at the head of them, despairing to conquer him by force, set about to ensnare him by fraud. To this end, he sent to inform him privately, “ that in his heart “ he was sincerely a friend to the *Russians*, and desired nothing “ more than to see them settled near his own dominions : but “ that at the same time he was obliged to seem their enemy

(E) For the *Sir* falls into the lake of *Aral*.

(F) Likewise among the *Uzbeks*.

(G) *Webber* says he was a *Cherkassian* prince, captain of the *Tsar's* guards : that he was

immensely rich, and had married the most beautiful lady in all *Russia* ; and that he had been sent before this, in the year

1715.

(H) From the *Khán's* camp, called *Kbiya*, or *Kbiwák*.

“ in appearance, and oppose them, in order to comply with *Rivers*
 “ the humour of the princes, who were his relations and *and lakes.*
 “ neighbours. In short, that it was resolved in council to
 “ make a last effort the day following; and, in case they had
 “ no better success than in their former attacks, he would do
 “ his endeavour to bring about an accommodation.”

BECKOWITZ gave credit the more easily to this declaration, as the *Khân* had already caused protestations of the same kind to be made at the court of *Russia*, by an envoy sent for that purpose. Next morning, the *Tatars* did not fail to renew the attack; which they did with such vigour, that great numbers of them, contrary to custom, alighted off their horses. But having been repulsed, at length, with loss, the *Khân* sent one of his *Murfa's* to the *Russian* general, to know on what account he had landed an army in his dominions, and what he wanted? Hereupon *Beckowitz* demanded, that the sluices, made in the river *Khesil*, should be stopped up; and the mouth of it opened again, that so the current might resume its former course. The *Tatars* having remonstrated that it was not in their power to dam up the chanel, the water ran into them with much rapidity; *Beckowitz* offered to go and do it with his own troops, provided they gave him hostages for his security. As this was just what the *Tatars* wanted, they readily agreed to his demands.

HEREUPON the *Russian* commander, leaving some men to guard the forts, set forward with the rest to execute his design: but the hostages, who served for guides, led him thro' places quite desert, where there were only certain holes of stagnant water, not sufficient for his troops; so that, after five days march, they found themselves quite destitute of means to quench their thirst. In this distress, their guides proposed to divide into several bodies, and march by different roads, that they might the more easily find a supply. *Beckowitz* was obliged to consent to this proposal, although he saw the danger of it. In short, the *Russians* having thus separated into parties, the *Tatars* furrounded them, one after another, and, slaying their leader (I), with most of his men, carried the rest into slavery. When they, who were left in the forts, heard of this misfortune, they reembarked, and returned to *Astrakhan*.

THE lake of *Arál*, that is *Eagles*, before-mentioned, separates the province of *Arál*, to which it gives name, from the eastern provinces of *Karazm*. It is one of the largest in the

(I) *Webber* says, that, refusing to kneel on the red cloth, in order to be beheaded, they hamstrung and mangled him barbarously.

*Rivers
and lakes.*

*affords
much salt ;*

*Situation
and extent.*

north parts of *Asia* ; being above 25 *German leagues* in length, from south to north ; about half as much in breadth, from east to west ; and above eighty in circumference. Its waters are exceeding salt, and breed great quantities of the same sorts of fish which are found in the *Caspian sea* ; with which, however, it does not seem to have any communication : neither does it ever overflow its banks ; although it receives the waters of the *Sîr*, the *Khêsel*, and several other smaller rivers. The *Karakalpâks*, who inhabit the northern coast of it, towards the mouth of the *Sîr*, and the *Turkmâns* of the province of *Arâk*, in summer, convey the water of this lake, by means of small canals or ditches, into the neighbouring plains ; whose surface, when the moisture is exhaled by the sun's heat, is covered with a fine crust of crystalline salt : with which the inhabitants of all *Karazm* and *Turkestan* are plentifully supplied.

ACCORDING to *Kyrillow's* map of the *Russian empire*, this lake resembles in figure the *Caspian sea*, and is more than half as long : being 340 miles from south to north, and 160 broad in the south part ; although not half that breadth in the north end : but, in all probability, these dimensions are too great, as well as its distance from the *Caspian sea* ; which is there made to be 200 miles. Into this great lake the *Khêsel* discharges itself, on the south side, by three canals ; and the *Sîr*, on the north side, by two : of which last river we have given an account elsewhere.

S E C T. II.

Provinces of Karazm.

Provinces.

KARAZM is divided into many provinces, as appears from *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* history, who mentions several of them ; which *Bentink*, his commentator, has succinctly described. From him, therefore, we shall insert an account of them ; which will be of great use to the reader, in perusing the subsequent history of the *Khâns* of this country. These provinces, so far as we know of them, are twenty in number ; which that author mentions in the following order.

Ogurza.

1. **O G U R Z A** (or *Ogurja*), is a large province, situate towards the coast of the *Caspian sea*. It was very fertile heretofore, when the northern branch of the river *Amû*, which ran through it, took another course : since that time it became a desert, for want of water to moisten its lands. This country

• **ABULGH.** Hist. ubi sup. p. 444. & seqq.

takes

takes its name from the great quantity it formerly produced *Provinces.* of cucumbers ; which, both in the *Tatarian* and *Russian* language, is called *Ogurza*.

2. *PISHGA*, a little province, situate to the east of the *Pishga* city of *Urghenj* ; which has been but thinly inhabited ever since the northern branch of the river *Amú* ceased to pass through it, as formerly.

3. *KARAKIZIT* (or *Karakijit*), a small province, situate between those of *Pishga* and *Ogurza*, which is grown very thin of people, since the river *Amú* deserted *Urghenj* ; to the west of which it lies.

4. *GHILKUPRUK*, a small province, situated to the south of the southern branch of the river *Amú*, in the confines of the provinces of *Khorassan* and *Astarabad*.

5. *GORDISH*, a little province lying between those of *Gordish*, *Pishga* and *Kumkant*. It is one of the most fruitful, and best cultivated, in all *Karazm*, as being watered by the *Amú* ; which in this country quitted its old channel to join the *Khesel*, as before-mentioned.

6. The small province of *Kumkant* lies to the east of *Gordish*, towards the northern banks of the river *Amú* ; which in the borders of those two provinces divides into two branches.

7. *YANGHI* (or *Yenghi*) *Shahr*, a little province, near the right bank of the southern branch of the river *Amú* ; which is of no great consequence at present.

8. *BURMA*, one of the largest provinces of *Karazm*, to the east of the city of *Wazir*, towards the frontiers of *Great Bukharia*. It is very populous, as well as fertile ; and produces the most delicious melons in all the kingdom.

9. *BAYALKIRI*, a little province to the north of *Urghenj*. It is very sandy, and desert ; because it wants water.

10. *KESIL* *Rabat* lies towards the *Khesel*, or *Kesil*, and *Khesel* to the north-west of the town of *Tuk*. This little province is very populous, and produceth all kinds of delicious fruits in abundance.

11. *GARDANKHAST*, a large province, situate between the cities of *Khayuk* and *Hazardjb* (A). It has pretty good pasturage ; and is almost wholly peopled by the *Sarts*, who are the antient inhabitants of *Karazm*.

12. *YANGHI-ARIK*, a small province on the north side of the *Amú*, and bordering on *Great Bukharia* ; at the foot of the mountains which separate it from *Karazm*.

13. *BAKIRGAN*, a large province, on the north side of the river *Khesel*, and north-east of the town of *Tuk*.

(A) In the French, *Hassarasap*.

- Provinces.* 14. *KUIGAN*, another large province, north of *Bakirgan* and the *Khesel*, extending as far as the borders of the *Karakalpaks* and the *Kalmuks* (or *Eluths*). It consists, for the most part, of vast plains; producing excellent pasture, like all the other sandy grounds of *Great Tartary*.
- Kuigan.*
- Ikzi Kumani.* 15. *IKZI KUMANI* (B), a little province towards the southern banks of the *Khesel*, and west of the territory of *Khayuk*.
- Khika.* 16. *KHIKA*, another small province on the south side of the *Khesel*. It lies east of the territory of *Ták*, and west of the province of *Ikzi Kumani*.
- Tarkhân.* 17. *TARKHAN*, a little province, situate to the north of the *Khesel*, and west of *Bakirgan*. It abounds with excellent pastures: but lies uncultivated.
- Bamaburinak.* 18. *BAMABURINAK*, a little province to the north of the *Khesel*, towards the southern coast of the lake of *Arál*, and west of the province of *Tarkhân*.
- Koghertlik.* 19. *KOGHERTLIK*, a large province, situate on the borders of *Great Bukharia*, and north of the province of *Tanghiarik*.
- Arál.* 20. THE province of *Arál*, towards the coasts of the *Caspian* sea, is very large; extending from the mountains of *Abúlkán*, to the north of the old mouth of the northern branch of the *Amú*; which is now dry, as far as the country of the *Karakalpaks*. This part of *Karazm* is, at present, almost wholly inhabited by *Turkmans*; who find there, in many places, excellent pasture for their flocks. But, for the general, the province of *Arál*, which takes its name from the lake before described, is mountainous, sandy, and barren ^a.
- Other provinces.* BESIDES the provinces above described, *Abúlghazi Khán* mentions others in his history; particularly, those of *Abú'l Khán* and *Dehestán* ^b. The first seems to be situate where the mountain of *Abú'l Khán* stands, on the north side of the ancient chanel of the northern branch of the *Amú*; and the latter properly belongs to the province of *Khorassán*, bordering on that of *Jorján*.

^a ABULGH. Hist. p. 434.^b Ibid. p. 235.

(B) Or *Ikzi Kumani*. This seems to be a remains of the *Kumani*, or *Komani*; a warlike nation, who, for a long time, possessed the country along the north side of the *Caspian* sea, as far as the river *Don*, till conquered by *Jenghiz Khán*, and his successors in *Kipják*.

S E C T. III.

The Cities, and other remarkable Places, of Karazm.

KARAZM was in former times full of cities, towns, and castles; remarkable for their beauty, strength, and abundance of people. This was its case, it may be presumed, for a long series of ages, as well antiently under its own kings, as while it was a province of the Persian and Arabian empires: but, in all probability, it flourished most when it became an independent kingdom under the family of the Kharazm Khàns; who annexed to it, by conquest, all *Iràn*, or *Persia* at large; and *Turàn*, or the countries to the north of the *Jihàn*, or *Amú*; forming a great empire, of which *Orkanj* was the capital. But at present the cities of *Karazm* are but few, and reduced below the condition of ordinary towns, through the destructive power of the *Usbeks*; who have brought ruin and poverty where-ever they settled ^a.

ORKANJ, or, as it may also be written *Urghenj*, is still the capital. This, we are told, is the *Mungl* name which it took after the time of *Jenghiz Khán* ^b; before it seems to have had the name of the country *Karazm*, or *Khovarazm*, as we often find it was called. The *Persians*, instead of *Orkanj*, write *Korkanj*. In the tables of *Abulfeda*, *Nássiro'ddîn*, and *Ulugh Beg*, we find two cities of the name of *Korkanj*; *Great Korkanj*, or *Nu Korkanj*, and *Korkanj the Lesser*, or *Jorjaniya*, of *Khovarazm*, to distinguish it, doubtless, from *Jorjaniya*, of *Persia*. The first was the metropolis of the country; and both were situated on the west side of the *Jihàn* (or *Amu*), ten miles asunder ^c. At present it is called *Urghenj*, or *Urhenj*, by the *Usbeks*; for so *Abû'lghâzi Khán* names it (A). *Jenkinson* writes it *Urgence* ^d; and *Johnson*, his fellow-traveller, from a merchant of *Bokhara*, *Urgensb*, and *Urgense* ^e. The *Englisb* traveller, at the end of *Tavernier*, says, that some call it *Turgench*; others *Jurgench*, which comes near *Jorjaniyah*: he likewise writes *Urgensb* ^f. Whence this variety of names arises, we know not; unless from the custom of different nations, to alter the names of foreign places.

^a ABULG. Hist. ubi supr. p. 438.

^b LA. CROIX Hist.

Geng. p. 240.

^c ABULFEDA Deser. Chowarasm. p. 23.

26. Edit. Hudson.

^d PURCHAS. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 236.

^e HAKL. Collect. vol. i. p. 335.

^f P. 115.

(A) In the *French* and *Englisb* translations it is written *Urgens*; the *g* being hard, according to the *German* orthography; so that

it answers to *Urgbens*, or *Urkens*: but in the name, as given by the *Englisb* authors, it is doubtless soft, or stands for *j* consonant.

Cities and towns.

Its ruinous state;

THIS city, call it *Orkanj*, *Jurjench*, or *Urjensh*, is situated in a great plain, to the north of the river *Amu*, twenty-five *Germán* leagues from the eastern shores of the *Caspian* sea. The place was very considerable in the ages past : but since the *Tatars* became its masters, it has fallen so much to decay, that, at present, it makes but a pitiful figure, being no more than a great scambling town, about a league in circumference. This is owing partly to the disorderly government of the *Uzbeks*, and partly to the desertion of the northern branch of the *Amu*, which formerly ran by the walls of the city ; but having, for some time past, taken another course, and by that means deprived both the city and its territory of water, it has caused many of the inhabitants to forsake it, and rendered the neighbouring country barren, which before was very fruitful.

walls and castle ;

THE walls of *Urjensh* are of sun-burnt bricks, with a kind of ditch, which is very narrow, and full of rubbish in several places. The houses also are no better than paltry cabbins of earth. It has indeed a castle, built with bricks ; but so ruinous, that scarce a fourth part of it is inhabitable. The brick mosks likewise are nearly in as bad a condition : for the *Tatars* in general are very ready to destroy buildings ; but very backward either to erect any new ones, or to keep the old in repair. The only thing belonging to this city, which they take any care of at present, is a great broad street, towards the middle of it ; which serves for the common market-place, and is covered from one end to the other, to preserve the goods sold there from the weather. Although *Urjensh* is situated very conveniently for commerce, being the rendezvous of all the business carried on between the *Bukhārs* and the countries on the west side of the *Caspian* sea, yet, at present, the trade is very inconsiderable : because foreign merchants, finding no security among the *Mohammedan Tatars*, very few of them will venture thither. The ordinary duties paid at *Urjensh* are no more than three *per Cent.* : but the extraordinary amount, very frequently, beyond the whole merchandizes.

trade inconsiderable ;

THE Khāns of *Karazm* commonly winter in this town ; but in summer they encamp on the banks of the *Amu*, or in some other agreeable place of the country, as best suits their convenience^s.

capital of *Karazm* ; According to *Abū'lfeda*, *Kath*, or *Kat*, was formerly the mo-

* BENTINK ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 438, & seq.

tropolis^b. The governor of *Karazm* was surprised in this *Cities and city* by him of *Jerjân*, in *Persia*, in the reign of *Nûh ibn towns. Mansûr*, of the *Sammânian* family¹. How long it continued so is uncertain: nor does it appear on what occasion the royal seat was removed, as it seems to have been, from *Urjensh*; though possibly that happened on account of the inundation which once ruined it^k. However that be, *Urjensh*, under the name perhaps of the city of *Karazm*, was, in all probability, the seat of the *Karazmian* empire, founded by *Kothbô'ddîn*, in 489; and so continued ever since, excepting now-and-then that the *Uzbek* Khâns have thought fit to reside for a while at *Wazîr*, *Khayuk*, or some other place.

A. D.
1092.

ALTHOUGH at present *Urjensh* is reduced to so low a state, *once very* yet it was once, like all the other cities of this country, both *great*; rich and populous. In the year 582, when *Soltân Shâh* besieged it, the inhabitants, who had submitted to his elder brother *Takâsh*, were so numerous, that they kept their gates open in his view¹: and thirty years after, when *Jenghiz Khân* took it, in 1221, the *Mungls* put 100,000, some say 200,000, people to the sword^m. *Urjensh* began to flourish again under the family of the *Sofî's*; and was a great city, when *Timâr Bek* (or *Tamerlan*), having, in 1379, taken (C) it from *Tu-fef Sofî*, and conquered the kingdom, caused it to be razed in 1388, and the ground sowed with barleyⁿ. It is probable, that it was repaired three years after, when, by the conqueror's order, the country was repeopled, and restored to its antient splendor. But from that time, it may be presumed, that *Urjensh* never was able to recover itself; and the government of the *Uzbeks*, which since then it has fallen under, so injurious to commerce, joined to the inconveniences attending the turning of the river *Amû* off from the town, has completed its ruin^o.

A. D.
1186.

URJENSH seems to have been in no better condition *at present* when Mr. *Jenkinson* was there, in 1558, as appears from his *miserable*: account of it; which is as follows. The city, or town, stands on level ground: its walls, as well as houses, are of earth; and, by estimation, four miles in compass. The buildings within it are ruined, and out of good order. It hath one long

^a Descr. Chowar. p. 27.

¹ TEXEIR. Hist. Pers. p. 160.

^b Descr. Chowar. p. 23.

¹ D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 835.

art. Takâsh.

^m LA CROIX, Hist. Gengh. p. 256.

ⁿ Hist.

Tim. Bek, vol. i. p. 306.

^o ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, p.

440, & seqq.

(C) *Korkanj Minor* was then the regal seat, according to *La Croix*, in the notes.

street;

Cities and towns. street; which is covered above, and is the place of their market. It has been won and lost four times within seven years, by civil wars. Hence it comes to pass, that there are but few merchants dwelling in it; and these so poor, that he could not sell above four pieces of kersey in the whole town. The chief commodities sold there come from *Boghâr* (or *Bokhâra*), and *Persia*; but in very small quantities, not worth mentioning. All the country from the *Caspian sea* to this city is called the land of *Turkmân*, and is subject to the Khân^p,

its latitude. THE latitude of this city, as given by the same author, is 42 degrees, 18 minutes^q: which seems the more exact, as it differs but one minute from that assigned it, by the most famous oriental astronomers (E). This *English* traveller, who passed through *Karazm* in his way to *Boghâr*, or *Bokhâra*, mentions two or three other places in the country, as *Mangußlau*, *Sellizûr*, and *Kayt*.

Manguslau. MANGUSLAU, a very good port, twelve leagues within a bay. Both governor and people proved very bad, as exacting double the ordinary price of carriage and provisions. *Jenkinson* gives the latitude of this place 45 degrees: but, in all probability, it is the same place with *Mankisblak*, hereafter-mentioned; and, consequently, cannot have more than about 40 degrees of latitude.

Sellizûr. SELLIZUR, called also *Shayzûr*, is twenty-four days journey of the karawâns from *Mangußlau*, and two from *Urgensb*. It was a castle, seated on a high hill, where then resided the king, called *Azim* (F) *Khân*, with three of his brothers. The palace was not strong, being built of earth, and made a poor figure.

Fruits and grain. To the south of the castle the land is low, but very fertile; producing many good fruits, particularly one called a *Dinie*. It is very large, and full of moisture; the people eating it after meat, instead of drink. There is another, called *Karbûs* (G), the size of a great cucumber, yellow, and sweet as sugar. Here is also a certain corn, called *Jegur*, whose stalk resembles a sugar-cane, and is as tall; but the grain is like

^p PURCH. ubi supr. ^q HAKLUYT collect. vol. i. p. 335.

(E) Viz 42° 17' according to *Albirûni*, a native of *Karazm*; which latitude was afterwards adopted by *Ulugh Beg*, in his tables. *sim*; that is, *Hazim*, or rather *Hajim*; the *ds* being commonly used to express the *English* *j* consonant.

(F) In the translations of *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* history, *Had-* (G) Or *Arbus*, before described.

rice, growing at the top like a cluster of grapes. The water with which all this country is supplied, is conveyed by canals out of the *Oxus* (or *Amu*); so that it falleth not into the *Caspian* sea, as formerly: and, in a short time, all that land is likely to become a wilderness, for want of water*. Which prediction of our author has come to pass.

THE towns besides *Urjensb*, mentioned by *Abū'lghazi Khān*, and described by *Bentink*, are the following seven:

TUK, a little town, six leagues to the north-east of *Tūk*. *Urjensb*, at a small distance from the southern bank of the *Khesel*.

KHAYUK lies towards the borders of *Great Bukhāria*, half a day's journey from the river *Khesel*. It is the best city in all *Karazm*, next to *Urjensb*: yet the houses are no better than miserable cabbins, being as inconvenient within as without. The neighbouring country is fertile enough; but very ill cultivated. However, one meets there with some vines; which the *Sarts*, who dwell in this town, take care of. They make also a kind of red wine, which is pretty good.

WAZIR, situated towards the northern bank of the river *Amu*; but, like the rest of the towns, is at present inconsiderable.

KUMKALA is a small town, in the middle of *Karazm*, to the north of *Wazir*; but not worth taking notice of.

THE town of *Kāht* (*Kāth*, or *Kāt* (H)), is situated on the north side of the *Khesel*, towards *Great Bukhāria*; and is of consequence at present only on account of its passage over that river.

HAZARASB, situated on the north side of the *Khesel*, is also become inconsiderable, since it fell into the hands of the *Uzbeks*.

MANKISHLAK, a small town on the shore of the *Caspian* sea, on the north side of the southern branch mouth of the river *Amu* (K). The town itself is inconsiderable, consisting

* PURCH. ubi sup.

(H) *Abū'lfeḍa* calls it *Kāth*; *Jenkinson*, *Kait*; and only says, it is a castle, where *Soltān Saramet* resided. *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. iii. p. 237. It was formerly the capital of *Karazm*; and there were two of the name, as well as of *Orkanj*, or *Urjensb*.

unless it be a town of modern building: for *Abū'lfeḍa* places it on the *Jibūn*, or *Amu*. The name signifies, in *Persian*, a thousand berfes.

(K) This situation is agreeable to what may be inferred from *Abū'lghāzi Khān*'s history; who frequently mentions it, as lying towards the bottom of the

Caspian

Cities and towns.



Other cities.

isting of about 700 houses, or rather pitiful cabbins, built of earth; but its port is magnificent, and the only one to be found in all that sea. As it is large, secure, and deep, it would in any other hands but those of the *Tatars*, soon become a place of great trade; but, at present, seldom any ships arrive there (L). The town is inhabited only by *Turkmans*, who can bear the neighbourhood of the sea better than the *Uzbeks* ^s.

ABU'LGHAZI Khân mentions several other towns of *Karazm* in his history, besides the preceding ^t. The *Uzbeks* of this country have likewise some others in *Khorassân*; which, by degrees, they conquered from the *Persians*. As *Durân*, *Nasay* (or *Nesâ*), *Isûrd* (or *Bawerd*), *Mahân*, *Baghâbâd*, *Tawrsurdi*, and *Marû*. These places however were, in all likelihood, recovered from them a few years ago by the late *Nâder Shâh*; who, we are told, chastised them severely, and drove them beyond the river *Amû*. But whether they have not taken the opportunity of the troubles which arose in *Irân*, or *Persia*, on that prince's death, to re-enter into possession of those cities, is what we cannot venture to assure our readers.

S E C T. IV.

The Inhabitants of Karazm; their Manners, and Customs.

KARAZM is at present inhabited by three sorts of people; the *Sarts*, the *Turkmans*, and the *Uzbek Tatars*.

The Sarts.

WITH regard to the first of these, we are only told, that they are the antient inhabitants of the country, and support them-

^s BENTINCK Hist. Turks, p. 442, & seqq.
& alibi.

^t Ibid. p. 235,

Caspian sea: and, as *Jenkinson*, in his passage from *Manguslau* to *Urjenß*, came to the bay where formerly the *Oxus*, or *Amû*, fell into the *Caspian sea* before it was turned into another river, *Manguslau*, must, we presume, be the same with *Man-kisblât*. For the mouth of the dry channel lies in a latitude considerably more south than *Urjenß*; and it is not likely, if *Manguslau* was in the north part of the *Caspian sea*, that they

should travel so far south, and round about, instead of taking the direct and shorter road thro' the country. Either, therefore, *Jenkinson*, or the printer, mistook as to the latitude of *Manguslau*, or some other particulars, or his journal was corrupted; as we have been credibly informed it was, to serve some particular purposes.

(L) In the flourishing times of the *Karazmian empire*, it may be presumed, a great trade was carried

themselves, like the *Turkmâns*, by their cattle and husbandry^a. *The Turk-*
 What we are to understand by the antient inhabitants, seems *mâns.*
 not easy to determine : whether the original inhabitants, who
 first possessed the country ; or those who were settled there
 before the *Uzbeks* became masters of it : which latter is most
 probable. Nor is it so likely that they are a people sprung
 from one and the same stock, as a mixed people, composed of
 the remains of *Persians*, *Arabs*, *Turks*, and other *Tatar*
 tribes, who have successively conquered the country ; espe-
 cially those of the latter kind, which their way of living in
 good measure confirms. But as neither *Abû'lghâzi Khân*,
 nor his commentator *Bentink*, has thought fit to give us any
 light into the original or history of these *Sarts*, we must
 confess ourselves unable to satisfy the curiosity of our
 readers.

1. Of the *Turkmâns*.

THE *Turkmâns*, or *Turkomâns*, as our historians call them, *Turk-*
 came originally from *Turkestân*, or the parts of *Tartary* to *mans*,
 the north of *Karazm* and *Great Bâkhâria*. They separated *their ori-*
 from the *Kankli*, with whom they dwelt in that country, to-
 wards the eleventh century, with an intent to seek their for-
 tune somewhere else ; and settled in *Karazm* long before the
Tatars, as *Abû'lghâzi Khân* relates. They divided into two
 parties, one of which went round the north side of the *Cas-*
pian sea, and settled in the western parts of the greater *Ar-*
menia ; from thence called *Turkomania*, or the country of
 the *Turkomâns*. The second party turned south, and rested
 about the banks of the river *Amû*, and the shores of the *Cas-*
pian sea (A) : where they still possess a great number of
 towns and villages, in the countries of *Karazm* and *Astara-*
bâd, a province of *Îrân*, or *Persia* at large.

THIS branch of the *Turkmâns* has been hitherto unknown *Oriental*
 to the *European* historians and geographers ; although they *Turk-*
 are much more numerous at present than that of the western *mâns* :
Turkmâns. The authors who have given extracts from the
 eastern writers, take but little notice of them ; and others re-
 late no more of their history than what occurs in the *Byzan-*
tine and such western historiographers, who lived at too great
 a distance to be acquainted with their affairs.

* BENTINK Hist. Turks, p 235.

carried on here ; and it is still a place of passage for ships from
 the coast of *Shirwân* and other parts of the *Caspian* sea.
 possessed of all the coast from *Mangisau*, where he landed,
 till he left the shore, four days before he reached *Sellizâr*.

(A) *Jenkinson* found them

THE

The Turk-
mâns.

THE *Turkmâns* seem to be descended from the *Turks*, or to differ from them, only as the wandering *Arabs*, called *Badwîns*, who live under tents, do from those who dwell in cities. As the western branch of the *Turkmâns* formed the famous dynasties, under the denominations of the *Black* and *White Sheep*, in *Armenia*, and the neighbouring provinces; so from this eastern branch some oriental authors derive the three famous dynasties of the *Seljûk* Soltâns, who, for several ages, held in subjection the countries of *Asia* from the *Archipelago* to *Hind stân*.

Shape,
dress, re-
ligion:

THE *Turkmâns* of this latter branch are shaped much like the western: that is, are tall and robust, with square flat faces; only they are much swarthier, and have a greater resemblance of the *Tatars*. In summer they wear long gowns of calico, or thick cloth; and, in winter, sheep-skin gowns, of the same kind. Cattle and agriculture afford them subsistence, according to the different parts they possess. In winter they inhabit towns and villages about the river *Amû*, and towards the coasts of the *Caspian* sea. In summer they encamp where they can meet with the best pastures, and good water. They all profess the *Mohammedan* worship. Such of them as are settled in the country of *Astarabâd* generally follow the *Persian* sect; but they who dwell in *Karazm* conform with the *Uzbek Tatars* in sentiments of religion: although neither one nor the other give themselves much trouble about it.

character,
and num-
ber.

THESE eastern *Turkmâns* are exceedingly restless, and with great difficulty submit to the *Tatar* yoke. They are very brave, and, at least, as good horsemen, but not so great robbers, as the *Uzbeks*: by whom being treated as conquered subjects, they are obliged to pay tribute, and suffer several other impositions. To this is principally to be imputed the great animosity which they bear those rigid masters: but the *Turkmâns* who dwell under the dominion of the *Persians* are treated in a much better manner. Both together may amount to 100,000 families. These people are still divided into tribes, like all the other branches of the *Turkish* nation; and their chiefs enjoy the same prerogatives^b.

Their
tribes;

ABU'LGHAZI Khân, who was a great enemy to the *Turkmâns*, and from time to time destroyed great numbers of them, makes frequent mention of them, on several occasions: sometimes according to the country they inhabit; as the *Turkmâns* of *Mankishblâk*, *Abû'lkhân*, and *Dehistan*^c: which last

^b BENTINK ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 426, & seq.
P. 235.

^c Ibid.

territory belongs to *Persia*: but oftener by the names of their respective tribes. The principal of which are, 1st, *Adâkli* *Khiffer-ili*. These dwell on both sides of the *Amû*, from the province of *Pishga* to that of *Karakizet*^d. 2. *Ali-ili*, inhabiting from the province of *Karakizet* to the mountain of *Abûlkhân*. 3. *Ti-u-azi*, who possess the rest of the banks of the *Amû*, from *Abûlkhân* to the sea. These three tribes are named *Utzil*^e. Besides these three tribes, we meet with the names of several others, whose particular settlements are not mentioned; viz. *Tâka*, *Sârik*, *Tamut*, *Irsâri*, *Khorassân Sahuri*^f (these five made formerly no more than one tribe), *Itzki Sahuri*, *Hassan Ikdur*, *Jândur*, *Arabâz*, *Koklan*, *Adâkli*^g, *Karamit*^h, and some others, less considerableⁱ.

JENKINSON remarks, in his travels to *Bokhâra*, that *their* all the country from the *Caspian* sea to *Urgens* is called the *country* land of *Turkmân*; and that the inhabitants between that sea and the castle of *Sellizur*, as well as of all the countries about that sea, live without either town or house, in the open fields; removing from place to place in great companies, with their cattle^k.

2. Of the Uzbek Tatars.

The name of *Uzbeks*, which the *Tatars* of *Karazm* and *Name and Great Bukhâria* bear at present, is derived from *Uzbek origin*. *Khân* of *Kipjâk*, as related by *Abû'lghazi Khân*¹: and this custom, to assume the name of the prince, in token of his people's affection, has always been in use with the inhabitants of *Tartary*: of which we have instances in the names of the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, *Tatars*, and the like.

WHEN *Ilbârs Soltân* was invited by the inhabitants of *Urgensh* to come and take possession of *Karazm*^m, about the year 911, the *Uzbeks* possessed all the country of *Kipjâk* (or *Kapchâk*), eastward to the river *Irtish*, and southward as far as the river *Sîr*, besides *Great Bukharia*, which they had newly subdued under the conduct of *Shâh Bakht* (*) *Soltân*. This prince likewise added to his other conquests the greater part of *Khorassân*, with *Karazm*, which then depended on that province. However, only a small number of *Uzbeks* seem to have settled in the country, till such time as *Ilbârs*, and his brother, brought the rest of them out of *Kipjâk*.

A. D.
1505.

THE body of *Uzbek Tatars*, both in *Karazm* and *Great Uzbek*

^a BENTINCK ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 236. ^e Ibid. p. 236 tribes.
& 239. ^f Ibid. p. 238. ^g Ibid. ^h Ibid. p. 256. ⁱ Ibid.
p. 238. ^k PURCH. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237. ¹ ABU'LGH. Hist.
Turks, &c. p. 235. ^m Ibid. 226.

(*) See p. 124. Note B.

The Uz-
beks.



Bukhāria, is composed out of four tribes; viz. the *Vigārs*, or *Oygārs*, *Naymāns*, *Durmāns*, and *Kunkurats*, or *Kongorats*. The two first were of the four given to *Sheybani Khān*, son of *Juji Khān*ⁿ. On which occasion a certain author observes, that if all the inhabitants of *Kipjāk* took the name of *Uzbeks* from *Uzbek Khān*, it is strange none but those four should retain it. Nor is there any accounting, why the *Tatars* of *Krim* are not called *Uzbeks*; but, by supposing either, that the name extended only to those four tribes, and that the subjects of *Uzbek Khān* were limited to them; or else, that the rest of the *Tatars*, who inhabited *Kipjāk*, changed it by degrees, according to the above-mentioned custom, so much in use with them.

way of
living;

THE *Uzbeks*, for the most part, live by rapine, resembling in all respects those of *Great Bukhāria*; excepting that they are far less polite, and more restless. They dwell in winter in the towns and villages which are towards the middle of *Karazm*; and in summer the greater part of them encamp in the neighbourhood of the river *Amā*, and in other places where they can meet with favourable pasture for their cattle; always waiting for some convenient opportunity to rob and destroy. They never cease making incursions upon the adjacent territories of *Persia* or *Great Bukhāria*; and are to be restrained by no treaties or engagements whatever, in regard all their riches and support consist in the slaves and plunder which they carry off on those occasions.

encamp for
conveni-
ence

ALTHOUGH there are excellent pasture-lands in many parts of the country towards the banks of the *Kheshel*, yet the *Uzbeks* seldom remove thither with their cattle in summer; because there is nothing to plunder on that side: for the *Kara Kālpāks* (or *Mankāts*), who are their northern neighbours, are as dexterous at the business as themselves; and what they can find to steal from one another is not worth the trouble of going for. Beside, the *Mohammedan Tatars* do not make mutual incursions, unless they are at open war together. As for the *Kalmāks* (or *Eluths*), who border on *Karazm* to the north-east, they usually quit the borders of the *Mohammedan Tatars* towards the beginning of summer, that they may not be exposed to their inroads; and return not thither again till the winter, when the rains and snow have rendered the roads impassable on that side.

of making
incursions:

HENCE it is that none but the *Sarts* and *Turkmāns* reap the benefit of the pastures. The former seek those which lie eastward, towards *Great Bukhāria*, and the *Turkmāns* go in

ⁿ ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 207.

quest of such as are situated towards the shores of the *Caspian* *The Uz-*
sea, and mouth of the *Amu*. However, the *Uzbeks* frequently *beks.*
 encamp on the sides of this river; where they are at hand to
 throw themselves into the *Persian* provinces, on the first occa-
 sion which presents, and carry off wherewithal to make good
 cheer in the winter. Although the *Uzbeks* have fixed habita-
 tions, yet, in travelling from one place to another, they carry
 with them all their effects of value, like the *Eluths* and
Mugls; conformable to the way of living in use among their
 ancestors before they had settled dwellings^o.

ACCORDING to *Jenkinson*, these *Tatars* never ride without *arms and*
 their bow, arrows, and sword, although it be in hawking, *diet*;
 or taking any other pleasure. They have no arts or sciences
 among them, but live an idle life; sitting round in great
 companies in the fields, and passing their time in idle dis-
 course. They have not the use of bread: neither do they
 till or sow. They are great devourers of flesh; which they
 cut in small pieces, and eat greedily by handfuls: especially
 horse-flesh. Their chief drink is sour mare's milk, like that
 in use with the *Nogays*; with which they will get drunk.
 They have no rivers, nor places of water, in this country,
 from *Manguslau*, where the author landed, to the bay where
 he arrived, twenty stages distant; excepting some wells of
 brackish water, more than two days journey asunder. They eat
 their victuals upon the ground, sitting with their legs double
 under them; which is their posture also when they pray.

THE same author observes, that the inhabitants dwelling *their cas-*
 between the *Caspian* sea and *Urjensb* (including, without *tle*;
 doubt, the *Uzbeks* as well as *Turkmâns*) have abundance of
 camels, horses, and sheep, both wild and tame. Their sheep
 are extraordinary large, with great tails, weighing sixty or
 eighty pounds. There are many wild horses in the country,
 which the *Tatars* frequently kill with their hawks. These
 birds are lured to seize upon the head or neck of the beast;
 which, being tired at length with toiling to get rid of this
 cruel enemy, the hunter, who follows his game, comes up
 and kills him. There grows no grass throughout this part of
 the country, but a brush or heath; which yet is very fatten-
 ing. *Jenkinson* adds, that these people have not the use of
 gold, silver, or any other coin; but barter their cattle for
 necessaries^p.

PERHAPS this author speaks of the *Turkmâns* only in this *their*
 respect: for we find there is money in the kingdom; parti- *money.*

^o BENTINCK ap. Hist. Turks, p. 429, & seqq.
 Bigr. vol. iii. p. 237.

^p PURCH.

Govern-
ment.

cularly a piece of silver called *Tanga* (B), which is current both in *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*. It is large, and *Bentink* believes the only silver money coined by the Khân of these provinces. This is round, pretty fine, and in value near the fourth part of a crown. It has on one side the name of the country, and on the other that of the country with the year of the *Hejrah*. The rest of the money made in this country consists in small pieces of copper, of different sizes, which answer to our pence, half-pence, and farthings. The money of *Persia* passes also in these provinces, especially towards the borders of that country^a.

S E C T. V.

The Government and Revolutions of Karazm.

The Khân's authority. **K**ARAZM is commonly divided among divers princes of the same house; of whom, notwithstanding, only one has the title of Khân, with a kind of superiority over the others, just as he has power or skill to improve it. The usual place of his residence is *Urjensh*, or some other city which he chuses; although, during the summer, he, for the general, encamps on the sides of the river *Amâ*. And, as his camp is called *Khiva*, his subjects are commonly denominated *the Tatars of Khiva* (C). This Khân is sovereign in his own dominions, and in no sort depends on him of *Great Bukhâria*, or any other prince^a.

Power of the prince. **J**ENKINSON informs us, that, in 1558, when he was in this country (which, however, he no-where names) it was in the hands of six brothers; one of whom, called *Azîm* (D), had the title of Khân: but adds, that he was very little obeyed, excepting in his own territory, and the place where he resided (E). For that each would be king in

^a BENTINK ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 428. & seq.

^a Ibid. p. 423.

(B) *Abûlgbâzi Khân* mentions it in his history, p. 239.

(C) That is by the *Russians*, as hath been observed before, in the account of *Beckowitz's* expedition to discover the *Daria*.

(D) In *Abûlgbâzi Khân's* history written *Hadîm*, which may be pronounced either *Hadîm* or *Ilajîm*. He was elected

Khân in 1557, and had five brothers living.

(E) He dwelt then, according to *Jenkinson*, at *Sellizâr*. two or three stages west of *Urjensh*; of which last *Ali Soltân* was king. We shall find, in the following history of the Khâns that *Ali Soltân* had for his share, *Urjensh*, *Hâzaraib*, and *Kar*.

the

the share which belonged to him; and one brother fought continually to destroy another, for want of natural affection: *Govern-ment.* which our author ascribes to their being born of different women, and commonly the children of slaves. Every Khân or Soltân hath at least four or five wives (F), besides concubines. These brothers are generally at war together; and when any of them is vanquished he flies to the desert, with his followers; and there lives, by robbing the karawâns, and all they meet with, till he is strong enough to invade some of his brothers again^b.

NOR is it difficult to bring this about: for *Bentink* observes, that as the *Turkmâns*, who were the first occupants, are always in opposition to the *Uzbeks*, the princes of the reigning house know how to make use of this jealousy, and draw to their side the faction which thinks itself neglected by the Khân. It is to this extreme facility of making a party, that those troubles, which continually distract *Karazm*, are principally owing.

THIS state can with ease set on foot forty or fifty thousand able horse. What *Abû'lghâzi Khân* reports of his infantry and musketeers^c, shews that he had profited by his imprisonment in *Persia*: for, before his time, that way of fighting was intirely unknown to the *Uzbeks*. Nor do they seem to have retained that kind of warfare: for, at present, they take the field only on horse-back; and it is a rarity to see fire-arms among them^d.

KARAZM is an ancient kingdom, and hath undergone a great many revolutions. In the time of *Herodotus* it was subject to *Persia*, having been one of the provinces over which *Darius* placed *Satrapas*. But nothing very material occurs concerning it, till it was possessed by the *Arabs*, in the year 61, and for a long time after; farther than that it was a province of their empire, under a governor, like the rest of the countries conquered by them. Upon the declension of the power of the *Khalifas*, when the governors seized the provinces intrusted to their care, it is probable that *Karazm* acted like the rest, in setting up for itself; although, in the histories hitherto come to our knowledge, we meet with no king of this country before *Mamân ibn Mobammed*, who reigned some time after the year 385. For, not long before that, we find it under a governor, named *Abû Abd'ollah*^e;

A. D.
680.

conquered
by the
Arabs,

A. D.
995.

^b PURCH. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237. ^c Ibid. 357. ^d Ibid. p. 431. ^e TEXEIR. Hist. Pers. p. 260.

(4F) As *Mobammedans*, they can have no more than four.

Govern-
ment.

A. D.
1016

but it does not appear for whom. At length it fell under the dominion of Soltân *Mahmûd Gâzni*, king of *Khorassân*; who, after the death of *Mamûn ibn Mamûn*, in 407, took that kingdom from the usurper, and made it a province of his empire^f.

and Seljûk
Turks,

A. D.
1092.

KARAZM continued in this state under the families of *Gâzni* and *Seljûk*, successively, till, upon the death of *Mâlek Shâh*, furnamed *Jûlâlo'ddîn*, third Soltân of the *Seljûk Turks*, in 489, *Kothbo'ddîn* (G), then governor of that province, taking advantage of the broils which ensued upon the demise of that great monarch, assumed the title of king^g. But that title was better established by his son and successor *Mohammed*, furnamed *Atsiz*^h; though not without great opposition from Soltân *Sanjer*, son of *Mâlek Shâh*, who often reduced him to a dependency. But it was *Takaish*, sixth Soltân of this dynasty, who firmly established the empire of the *Karazmians*, by the ruin of that of *Seljûk*: which he put an end to in *Irân*,

Karazmi-
an empire

A. D.
1193.

or 1196.

by the death of *Togrul Arslân*, in 590 or 593; and added the dominions of that brave but unfortunate prince to his own, His son *Kothbo'ddîn Mohammed* extended the empire yet farther, by the conquest of all *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, and *Mâwara'n-nâhr*, or *Great Bukhâria*; and was the greatest prince in all *Asia*, in 615, when *Jenghiz Khân* invaded and de-

A. D.
1218.

prived him both of his territories and his life.

conquered
by Jenghiz
Khân;

As *Jagatay Khân*, son of that conqueror, had only a part of *Karazm* in his share of his father's dominions, as set forth by the oriental historiansⁱ, it looks as if the whole country had not been subdued, or, at least, that part of it revolted, and became independent. Be that as it will, it is very probable, that, on the declension of the power of the Khâns of *Jagatay* (H), on the death of *Ghâzân* or *Khâzân Khân*, in 749, if not before, *Karazm* either set up a king of its own, or fell a prey to some other power^k: for in the time of *Timûr Bek*, we find it possessed by *Hussayn Sofi*, son of *Tang-bâday*, of the hord of *Kongorat*, one of the four *Uzbek* tribes, which, at present, possess *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâ*.

A. D.
1348.

^f ABU'LFARAJ Hist. dynast. p. 220. D'HERBEL. p. 534.
^g LA CROIX Hist. Gengh. p. 129. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 276. ^h D'HERBEL. art. Atsiz. ⁱ LA CROIX Hist. Timûr Bek, p. 307. ABULGH. Hist. of the Turks, &c. p. 165. ^k LA CROIX, ibid. p. 147.

(G) He succeeded his father *Bustekîn*, formerly slave to *Balkatekîn*, his predecessor, but advanced by *Mâlek Shâh* to the

government of *Karazm*.

(H) So the countries subject to *Jagatay* were called after him.

ria.

ria. What is still more remarkable, it is called a great empire¹; and continued in that family of the *Sofi's*, till conquered by *Timûr*, in the year 781 and 790, when he razed the capital (called the city of *Karazm* in his history) to the ground, and sowed it with barley, as before related. But three years after, he restored both the city and kingdom to the condition it had been in before.

Govern-ment.

A. D.

1379,
and 1388.

AFTERWARDS *Karazm* continued in the hands of the descendants of *Timûr Beg* in *Mîwara'nâhr* and *Khorassân*; on which last it was then dependent, till the famous *Shâh Bakht Soltân*, with his *Uzbeks*, subduing those two provinces, about the year 904, it fell of course into the hands of that conqueror. Soon after, *Shâh Bakht* having been defeated and slain by *Shâh Ismael Sofi*, in 916, *Karazm* returned once more under the dominion of the crown of *Îrân*, or *Persia* at large: but, about two years after, the inhabitants, revolting against the governors, sent for *Ilbârs Soltân*; who, coming with his *Uzbeks* out of *Turkestdân*, was proclaimed Khân, in 918 (1), at *Wazîr*^m; and his descendants have continued ever since in possession of the countryⁿ.

by the Uz-
beks.

A. D.

1498.

A. D.

1510.

A. D.

1512,

S E C T. VI.

*History of the Uzbek Khâns of Karazm.*1. *The Khâns from Ilbârs Soltân, till his Descendants were expelled Karazm.*

BURGA Soltân, son of *Yadigar Khân*, having been slain by *Shâh Bakht Soltân*, son of *Abû'lghazi Khân*, in the manner related in the foregoing chapter, left two sons, the elder *Ilbars*, the other *Bilbars*, who was surnamed *Bilikaj*; because he became lame in his feet by a fit of sickness, which he had when a child. These two brothers were very brave, and lived on lands belonging to their father's dominions, as private men. Mean time *Shâh Bakht Soltân*, growing very powerful, conquered *Great Bukhâria*, with most of *Khorassân*; and having subdued *Karazm*, which at that time depended on *Khorassân*, placed a governor in *Urgheñj*, or *Urjensb*, the capital of that kingdom. But five or six years after this revolution, in 916, being defeated, and slain, near *Marâ*, by *Shâh Ismael Sofi*, his governor of *Urjensb* fled; upon which the

Revolu-
tion in
Karazm.Hej. 916
A. D.
1510

¹ LA CROIX, *ibid.* p. 148.
226.

^m ABU'LGH. *ubi supra*, p.
ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 420, & seqq.

(1) In the original it is 911; but this must be a mistake.

1. *Khân*, *Shâh* sent magistrates to the cities of *Khayuk* and *Hazârâsh*, *Ilbârs*. *Urjensh* and *Wazîr*. The governor of this last city, on his arrival, gave the principal inhabitants a sumptuous entertainment, and made them presents: but *Omar*, the *Kâzi* (or judge), who absented himself, under pretence of being indisposed, sent for some of them next day, and represented, that the church was in danger from this governor, *Shâh Ismaël* having changed the faith (A) thirteen years before. The citizens, alarmed at the thoughts of innovations in religion, went two years after to a person noted for piety, in the province of *Bakirgan*, proposing to make him *Khân*, and cut the throats of the *Persian* garrison. But he rejected the offer, and advised them to elect *Ilbârs*, son of *Burga Soltân*; whom he recommended for his good qualities, having often seen him in his annual journeys into the country of the *Uzbeks* (B).

Ilbârs invited; THE burghers, taking this holy man's advice, dispatched two of their number to *Ilbârs* with a letter, inviting him to repair to *Wazîr*. *Ilbârs* set forward immediately with the deputies, and stopped near that city; while the conspirators, who were the principal lords, causing the inhabitants to take up arms, cut the throats of the governor and all his people. Next day they set out to meet *Ilbârs*, who, being joyfully received, both by the *Sârts* and *Uzbeks*, was proclaimed *Khân*, Hej. 911. in the year 911, which is that called *Koy*, or the *Sheep* (C). A. D. *Wazîr* had then depending on it, of all its towns, no more 1505. than *Tarsak* and *Tenghi Shâhr*; which last was given to *Bilbârs Soltân*. The governor of *Tarsak* escaped to *Urjensh*; and having informed the governor *Subhân Kûli* of what had happened at *Wazîr*, the latter summoned the citizens, and told them, "that if they were weary of submitting to his orders, or wished for a change, they might freely declare it; for that he did not intend to be any charge to them, or to reside in their town against their wills." They unanimously answered, "that, as they had no reason to complain either of him or the *Shâh*, they desired he would continue among them:" adding, "the *Uzbeks* were naturally so in-

(A) Asserting *Ali* to be the true successor of *Mohammed*, instead of *Abûbekr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, whom he reckoned usurpers: a point of vast importance among *Mohammedans*.

(B) They then inhabited all

the country of *Kipjâk*, or *Kapchâk*, from the river *Jaik*, in the west, to the *Irtish* eastward, and the *Sir* southward.

(C) See the *Mungl Kalendar*, vol. i. p. 309.

" constant,

" constant, that they would soon leave their new-Khân in 1. Khân,
" the lurch *. " Ilbârs.

THE governor, upon these assurances, backed by an oath, resolved to stay among them; and sent a spy to *Wazîr*, to learn the strength of the enemy, while he put himself in a condition of defence. Three months after, *Ilbârs Khân*, advancing to *Urgensh*, defeated the governor's army; and, entering the city with them, put him and all the *Persians*, with the principal inhabitants, who had assisted them, to the sword: but, finding that he had not men enough to secure his conquests, most of the *Uzbeks* being subject to his uncles, he proposed inviting the sons of *Abûlah* and *Amûnak* (D), all approved of this motion of the Khân, excepting one *Vigûr*, of the common people; who alleged, " that it was a favourite maxim of sovereigns, if they had a mind to preserve peace to themselves, to keep their relations at a distance from their dominions; that the restless spirits among them should not be in a situation to disturb the tranquillity of the state." But the Khân, and the lords of his counsel, were so far from approving of this advice, that they took it very heinously, as spoken out of enmity to the princes; and to sow discord in his family.

As soon as this matter was settled, *Ilbârs Khân* gave his kinsmen to understand, that he had already gotten possession of *Wazîr* and *Urgensh*; but, not having had forces enough to reduce *Hazârâsh* and *Khayuk*, he invited them to come with their subjects, and share in the conquest of so fine a country. The princes, on this encouragement, immediately repaired to *Ilbârs Khân*, who gave up to them *Urgensh* with its dependencies, and returned to reside at *Wazîr*. The new-comers, by their incursions, so incommoded the *Persian* garrison of *Khayuk* and *Hazârâsh*, that they abandoned those towns. After this, they carried the war into *Khorassân*; and, after the death of *Shâh Ismaël*, took all the towns between *Durûn* (E), and the mountains to the west of the city of *Khorassân* (F): but they were strenuously opposed, as well by the *Turkmâns*, who possessed the towns which lay on the borders of the provinces of *Astarâbâd* and *Khorassân*, as those who dwelt to-

* ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 224, & seqq.

(D) The brothers of *Burga* *Solhân*. The first had one son, the other six sons.

(E) Written also *Darûn* and *Dargan*.

(F) *De Pisse*, in his last map of *Persia*, places this city, or the remains of it, near *Abiward*, or *Barward*, in latitude 39 degrees.

2. *Khân, Soltân Hâji.* wards *Abûlkhân* and *Mankishblâk*, on the *Caspian* sea in *Karazm*. *Bilbârs Soltân*, the *Khân's* brother, was in most of these actions; and, though lame, led on his troops bravely among the thickest of the enemy, being carried in a light chariot, drawn by a single horse, and accompanied only by five or six chosen men.

2. *Khân, Soltân Hâji.* THESE two brothers died within a little while of each other, and left several sons. *Ilbârs Khân* was succeeded by *Soltân Hâji*, son of *Bilbârs Soltân*, who was the eldest of all the family (G), and proclaimed at *Wazîr*: but, as he had only a few subjects, the whole power fell into the hands of *Soltân Gâzi*, eldest son of *Ilbârs Khân* (H), a prince of great genius. *Ilbârs Khân* gave to all his sons the surname of *Gâzi*, which signifies a man who subdues people of another religion; in memory of their having vanquished the *Persians* at *Urjensb* and *Wazîr*: but our author knew not the reason why *Bilbârs Soltân* gave the name of *Hâji* (I) to his sons.

3. *Khân, Hassan Kûli.* AFTER the death of *Hâji Khân*, that honour was conferred on *Hassan Kûli*, son of *Abûlak*, who reigned in *Urjensb*, as being the eldest prince of the house of *Tadigar Khân*: for, although they were all descended from the three brothers, *Burga Soltân*, *Abûlak*, and *Amûnak*, and so made but one house, yet each had his own particular dominion. The six sons of *Amûnak* (K) had at this time six sons, of age to do for themselves, besides younger children. *Hassan Kûli Khân*, who was the only son of *Abûlak*, had likewise several sons; of whom *Bilâl*, the eldest, resembled his father in every thing, as well as his good disposition. In the reign of this *Khân*, the seed of envy and discord began to sow it itself among the aforesaid princes: for as the *Khân's* revenue greatly exceeded that of the rest, they at length grew uneasy at it; and, joining their forces against him, laid siege to *Urjensb*. Hereupon *Hassan Kûli Khân* sallied out, on foot, with all his men, and, posting himself on the counterescarp, fought bravely; from morning till night, against the confederates: of whom, among others, was slain *Aganay*, the youngest of *Amûnak's* sons,

The princes
rebel;

(G) The eldest of the reigning family is always chosen *Khân*, except in extraordinary cases.

(H) *Ilbârs Khân* had seven sons; but our authors knew the names of only two, *Soltân Gâzi*, the eldest, and *Mahamed Gâzi*, the second. *Bilbârs* left five; but only *Soltân Hâji* is named.

(I) Perhaps he considered his expedition along with his brother, in this *Gâzi*, or holy war, as a kind of religious pilgrimage.

(K) They were, 1. *Safian*. 2. *Buzzûga*. 3. *Avânash*. 4. *Kâbl*. 5. *Akûstay*; and, 6. *Aganay*.

then.

then only twenty years old; whose head was cut off, and sent into the city: which so enraged his brothers, and the other chiefs of their party, that they forced the Khân to retire into *Urjensb*, and fight within the walls ^b.

3. *Khân*,
Hassan
Kâli.

AFTER the siege had continued four months, provisions became so very dear, that many people deserted to the confederates; which, by degrees, so weakened the Khân's forces, that the allies, having at length given a general assault, entered the city, sword in hand, in spite of the incredible efforts made by that prince, and the few men he had left, of whom they made a great slaughter. After this they put to death *Hassan Kûli Khân*, with his son *Bilâl*, and banished the rest into *Great Bukhâria*: where, at the time our author wrote, there were living fifteen of their male descendants.

puts him
to death.

THE confederates, having thus gotten the whole power into their hands, agreed on a new division of the cities of *Karazm*. To the descendants of *Burga Soltân* fell those of *Wazîr*, *Tenghi Shâhr*, *Tarsak*, and *Durân*, with the *Turkmâns* of *Mankishblâk*: the posterity of *Amunak* had all the other towns, viz. *Urjensb*, *Khayuk*, *Hazârâsh*, *Kât*, *Buldumsaz*, *Nikijkâta*, *Borunda*, *Bâghabâd*, *Nasay* (L), *Iburdu* (M), *Zabarda*, and *Mahâna*, with the *Turkmâns* who inhabit the countries of *Abû'lkhân* and *Dehestân*.

Divisions
of Ka-
razm.

HEREUPON *Safian Soltân*, eldest son of *Amunak*, who succeeded *Hassan Kûli Khân*, sent to tell those of *Abû'lkhân*, that, unless they agreed to pay a yearly tribute, he would destroy their habitations. The *Turkmâns*, voluntarily assenting themselves, sent him the tax, as a free gift: but the Khân, not content with such a precarious contribution, next year dispatched forty men to levy it both in *Abû'lkhân* and *Dehestân*. These tax-gatherers having dispersed themselves thro' the country for that purpose, expecting to meet with no opposition, the *Turkmâns* took them, and cut all their throats, at the same time. Upon this news *Safian Khân*, accompanied by his four brothers, marched against them, at the head of his army; and, arriving at the first habitations of them, along the *Amû*, to the west of *Urjensb* (N), met, at first, with much resistance: but, at length, the *Turkmâns* fled to the mountain *Dfu* (or *Ju*), three stages north of *Abû'lkhân*; where, being distressed for want of water, they submitted to pay

4. *Khân*,
Safian
Soltân.

The Turk-
mân sub-
mit.

^b *ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. 228, & seqq.*

(L) Or *Nesâ*, called also *Lit-
sh Damaskus*.

(M) Also *Abiwerd*, or *Ba-
werd*.

(N) See before, p. 143.

4. *Khân*, 40,000 sheep yearly; viz. the tribes of *Tâka*, *Sârik*, and *Safian*. *Tamut*, 8,000; those of *Irfari* and *Khorassan Saluri* 16,000 each.

THE other tribes agreed also to pay in the following proportions; *fjki Saluri*, 10,000; *Hassan*, 16,000; *Ikdâr* and *Jawdâr*, 12,000; *Arabâz*, 4,000; *Koklân*, 12,000; *Adâkli*, 12,000; besides a tenth more, each, for the *Khân's* kitchen. As for the tribes called *Uchil*, or the three branches, who dwelt on the *Amû*, it was stipulated, that *Adâkli* *Hiffer-illi* should furnish yearly a certain number of soldiers for the *Khân's* service; while they of *Ali-illi* and *Tiuâzi* should pay their contribution in merchandizes^c.

5. *Khân*,
Buzzûga.

SAFIAN KHAN dying, after a reign of some years, left five sons (O): but his brother *Buzzûga Soltân* succeeded him. About that time *Obeyd Khân* (P), who then reigned in *Great Bâkbâria*, took some towns of *Karazm*, which the *Persians* before possessed; and his *Uzbeks* made continual war upon the rest of the towns of that country, which were still under the dominion of the *Sh. h.*, carrying a way great numbers of captives. On the other side, the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm*, who possessed the cities of *ibârdu*, *Nasay*, and *Durân*, did no less annoy the inhabitants of *Khojân* and *Esferayn* (Q), towards the borders of *Ghilkûpruk* province, *Nasay* being only one day's journey distant. *Shah Tahmâsb* (R), unable to remedy these disorders, because he was at war with the *Soltân* of *Rûm* (S), resolved to make an alliance with the *Uzbeks*. For this end, he dispatched an envoy to *Urjenb*, to demand a princess in marriage; saying, his master thought it a great honour to wed a lady of the blood of *Jenghiz Khân*, after the example of *Amîr Timûr*, who, on that occasion, got the name of *Kuragân* (T).

- Peace
with
Shâh
Tahmas.

BUZZUGA KHAN, accepting the proposal in favour of his niece *Aysba Bika*, daughter of *Safian Khân*, because

^c ABU'LOH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 234, & seqq.

(O) Viz. 1. *Yussef*. 2. *Yunus*. 3. *Ali*. 4. *Aghib*. 5. *Paluânkûli*.

(P) He was the son of *Ma-bamed Soltân*, brother of *Shâh Bakht Soltân*, who conquered *Great Bâkbâria*, as before related.

(Q) *Esferayn* lies near the the borders of *Jorjan*, in *Persia*.

(R) Or *Tahmâsb*. This is the prince commonly called *Shâh Tahmas I.* of *Persia*.

(S) So the orientals stile the *Othmân* emperor, because possessed of the countries formerly subject to the *Romans*.

(T) Others write *Kurtkân*, and *Gurkhân*, which signifies the son-in-law, and relation of the *Khân*.

ho

he had none of his own, sent *Aghijb Soltân*, one of his brothers, and nine vassal lords to the *Persian* court to finish this alliance. The Shâh received that prince with great distinction, and made him a present of the town of *Khojân*. He sent to *Buzzûga Khân* ten wedges of gold, and as many of silver, each as large as a tile; with ten fine horses, whose saddles and harnesses were trimmed with gold. To his spouse he sent nine pieces of cloth of gold, 1,000 pieces of silks, and abundance of magnificent habits; after which she was conducted to the Shâh's court.

BUZZUGA KHAN died (U), after he had reigned 6. *Khân*, twenty-seven years, and *Avânash*, his brother, was proclaimed *Avânash Khân*. His eldest son *Dîn Mahamed* (X), who had an early genius for war, when he was nineteen years old, resolved to make an incursion with forty men towards *Astarabâd*. Passing the south branch of the *Amû*, at *Sidâlik Tâka*, he met, in the defile of *Dinâr*, a man belonging to a lord of *Mahamed Gâzi Soltân*, who resided at *Durûn*, driving nine camels and thirty sheep. Among these, he observed a yellow goat, and desired he might have it, for his people's subsistence on the road, promising to make his master amends at his return: but the fellow refusing to gratify his request, he ordered his men to beat him, and take all his drove. After this, *Dîn Mahamed* pursued his journey, and had the wish for success: but, on his return, was met on a party sent out by *Mahamed Gâzi*, who took all his booty of cattle, and himself prisoner, letting his followers go their way. Being brought before the Soltân, he for a time confined him; and then, having punished him, sent him, under the guard of *Risba Khudayberdi* and six men, to his father *Avânash Khân*; with orders to tell this prince, that he had sent him his *Tugma* (Y), after punishing him for invading the *Persian* territories, without his permission, and stripping some of his people^a.

DÎN MAHAMED, impatient to be at liberty, from *Dîn Mahamed* time to time, made great outcries, that if any of his men had hamed stopped on the road, they might come to his assistance. On the other hand, every time he made a noise, the lord, who conducted him, bawled out *Risba*, which was his usual word: but *Dîn Mahamed*, believing he made those exclamations with design to insult him, took such offence at it, that

^a ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 238, & seqq.

(U) *Buzzuga Khân* left three sons; 1. *Dost Mahamed*. 2. *Ish Mahamed*. 3. *Eurum*, otherwise named *Ish Dost*.

(X) He had two other sons, *Mahmûd* and *Ali*.

(Y) *Tugma* is a word of reproach, and signifies *bastard*.

6. *Khân*, it cost *Risba* his life. One day, when his guards were asleep, in *Avânash*. the country of *Gordisb*, some of his men, who knew his voice, and had followed him at a distance, coming up, set him at liberty, and cut the throats of his guards; whom they buried out of the way, deep in the sands. On his return, his father, who did not love him, having asked him, how he got out of the scrape? he answered, that *Mahamed Gâzi* was indeed angry with him at first; but was soon reconciled, and sent him back with a present of some horses and habits: which his father believed to be matter of fact.


*Kills Ma-
hamed
Gâzi.*

AFTER this, *Dîn Mahamed* getting two seals engraved, one with his father's cypher, the other with that of his mother-in-law, who was sister to *Mahamed Gâzi*; he wrote letters to him in both their names, informing him, that she was very sick, and earnestly desired to see him. Her brother immediately set forward; and arriving in an evening, when the *Khân* was out a hawking, went directly to his sister's apartment. As he perceived her to be very well, and she told him she had sent no letter, he began to suspect some treachery, and left her that instant, with design to take horse again: but, hearing much noise in the street, which faced the castle, he made to the *Khân's* stables, thinking to escape by a back-door that opened into a by-lane; which being full of people, he hid himself in a heap of dung that lay in a corner.

*Ali Sol-
tân slain*

DIN MAHAMED, who had seen *Mahamed Gâzi* go up to his sister's apartment, followed with some of his forty men: but, not finding him there, he went, by the direction of some women slaves, toward the stables; where, after much search, one of them perceived a bit of his scarlet robe sticking out of the dung; on which he went and told *Dîn Mahamed*, who came and slew him on the spot. Upon this alarm, one of *Mahamed Gâzi's* men ran to *Wâzir*, to inform his brother *Soltân Gâzi*; who, in the first transports of rage, slew *Ali Soltân* (son of *Safian Khân*), his wife's brother, who unfortunately was just then come to visit her. When *Avânash Khân* returned from hunting, and was made acquainted with the murder committed by *Dîn Mahamed*, who had made his escape, he assembled his council, to deliberate what was to be done upon so extraordinary an occasion: but they were scarce come to a resolution in the affair, when a courier arrived with the news of the murder of *Ali Soltân*; which threw them into farther confusion.

• *ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 247, & seqq.*

MEAN time the Khán's nephews, who were all of *Amának's* posterity, being informed of what had happened at *Urjensb* and *Wázir*, foresaw that it would occasion a civil war; and therefore repaired to *Urjensb*: from whence, on the other hand, *Mahamed Gázi's* people retired to *Wázir*. *Avánasb Khán*, for his part, had no inclination to a war: but his nephews, in some measure, forced him to raise an army, and march towards that city. On this advice, *Soltán Gázi* sent to the descendants of *Bilbárs Soltán*, at *Tenghi Sháhr*: but, without staying for them, advanced with what troops he had, to meet the Khán, as far as the province of *Komkint*, which lies to the west of *Wázir*. He was chagrined, on ranging his troops, to find that there were not men enough to make a front equal to that of the enemy; but more, to hear a soldier, by way of mockery, for he was not beloved, say, "that he might supply the defect with his horses and cows; of which, till then, he had made more account than of his warriors." In short, the two armies coming to an engagement, he was there killed, with fifteen princes descended of *Ka- from Ilbárs Khán*. His sons, *Omar Gázi Soltán* and *Shír Gázi Soltán*, and two daughters, falling into the hands of *Akattay Soltán*, brother of the Khán, he sent them into *Great Bukhária*. 6. Khán, Avánasb.  Burga Soltán's posterity

THE other princes, who made haste to join *Soltán Gházi*, hearing of this disaster, fled also into *Great Bukhária*, not daring to return to *Tenghi Sháhr*. After which, the descendants of *Amának* put to death all the posterity of *Burga Soltán* who fell into their hands; excepting the women, whom they kept as captives. Thus was the race of *Ilbárs*, once so numerous, almost extinguished; at least, none of them were to be found in *Karazm*. After so great a revolution, the country was divided among the descendants of *Amúnak*; and *Dín Mahamed Soltán* had for his share the city of *Durán*. razm;

MEAN time *Omar Gázi Soltán*, son of *Soltán Gázi*, arrested by riving in *Great Bukhária*, put himself in the service of *Obeyd Obeýd Khán* (Y); and, although no more than sixteen years old, *Khán*. signalized himself on several occasions. He bestirred himself so effectually in his own behalf, that the Khán, in conjunction with *Juanmart*, Khán of *Samarkant*, *Barak*, Khán of *Táshkunt*, and the prince of *Hissár*, entered *Karazm* with their united forces. On the news of their approach, the princes possessed of *Khayuk*, *Hazârâsb*, and other neighbour-

(Y) He was nephew to *Sháb Bakht Soltán*, and son of a grandson of *Abūlgayir Khán*; which last is the common ancestor of the Uzbek princes settled in *Great Bukhária*.

ing

6. *Khân*,
Avânash.

ing towns, repaired, with their troops, to join *Avânash Khân*: but he, not daring to wait the enemy's coming, retired into the deserts. The confederates, arriving at *Urjensb*, detached some troops after the fugitive princes: who being taken, *Obejd Khân* made a division of them; and, as *Avânash Khân* fell to *Omar Gâzi*'s share, he instantly put him to death. The *Khân* gave *Urjensb* to his son *Abdo'lazîz Soltân*, and one of the four *Uzbek* tribes who dwelt in *Karazm*, to each of the four invading powers; who, after appointing their intendants over them, returned to their own dominions.

Dîn Ma-
hamed

WHEN *Avânash Khân* was made prisoner, his two sons, *Mahmûd* and *Ali*, took refuge with *Dîn Mahamed Soltân*, their eldest brother, at *Durûn*; whither also fled *Tusef* and *Tunus*, two sons of *Safian Khân*, with other princes, and young men of quality. But *Kâhl Soltân* and *Akâttay Soltân*, brothers of the *Khân*, were carried into *Great Bukhâria*, with all the children of the latter, excepting *Hajim Soltân*: who, being at that time eighteen years of age, put on a mean garb, and retired to an old domestic of his father's, whose horses he kept, as if one of his slaves; till, the affair taking wind, his protector, for both their safeties, conveyed him to *Durûn*^f.

takes Kha-
yuk;

NOT long after this, *Dîn Mahamed*, accompanied by all the refugee princes, set out for *Urjensb*, with 2000 men, whom he reinforced in the province of *Gordîsb* by 1000 *Turkmâns*: but it appearing, when they came to the country of *Pîshga*, that their forces were too few to attack the city; and besides wanting boats to pass the *Amû*, they bent their course towards *Khayuk*: because on that side there was no need of boats, and they had hopes of getting thither undiscovered, as but few people dwelt on that road. Being arrived, they took the city, without much difficulty; and put to death the commander, with some of his garrison. Upon this news, the governor of *Hazârâsb* repaired to *Urjensb*; and *Abdo'lazîz Soltân*, fearing to fall into *Dîn Mahamed*'s hands, retired into *Great Bukhâria*. *Obejd Khân*, on his son's return, immediately raised a numerous army, and marched towards *Urjensb*; but, arriving at the *Karamit Turkmâns*, stopped there, with part of his forces, and sent forty thousand men, under two generals, to that city.

attacks
and de-
feats

ON the first advice of the enemy's march, *Dîn Mahamed Soltân* left *Khayuk*, with design to meet them: but as his forces did not exceed 10,000 men, the princes and lords, who accompanied him, advised him to return to *Durûn*;

^f ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 251, & seqq.

alleging,

alleging, that as soon as *Obeyd Khân*, who came only to secure *Urgheñj*, perceived they were retreated, he would retire also; and that then they might turn back, without noise, and take the city. But *Dîn Mahamed* persisting in his resolution to give the enemy battle, 220 of his principal officers alighted; and, falling at his feet, intreated him to return. Having renewed their supplication in this manner three times, he at last fell in a passion, and flung himself off his horse also: then taking up a handful of dust, scattered it on his head, and cried out, "I devote myself to God, and my body to the earth." After this, turning to the lords who surrounded him, said, "I consider myself as a dead man; and if you esteem your lives more precious than mine, you are at liberty to return: but if you will share with me the glory that attends us, let us march." Hereupon, remounting his horse, he continued his march; and all his army followed, shedding tears.

6. Khân
Avanâsh.

MEAN time, *Dîn Mahamed* being informed, that the enemy had in the night passed by *Hazârâsh*, and would be upon his back the next day, he halted in the evening at a pond, since called *Shikâst Kûli*, in the province of *Jardankhâst*. He ranged his troops on the west side of the pond, which was then dried up; and having had notice before day, by his scouts, of the enemy's approach, first sent his brother *Ali Soltân*, who was but eight years old, with six trusty men, a little aside from the field of battle (to the end that, if he lost the victory, there might remain at least one sprig of their family); then divided his forces into two bodies; one commanded by himself, the other by *Yusef Soltân*, eldest son of *Safian Khân*: these he posted on both sides of the road, and waited with profound silence. The *Bukharian* army soon appeared, having at their head most of their commanders, with four torches to light them; whom *Dîn Mahamed* let pass, and then fell suddenly on the troops which followed; charging them so briskly that they were soon broken, and obliged to fly, notwithstanding their great superiority.

Obeyd
Khân's
army.

TOGAY Bahâdr, one of the chiefs of the *Kunkurats*, and the Soltân's vassal, killed sixty men in the battle with his own hand. *Dîn Mahamed* had advanced so far among the enemy, that the bow fell from his side unknown to him; which *Hajim Soltân* (Z), who accompanied him, having recovered, "Brother," said *Dîn Mahamed*, that which you have done to-day for me, shall be the knot of an everlasting friendship between

An Uzbek
champion.

ABULGHAZI KHAN. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 255, & seqq.

(Z) *Jenkinson*, in his voyage to *Bogar*, writes *Azim*.

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M

"us."

7. *Khân Kâhl.* "us." He was then twenty-eight years of age, and *Hajim Soltân* eighteen. This victory was complete : for, besides the foldiers slain and taken, most of the principal officers of the enemy fell into the victor's hands ; which enabled him to recover the captive princes of his family, by an exchange of prisoners. For this purpose, the persons of distinction were suffered to go, on their parole, into *Great Bukhâria*, accompanied by *Hajim Soltân* ; who executed his commission so well, that, in 949, he brought back his father *Akattay Soltân*, *Kâhl Soltân*, and the other princes, whom the confederate *Khân* had some time before carried into that country.

Religious jeud. AFTER the battle, *Dîn Mahamed* ordered the prisoners to be brought before him ; and there being among them *Hafis*, one of the principal lords of *Obeyd Khân's* court, he demanded on what account he had told his master, that the inhabitants of *Urjensb* were not true believers, but of a different faith from the *Mussulmans*. The lord, alarmed at this question, fell at his feet, and made answer, " It is at this juncture, " that I shall find whether you are true *Mussulmans*, or whether you be of a different religion." Meaning, that, if they were of the same religion with him, they would pardon him. To this answer *Dîn Mahamed Soltân* made no reply ; in regard that report, concerning the people of *Urgheñj*, was not ill grounded, as they had discovered an inclination for the religion of the *Persians*.

2. *From the Revolution under Avanişh Khân, till Karazm was seized by Obeyd Khân, of Great Bukhâria.*

7. *Khân Kâhl.* THE descendants of *Amûnak* having thus recovered their possessions in *Karazm*, by the valour of *Dîn Mahamed Soltân*, they conferred the dignity of *Khân* on *Kâhl Soltân* ; who fixed his seat at *Urjensb*. *Akattay Soltân* had *Wazîr* ; *Hajim Soltân*, his son, *Bâghabâd* ; the descendants of *Soltân Khân* (A), had *Khayuk* ; the sons of *Buzsûga Khân*, *Hazârâsb* ; and *Dîn Mahamed Soltân*, and his brother, the cities of *Durân*, *Yawsurdî*, and *Nafay* (or *Nesâ*).

8. *Khân Akattay.* AKATTAY, who succeeded his brother in the dignity of *Khân*, gave *Kât* to *Sheykh Mahamed* and *Shâh Nazer*, two sons of *Kâhl Khân* ; *Urjensb*, with its dependants, to *Ali Sol-*

(A) These were *Yunus* and *Gâzi*, as before related ; *Agbişh Soltân* died at *Kbojân*, in *Khorasân* ; and *Tusef*, the eldest, by loss of blood, after venesection ; the other three were dead ; *Ali Soltân* killed by order of *Soltân* the vein opening in the night.

tân

tân, youngest son of *Avânish Khân*; continuing himself to reside at *Wazîr* : but he did not long enjoy the sovereignty ; which happened on the following occasion. *Yunus Soltân*, son of *Safian Khân*, a prince of much ambition and courage, who had married the daughter of a *Biyawl* of the *Mankats*, departed one day from *Khayuk*, with forty chosen men ; under pretence of going to pay a visit to his father-in-law, who dwelt near *Urjensb*. Having passed *Kât*, and arrived at *Tûk* ; which he knew then to be empty (all the inhabitants, both of the town and country, being gone towards *Urjensb* and *Wazîr*) he got upon a tower, from whence he could see *Urjensb* ; and expressing a desire to be there, as being his native place, his men told him, they were ready to follow him where-ever he pleased ^h.

BEING arrived about midnight at the south gate of the city, *Yunus* they put their horses apart, and entered the ditch on foot ; where they lay hid, till the guards, with their torches, had passed by. Then, by the help of a long pole reared against the wall, they all mounted ; and, going directly to the house of *Mahmûd Soltân* (left governor by his brother *Ali*, who went to live at *Nasay*), seized and sent him to *Wazîr*, to the custody of *Akattay Khân* ; whose daughter he had married. *Mahmûd*, who was a very wicked man, never ceased to importune the *Khân* to go and reduce *Urjensb*, till he had consented ; especially considering that *Yunus* had only forty men, and it was not likely the *Usbeks* of that city would assist him against their sovereign : but, being advanced near that place, he found *Yunus* with a good body of troops expecting him ; and, coming to a battle, was put to flight.

KASSEEM, son of *Yunus*, by the daughter of the *Khân*, undertook to pursue him, crying out, " Grandfather, whither would you go in this hot weather ? You had better rest yourself to-day under some tree, and early to-morrow morning continue your journey." But *Akattay Khân's* answer was, " Your father has a heart as black as a pot : but if your intentions towards me be good, leave me to continue my road, and do me no harm." *Kassem*, finding that fair means would not do, made use of foul, and forced him to go with him to *Urjensb*. Upon this news, all the *Usbeks* about *Urjensb*, having assembled tumultuously, acknowledged *Yunus* for their *Khân*, without consulting the other princes. A few days after, *Yunus Khân* sent to tell the four sons (B) of *Akat-*

8. *Khân*.
Akattay.

seizes *Ur* :
ghenj ;

the *Khân*
taken ;

and cruelly
murdered.

^h ABULGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 259, & seqq.

(B) These were *Fakr*, *Timûr*, *Alla Kûli*, and *Soleyman*.

9. *Khân*
Yunus.

tay Khân, who lived at *Wazir*, "that, although they had no desire to take their father, yet they were obliged to convey him home with them, as they found him quite spent with the cholic; which still violently afflicted him." Presently after, he sent four men to the house, which served for the *Khân's* prison, with orders to bind his hands and feet, and then impale him alive; taking care that no marks of a violent death should be found on his body. As soon as the fact was perpetrated, he sent the corps to *Wazir*, with many compliments of condolence to the *Khân's* sons; who he supposed would conclude that their father died of the cholic.

9. *Khân*
Yunus.

As soon as the princes, who were at *Wazir*, heard the news of their father's murder, they sent to their elder brothers (C), who resided at *Baghabâd*, which depended on *Khorassân*, to join with them in revenging such an atrocious crime. The brothers accordingly joined their forces, and went forward towards *Urjensb*: but when *Yunus* was informed, that they had passed the *Amû*, not daring to wait for them, he fled into *Great Bukhâria*, with his brother, and the sons of *Kâhl Khân*. On the road most of his people abandoned him; and his son *Kâssef* lost his way, accompanied only by one man; who, under pretence of going to get victuals for them, went to *Urjensb*, and betrayed him to *Hajtm Soltân*. This prince immediately sent persons to fetch him from the pond, from that time called *Khân Zungali* (where he lay hid among the reeds), and caused him instantly to be put to death. Which revolution happened in the year 956.

Hej. 956.
A. D.

1549.
Another
revolution.

THE descendants of *Safian Khân* and *Kâhl Khân* having been thus intirely stripped of all they enjoyed in *Karazm*, the children of *Avânâsb Khân* continued in possession of *Durûn* (†) and *Yawrsurdi*; which depended on *Khorassân*. The sons of *Ahattay Khân* held *Urjensb* and *Wazir*; and *Buzzûga Khân's* three sons, *Isb*, *Dost*, and *Burum*, became masters of *Khayuk*, *Hazârâsb*, and *Kât*. After which, they conferred the dignity of *Khân* on *Dîn Mahamed Soltân*¹.

10. *Khân*
Dîn Ma-
hamed;

THIS prince, who could not sit idle, began to invade *Khorassân*; which obliged *Shâh Tahmasb* to send an army thither; who took from him *Yawrsurdi*. As soon as the *Persian* troops were retired, the *Khân* posted to *Kazwin*, where the *Shâh* resided, and prayed him to restore that city: but *Tahmasb* being deaf to his entreaties, he got the royal seal counterfeited, and then wrote a letter in the *Shâh's* name to the governor of *Yaur-*

¹ ABULG. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 263, & seqq.

(C) *Hajm* and *Mahmûd*. (†) Written *Darâûs*.

furdi, ordering him to deliver it up to *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, and come himself to court. A few days after, while *Shâh Tahmâsb* was hunting, he slipped from the company, with his followers; and, hasting to *Tawrsurdi*, delivered the letter to the governor: who, readily obeying the supposed command, surrendered up the town to him, and departed for *Kazwîn*. As soon as his back was turned, *Dîn Mahamed* ordered the gates to be shut, and all the *Persians* in the place to be put to the sword.

10. *Khân Dîn Mahamed.*

AT this news, *Shâh Tahmâsb* set out with a considerable army to take revenge for the deceit: but when he came to the little river *Kara Sû*, near *Masbhad* (D), he was informed that the *Khân* was arrived in the camp, with a retinue of fifty horse. This account appeared so ridiculous to him, that he would not believe it, till they brought him word, that the prince was at his tent-door. *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, entering at the same time, fell on his knees before the *Shâh*; who was so surprised at his extraordinary boldness, that, not content with putting his right hand on the *Khân's* left shoulder, he thrust his left into that prince's bosom, to try if his heart did not beat: but, perceiving no motion there more than what is usual, he could not avoid admiring the intrepidity of his supplicant. On this account, he pardoned him all that was past; and, having feasted him magnificently, sent him home next day, laden with rich presents; conducting him in person to some distance from the camp.

SOME time after this, *Obeyd Khân*, of *Great Bukhâria*, gave the command of it to *Yulum Bey*, a chief of the *Naymâns*; but the *Khân*, growing jealous of him, through the suggestions of envious people, sent for him to court. As *Yulum Bey* was not over-hasty to obey these orders, *Obeyd Khân*, concluding that he designed to revolt, sent an army of 30,000 men against him. *Yulum Bey*, now put to his last shifts, had recourse for succour to *Dîn Mahamed Khân*; who set forward immediately with his troops: but, as they were only a few, he ordered every man to cut down three small trees; and, fixing one on each side of his horse, tie the third to his tail; which left marks on the soft and marshy ground, as if a great army had passed that way. The *Bukhârian* generals, being informed that the *Khân* was coming to *Yulum Bey's* assistance, sent out their spies; who, observing the marks along the road, brought word, that he was advancing with very numerous forces. Up-

(D) A name given to *Tûr*, in reckoned a martyr. The river *Khorassân*, on account of the *Kara Sû* runs to the west of it. *palehre of Imâm Rîza*, who is

10. *Khân*
Dîn Ma-
hamed.

Hej. 960.

A. D.

1552.

Abûl Sol-
tân.

on this the generals, not thinking it safe to wait his coming, retreated as fast as they could, without seeing the enemy : and *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, having taken possession of *Marû*, fixed his residence for life in that city ; where he died in the year 960, called, by the *Mungls*, *Sighir*, or the *Cow*, at the age of forty^k.

THIS prince, besides the other heroic virtues which he possessed in a high degree, was extremely generous, gracious, and eloquent : he had withal a peculiar brightness of wit. And here it may not be amiss, before we proceed to the next *Khân*, to relate what became of his sons, and the other descendants of *Avânash Khân*. *Dîn Mahamed Khân* left behind him two sons ; the eldest called *Saganda Mahamed* : but, because he was not in his right senses, his brother, *Abûl Soltân*, succeeded in all his father's dominions ; and reigned with wisdom for several years. At length he made an irruption, with great forces, into *Khorassân* ; and, arriving at *Masbhad*, detached his only son, with most of his army, to penetrate deeper into the country : but having advanced as far as the river *Kara Sâ*, to the west of that city, he was met by a great army of *Persians* ; and lost the battle, with his life : ten thousand men being slain besides. The news of this misfortune so grievously afflicted his father, that he fell dangerously ill, beyond the help of physic. On this occasion, a woman of *Marû* produced a boy, four years old, which she said she had by the *Soltân* ; who, having sent for her one night to play on the harp, took a fancy to lie with her. Hereupon one of his physicians, esteemed the most skilful in the country, ordered both the *Soltân* and the child to be undressed. Then laying the boy on the belly of the dying prince, had a coverlet thrown over them, and began to cry out with all his force, *Soltân, behold a son of yours !* As he continued to do this three times a day, the *Soltân*, by degrees, recovered his former health ; after which he owned the child for his son, and called him *Nûr Mahamed*.

Nûr Ma-
hamed
Soltân.

ABUL Soltân dying, *Nûr Mahamed* succeeded him in all his dominions : but some years after, the princes of the house of *Hajim Khân* united against him, under pretence that they would not have the son of a strumpet for their brother. *Nûr Mahamed*, finding himself unable to resist them, sued for protection to *Obeyd Khân*, and delivered up his four cities of *Marû*, *Nasay*, *Tawrfurdi*, and *Durân* ; imagining, that the *Khân* would leave him in possession, and be content with receiv-

^k ABULO. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 271, & seqq.

ing tribute : but, finding himself deceived in his expectation, he quitted *Great Bukhâria* in discontent, and repaired to *Ur-jensb* ; where he was well received by his late enemies, and lived five years with them. At length, *Obeyd Khân* dying, *Nûr Mahamed* set out to recover his four cities : in which expedition having succeeded, he put to the sword all the *Uzbeks* whom he found in those places ; settling the *Sarts* and *Turkmâns* in their room. But *Shâh Abbâs Mazi*, of *Persia* (E), willing also to profit by the death of *Obeyd Khân*, came in person to besiege *Marû*, with a powerful army ; and took it in forty days, with *Nûr Mahamed*, who had shut himself up there. After this, he took the three other cities, without any trouble, and sent the captive prince to *Shîràz* ; where, with him, ended the posterity of *Dîn Mahamed Khân*, eldest son of *Avânasb Khân*.

THE second son of this last Khân was *Mahmûd*, surnamed *Sâri Mahmûd* ; that is, *Yellow Mahmûd*, from his complexion. For all the other descendants of *Amûnak* were of a fine brown. This prince was addicted to all sorts of vices. He loved liquor so well, that, being one day at a house drinking *Brâga*, and some body coming to tell him the enemy's troops were near ; while all the rest ran to their horses, he, with a great deal of unconcern, took a knife and marked all the pots which had *Brâga* in them, bidding the host take care of them till his return. This shewed, that his excessive debaucheries had impaired his senses ; and indeed he died soon after without leaving children¹.

ALI Soltân, the youngest of *Avânasb Khân*'s sons, possessed at several times the cities of *Nasay*, *Tawrsurdi*, *Urjensb*, *Hazarâsb*, and *Kât*. He used every spring to cross the *Amû*, and encamp towards the borders of *Khorassân* : from whence he sent parties to plunder the *Persians* ; and in autumn returned to *Urjensb*. He mustered all the *Uzbeks* in his service every year ; and gave each for his pay sixteen sheep, out of those which he received by way of contribution from the *Turkmâns* : and, when they fell short, he supplied the defect by the booty-sheep taken from the *Persians*. *Shâh Tahmâsb*, on complaints made of these ravages, at length sent *Bâdr Khân* (F), with 12,000 men, in quest of *Ali Soltân*. This

¹ ABULG. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 274, & seqq.

(E) This should be *Shâh Taimûr Bek* in *Persia*, by way of hatred, or contempt, gave the

(F) The *Persians*, after the extinction of the descendants of officers, and governors of cities.

10. *Khân*
Din Ma-
hamed.

prince, according to custom, had entered the country of *Astara-bâd*, with 3000 men, to oblige the *Turkmân* tribe of *Oklikoklân* to pay him contribution ; which *Bâdr Khân* being informed of at *Bâstâm*, he turned that way. At first, *Ali Soltân* was a little startled at this news ; but, considering that it was dangerous to retreat in the face of an enemy, went and possessed himself of the *Kurgân*. This river is very difficult to pass, being rapid as well as deep, and the banks extremely high ; excepting in a few places, where it is fordable. Our author, who had often passed it, found the height of them, in many parts, above two cubits. He caused the horses and cattle to be tied behind ; and employed the waggons to cover the front of his troops.

defeats the
Persians ;

In this posture he was attacked several times by the *Persians* ; but, as they had only cavalry, they could gain no advantage. Hereupon *Aba Beg*, a *Turkmân* chief, impatient to see the fight continue so long, sallied out with 300 men of the tribe of *Okli*, in order to charge the enemy behind, while *Ali Soltân* attacked them in front. When he was gone, some of the principal *Uzbek* commanders said it was wrong to let him go ; because it was probable he would join the enemy. *Ali Soltân* bad them have patience ; saying, “ if they are gone “ to join the *Persians*, I trust that God will deliver us from “ this danger, and perhaps the enemy may have need of such “ a reinforcement.” But *Aba Beg*, while they were speaking so much to his disadvantage, had already began the fight : so that, having been vigorously attacked three times by the *Persians*, he must have been oppressed by their numbers, if *Ali Soltân* had not in time issued out of his intrenchment, and charged them in front, with such success, that they fell into disorder, and took to flight, after the greater part of them had been slain. The Soltân pursued them till far in the night ; so that *Bâdr Khân* had much ado to escape, with a few of his men. So great a number of horses were taken, that *Ali Soltân* having made his esquire a present of every ninth, they amounted to 700 ; not reckoning what fell in division to the officers and soldiers.

death and
character :

FIFTEEN years after this, *Ali Soltân*, having in one of his expeditions advanced as far as the *Zenghel*, or *Desart*, to the south of *Khajân*, fell ill of a contagious ulcer, which broke out between his shoulders. As he would let no body see it, through bashfulness, the chiefs were obliged to use force, and cut the clothes over the part affected, in order to come at it. Yet, for all the care they took to get him cured, he died of that distemper, in the year 979 (G), at the age of forty. *Ali Sol-*

Hej. 979.
A. D.
1571.

(G) Called *Sigkir*, or the *Cow*, by the *Mungs*.

tân

tân was a prince of so much merit, that his cousin *Hájim Khán* often said of him, that he had not his equal among the descendants of *Tadigar Khán*, in bravery and liberality, sincerity, modesty, and, above all, the art of reigning. As in all his life he had never suffered either to see or touch his naked body, so he would not, when dying, suffer a domestic to feel whether his legs began to grow cold. He did speedy justice to those who demanded it. In one of his expeditions, he hanged a man for taking two Arbufes (or melons) out of a field. He left two sons; *Iskándér*, who died the same year, and *Sanjer*, who, being disturbed in his senses, reigned ten years at *Nasay*, under the conduct of a *Naymán* lord^a. Thus much concerning the family of *Avánaşb Khán*.

AFTER the death of *Dín Mahamed Khán*, the *Uşbek* princes chose *Doşt Soltán*, second son of *Buzzága Khán*, to succeed him at *Kayuk*, rather than *Isb Soltán*, the eldest brother; because, although courageous and generous, he was neither so wise nor moderate. He was likewise suspected as to his orthodoxy in religion. *Isb*, who took this very ill, applied to his brother for assistance to reduce *Urjensb*: but, arriving with his forces in the territory of *Zilpuk* (or *Jilpuk*), which belongs to the country of *Kumkant*, he found *Hájim Soltán* in the field ready to fight him, with a much superior army. Hereupon, securing his men behind with a small river, and with his chariots in front, *Hájim*, after an attack of eight days continuance, was obliged to come to an accommodation. Some years after, *Isb Soltán*, having formed a new design against *Urjensb*, *Hájim* met him between that city and *Túk*; where *Isb* covered himself, as before, with his chariots; and, having fought eight days against superior forces, marched out of his intrenchments silently in the night, and surprised *Urjensb*, to the great astonishment of *Hájim Soltán*. As soon as he saw himself master of the place, he ordered all the *Vigúrs* and *Naymáns* to retire to *Wazír*, without any of their effects; but let those of other tribes, who were settled there, remain in peace.

AFTER this, each party having endeavoured to secure *Ali* in his interest: that prince declared in favour of *Hájim Soltán*, whom he joined, accompanied by *Abú'l Soltán*, son of *Dín Mahamed Khán*, and besieged *Urjensb*. *Isb Soltán* defended himself well at first: but the besiegers at length giving a general assault, while he was riding about from post to post, where his presence was necessary, a *Durmán*, whose sister he had ravished, wounded his horse in the flank with an arrow. The beast hereupon capered, and

^a ASVLG. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 279, & seqq.

12. *Khân* threw the Soltân so violently, that he broke one of his legs; Hajim. and the enemy, who had scaled the walls in the interim, coming up, slew him, and a *Sart*, who was endeavouring to remount him. After this, the Confederates took *Khayuk*, and put to death *Dost Khân*, brother of *Ish Saltân*, whose two sons were sent into *Great Bukhâria*; where dying without issue, the race of *Buzzûga Khân* became wholly extinct. This revolution happened in the year 965, called *Ghilki*, or the Horse.

12. *Khân*. THE same year *Hajim Soltân*, being then 35 years of age (H), Hajim was declared Khân, and went to reside at *Wazir*. As, of all the posterity of *Amûnak*, there were left only the children of *Avânish Khân* and *Akattay Khân*, they gave the cities of *Ur-jensh*, *Hazârâsh*, and *Kât*, to *Ali Soltân*, youngest son of the former. Of the four remaining sons of *Akattay Khân*, *Mahmûd Soltân* lived with his brother *Hajim Khân*: *Pulâd* and *Timûr* had *Khayuk* between them, with two *Uzbek* tribes, for their share.

THESE two brothers were both weak of understanding: but *Timûr Soltân* knew best how to behave himself of the two; and joined to a solid conduct, in affairs of government, much bravery on warlike occasions. This prince never went to eat at the house of any person: insomuch that one time, going from *Hazârâsh*, where he usually resided, to see his brother *Pukâd* at *Khayuk*, he refused the invitation of a *Vigûr* lord, who had the administration of that Soltân's affairs, on account of his indisposition. The reason for his being so reserved was this. One day, when about 15 years of age, while he took a ride for the air, he was invited-in by a countryman who killed a sheep to treat him; and, at his going away, presented him with a gigot of it. At his return, he went to offer it to his father: but *Akattay Khân*, offended on the occasion, reproved him, saying, "that he was 50 years old, and had never put any "any one to such an expence: that, if the peasants were obliged to kill sheep to treat him when he was young, they "must kill horses and cows for him when he grew up; and "that, as his vassals would follow his example, his poor subjects would soon be reduced to beggary. This said, he ordered him to be stripped, and gave him 30 lashes with a rod, laying on so hard, that young *Timûr*'s shirt was all bloody. His brother *Hajim*, meeting him as he came forth, approved of what his father had done: but advised him to appear next

Story of
Timûr
Soltân.

* ABULG. Hist. Turks, p. 267, & seqq.

(H) He was born, *Héjrab* 930, A. D. 1523.

day.

day in that bloody condition before *Akattay Khân*; who, re-^{12 Khân} pending of his severity, after exhorting him not to do the like *Hajim*. again, made him a present of the *Turkmân* tribe of *Ti-u-âzi*, consisting of 6000 families. Hereupon *Timâr Soltân* made an oath never to go to eat with any body whomsoever, nor suffer any of his people to do so. This prince was very pious, and loved virtuous people: he had withal so excellent a memory, that, although he could neither write nor read, yet he kept an exact account of his revenue.

On the death of *Ali Soltân*, *Hajim Khân* went to reside at *Turkîsh Urjensb*; his brother *Mahmûd Soltân* continued at *Wazîr*; *Pu-^{envoy} lûd* had *Khayuk*; and *Timûr*, *Hazârâsb* and *Kât*. Some years *stripped*; after, while *Hajim Khân* was invading *Khorassân*, *Abdo'llah*, Khân of *Great Bukhâria*, came with an army to besiege *Urjensb*; but, after losing many soldiers, was obliged to retire into the province of *Tenghi Arik*; where he waited to secure the places, which he possessed on that side, till more forces arrived: but, hearing that *Hajim Khân* was returned with a great army to fight him, he thought fit to make peace with *Pulâd* and *Timâr*, who were at *Khayuk*, and retired to his own dominions. Some time after this, the Soltân Khalifah of *Rûm* (I) sent an ambassador to *Abdo'llah Khân*, to engage him to attack the empire of *Sheykh Oglî* (K) on one side, while he attacked him vigorously on the other. *Pialasba*, who had spent three years in the voyage, going by way of the *Indies*, was desirous to return through *Karazm*, and cross the sea of *Mazânderân* (L) to *Shirwân*, then subject to his master; that so he might get to *Istambûl* (M) in four months. But when he came to *Urjensb*, *Mahamed* and *Ibrâhim*, the two youngest sons of *Hajim Khân*, stripped him of all his equipage, and then sent him to *Mankîsb-lâk*; where some merchants happening to be on their return to *Shirwân*, they carried him over in their barks to that province.

• *ABULO. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 286, & seqq.*

(I) That is, the grand signor, or emperor of the *Turks*; who, since the suppression of the Khalifah of *Egypt*, the last of whom was carried to *Constantinople* by Soltân *Selim*, in 1516, is qualified by the *Mohammedan* princes of the *Sunnî* sect. with the title of Khalifah, and assumes it himself.

Sheykh; meaning *Ismael Soff* (founder of the race of *Shâhîr*), so called by way of contempt.

(L) So the *Caspian* sea is called from that province, which lies upon it. It is named also from other countries situated along its shores.

(M) That is, *Constantinople*; of which it is a corruption, or contraction.

(K) That is, of the sons of the

12. *Khân*
Hajim.

and mer-
chants
plundered.

To this first cause of complaint there was joined another. They of *Great Bukhâria*, who performed the pilgrimage to *Mekka*, in times of peace, always passed through *Karazm*, and the dominions of the *Shâh* : but, in time of war, were obliged to go far about by the *Indies*. It happened that some merchants, relying on the peace, took their route through *Karazm* : but, arriving at *Khayuk*, were stripped to their very shirts by *Bâba Soltân*, son of *Pulâd Soltân*, and sent home again on foot. These people, at their return, going to complain to *Abdo'llah Khân*, he told them that he could do nothing in the affair ; for that *Bâba Soltân* was as much sovereign at *Khayuk*, as himself could be in *Great Bukhâria*. Hereupon *Hâjî Kutas*, head of the *Karawân*, made answer, "that he would be his accuser before the throne of God, in case he suffered to go unpunished an outrage done to the deity himself, in the persons of those who went to offer up their prayers to him in his holy house."

Abdo'llah Khân

THIS bold remonstrance, joined to a desire of revenge for the loss of the four towns taken from *Nûr Mahamed*, which by their means he recovered, determined *Abdo'llah Khân* to renew his design of conquering *Karazm*, and make war on *Hajim Khân*. The news of his preparations divided the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm* into two parties. One was for making a vigorous defence, the other for submitting so soon as the enemy approached *Urjensb* ; on a persuasion that they should be well treated and employed by him, even though he should carry them into *Great Bukhâria*. *Hajim Khân*, finding by this that he could not depend on his subjects, left his sons, *Mahamed* and *Ibrâhîm*, at *Urjensb*, and returned to *Durân*, with his eldest son *Siunj Mahamed Soltân*.

invades

Karazm ;

MEAN time, *Abdo'llah Khân* advancing with his army, *Mahamed*, son of *Timûr Soltân*, marched with his *Uzbeks* from *Hazârâsb* to *Khayuk* ; designing to make this place the rendezvous of their troops, as his father had done in the former war, and by that means baffled the designs of *Abdo'llah Khân*. But finding, at his arrival, that *Pulâd Soltân* resolved to quit the town, and retire to *Wazîr*, they all set out together at day-break, with a large train of men and chariots (or waggons) ; which took up so much time, that at noon, just as the troops passed out of the city on one side, those of *Khojâm Kâli*, one of the enemy's generals, entered at the opposite gate ; and next day, pursuing the confederate princes with 3000 horse, on a great trot, overtook them at the borough of *Almatîsb Khân* ; for they had not continued their march till the same morning. At *Khojâm Khân*'s approach, they covered themselves with their chariots : but the general, having forced that

that barricade, after a vigorous resistance, put them to the rout. ^{12. Khân} However, as he lost many men in the action, he did not follow Hajîm. the princes, who went forward in great confusion to *Wazîr*.

WHEN they arrived, they resolved to make proposals of ^{in snares} peace; and drove from the city *Bâba Soltân*, who had been the ^{the princes,} occasion of this unfortunate war. Hereupon *Pulâd Soltân*, finding that he could not hinder their design, retired with his two other sons to *Hajîm Khân*, at *Durân*; while *Mahamed* and *Ibrâhîm*, the Khan's sons, repaired to *Wazîr* to join the confederates; where *Ali Soltân*, son of *Mahmûd Soltân*, had the chief command. Mean time, *Abdo'llah Khân*, appearing before that city, besieged it in form: but finding, after two months leaguer, that it would be difficult to come off with honour in the enterprise, he had recourse to craft. He sent to tell the confederate princes, that since they had thrust out *Bâba Soltân*, whom he had chief cause to complain of, they might depend on being received by him as his allies and relations. The princes, deluded by these fair promises, entered into a capitulation with the enemy: who, at their request, sent five of his principal lords, attended by 40 horse, to swear in his name, not to meddle with either their persons or effects; and that he had no evil intention against them.

AFTER the five lords had taken the oath, the common people ^{by a treaty} (who were against the princes trusting to so weak security) desired that they might be arrested, and held in custody, till such time as *Abdo'llah Khân* should raise the siege, and begin his march. But *Ali Soltân*, who had the chief sway in the city, which belonged to the children of *Mahmûd Soltân*, and, though little and crooked, was a great wit, strenuously opposed this motion; alleging, "that, being the Khân's near relations, they had nothing to fear from him: that, in case he should carry them into *Great Bukhâria*, he would settle them more advantageously than they were situated in *Karazm*: nay he was persuaded, that *Abdo'llah*, far from any evil intentions against them, would, on the first application, leave them in possession of *Urjensb* and *Wazîr*." These reasons being approved of by all the men of distinction, the people were obliged to acquiesce; and the *Bukhârian* lords, accompanied with the princes, left the city to return to their master's camp. As soon as they arrived there, *Abdo'llah Khân*, having put them under a guard, and divided their foldiers into troops of ten or twelve men, one of whom was to be responsible for the rest, he sent them all prisoners into *Great Bukhâria*; whi-

12. *Khân* ther he followed with his army, after he had put governors in Hajim. to all the cities of *Karazm*; which thus fell into his hands.

3. *From the Invasion of Obeyd Khân to the Parricide of Aráp Mahamed Khân.*

puts them
to death.

A MONTH after this event, *Hajim Khân*, and the ten princes of his house who were with him at *Durân*, resolved to retire into *Irák* to *Sháh Abbás Mazi*; on which *Pulád Soltân*, third son of *Akattay Khân*, thinking it would be very unbecoming of him, who was near 70 years old, to seek a sanctuary among people of a different religion, chose rather to repair to *Abdo'llah Khân*, on a presumption that he would pity his condition, and give him a subsistence. But he found himself fatally deceived: for that prince, on his return to *Bukhâria*, caused him, and all the other descendants of *Amúnak*, being twelve in number, who had fallen into his hands, to be put to death the same day, in the town of *Sagraj*. After this, he laid a yearly tax of a Tanga a head on all the other prisoners above the age of ten; which constrained many to sell their children, in order to raise wherewithal to pay the poll-money. Mean while *Hajim Khân* set out for *Durún*, with the princes, accompanied by 3000 horse: but they deserted so fast on the road, that he arrived with a train of no more than 150 at the court of *Sháh Abbás*; who came in person to receive him, and gave him the best treatment imaginable: but *Sunj Mahamed Soltân*, and his son, went forward to the Soltân *Khalifah* of *Râm*. This happened in the year called *Tilân*, or *the Serpent*.

A new in-
vasion.

TWO years after, in that named *Koy*, or *the Sheep*, the same in which a comet appeared (N), *Abdo'llah Khân* sent before him his son *Abdo'lmonîn Soltân*, with part of his army, to besiege *Esfarayn*, in *Khorassân*. As soon as the Shah received advice of this, he left *Kazwin*, with his forces, accompanied by *Hajim Khân*, and the other *Usték* princes; who, having learned when they came to *Bastâm*, that there were no more than 60 of the enemy at *Khayuk*, and 40 at *Urgheñj*, judged this a proper time to recover those places: but as, for the more secrecy, the attempt was to be made without the Shah's knowledge, *Hajim Khân* and some others declined it, for fear their sudden departure should give offence to that monarch; so that none engaged in the enterprise, excepting *Arap Mahamed*, and *Mahamed Kûli*, two of *Hajim's* sons, and the three sons of *Pulád Soltân*. These princes took horse late one evening, and, riding all night, arrived at the *Turkmân* tribe of *Amír*; and from

(N) That is, as we compute, A. D. 1593.

thence

thence by noon at *Astarabād* (O). Next morning, *Hajīm Khān* ^{12. Khān} having acquainted *Abbās* with their design, the Shah, who ^{Hajīm.} knew the activity of *Abdo'llah Khān*, and the improbability of recovering their possessions, during that prince's life, advised him to ride after them immediately, and bring them back. *Hajīm* overtook them at *Astarabād* : but, instead of bringing them back, they prevailed on him to continue with them, till he saw what success they were likely to have ; the *Turkmāns* having promised them a powerful assistance ⁹.

DEPARTING therefore altogether from *Astarabād*, they ^{Hajīm} went towards the mountain of *Kurān* ; where the tribes of ^{Khān re-} *Tāka* and *Yāmut* lent them 500 men. Then crossing the territory of *Mankiḥlāk*, whose inhabitants had all removed to the country of *Orda Kutuk* (P), they came to the tribe of *Isfāri*, which granted them five or six hundred men ; and thence proceeded towards *Piḥga*. The princes separating in this province, *Hajīm Khān*, with his two sons, took the road of *Urjensb* ; and *Bāba Soltān*, with his two brothers, went to *Khayuk*. On the news of *Hajīm Khān's* approach, *Sāri Oglān*, governor of *Urjensb*, retired into the castle : but the Khān having entered by a subterraneous passage, which he ordered to be carried under the wall in the night, he put the governor and his 40 men to death. The *Turkmāns* after this returned home laden with plunder, leaving *Hajīm Khān*, and his sons, almost alone at *Urjensb*. *Bāba Soltān* had no less success on the other side : for so soon as he appeared before *Khayuk*, the *Sārs*, who dwelt in the city, opened the gates to him ; which entering, he slew the governor, *Mengliḥ Bey*, and his 60 men. When the commanders of *Hazārāḥ* and *Kāt* were informed of these misfortunes, they quitted those cities, and fled towards *Great Bukhāria*.

TEN days after, *Bāba Soltān*, having dismissed all his *Turk-Khayuk* ^{mans}, excepting fifteen, went with his brother *Pahūnkūli* to ^{taken ;} *Hazārāḥ* ; but, it being the vintage season, *Hāmza* staid at *Khayuk* to drink his fill of wine. Just as *Bāba* got into *Hazārāḥ*, he perceived two officers advancing towards the town on a smart gallop, at the head of 150 horse ; and, suspecting them to be enemies, endeavoured to shut the gate : but he had scarcely closed one side, before the first came up, and endeavoured with-

⁹ ABULGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 298, & seqq. r

(O) Some read *Estarabād* ; in they had with the *Mankats* (or the translation every-where *Is- Karakalpāks*), on one side ; and *tarabad* : others *Astarabād*. with the tribe of *Isfari*, on the

(P) Because of the quarrels other.

his

12. *Khân*
Hajim.



his lance to keep the other side open. However, some of the inhabitants, running thither in the nick of time, shut it also; and with their arrows compelled the enemy to retreat. In their way back, they took a *Sárt*; who having informed them of *Hâmza's* stay at *Khayuk*, they turned on that side, and arrived there next day at noon, while the *Soltân* was taking the air. But not daring to use force with so few men, they lay concealed till the evening; when, assistance coming to them, they opened a passage into the town, under one of the gates; at which having entered, they put all to the sword: a misfortune that much disconcerted the affairs of *Bâba Soltân*.

by *Abdo'llah's*
troops.

To understand who these troops were, the reader must be informed, that *Abdo'llah Khân* having sent *Khojâm Kûli* to support his son *Abdo'l'momin Soltân*, while he followed leisurely to take the diversion of catching water-fowl beyond *Zârjui*, in the country of *Gordîsb*, that general met on the road the commander of *Hazarâsb*; from whom he learned what had passed in that city, and then sent him with the news to *Abdo'llah Khân*. On this advice, the *Khân* dispatched orders to *Khojâm Kûli*, to march in haste towards *Khayuk*; promising to follow him with his whole army. Hereupon the general turned towards that city: but found, at his arrival, that the work had been already done by his van-guard; which determined him to march for *Urjensb*.

Mahamed
Kûli's
bravery.

In the interim, *Mahamed Kûli Soltân*, third son of *Hajim Khân*, a prince of much courage, having heard of his cousin *Hâmza's* death, kept it very secret; resolving to go from *Urjensb* secretly, and join *Bâba Soltân* at *Hazarâsb*. He took with him some trusty *Turkmâns*, and *Jagatays* (Q), with 200 *Uzbeks*, newly escaped from *Great Bukhâria*, with a view to trade. He began his journey by the river of *Urjensb*: but, coming near the little town of *Zilbuk*, found himself on a sudden surrounded by the troops of *Khojâm Kûli*; who, believing that the *Soltân* could not possibly get out of his hands, ordered his officers to take him alive. However, he missed of his aim; for *Mahamed Kûli*, forming one large squadron with his men, rushed violently upon one of the enemy's wings; and, breaking through them, retired into the country of the *Mânkâts* (R); where he endeavoured to draw *Kuzuk Khân* into his interest, by proposing to marry his sister: but this prince, fearing *Abdo'llah Khân's* resentment, in case he gave *Mahamed Kûli* any

(Q) The old *Mongols*, or *Mangli*, who came with *Jagatay Khân* into these parts; which took their name from him.

(R) Or *Karakâlpâks*; who possess the west parts of *Turkestan*.

protection,

protection, had him arrested, and sent to the *Urās* (or *Russians*); where he died some time after. 12. *Khān Hajīm.*

H A J I M Khān, being informed of what had happened by a soldier, who was in the fight, left *Urjensb*, accompanied by his son *Arap Mahamed Soltān*, and some soldiers, designing to retire to *Mankisblāk*: but the enemy having overtaken him the third night after his departure, he was obliged to fight them; and, being worsted, he endeavoured to make a retreat. As the enemy continued to follow him, he was forced next morning to stand a new attack; in which he lost more than half of the few men he had with him. So that he was constrained once more to quit *Karazm*, and take refuge at *Asharabād*; from whence he afterwards repaired to the Shāh, at *Kazwīn*. Mean time *Abdo'llah Khān* went in person to besiege *Hazārāsb*; and, having taken it, caused *Bāba Soltān*, and his fifteen men, to be put to death. After this he returned into *Great Bukhāria*; where he died (S) the last day of the year 1006, called (by the *Mungls*) *Tawk*, or *the Hen*. Hej. 1006
A. D. 1597.

UPON the news of *Abdo'llah Khān's* death, Shāh *Abbās Māzi* gathered a great army, and next year encamped near *Bastām*. At this place *Hajīm Khān* desired leave of the Shāh to take a journey towards *Great Bukhāria*, to try if *Abdo'momīn*, who had succeeded his father, would restore him one of his cities, that he might there end his days in quiet. *Abbās* having readily consented to his request, he departed, accompanied by *Arap Mahamed Soltān*, and his grandson *Isfāndiār Soltān*, with a retinue of fifteen persons; leaving behind *Barandū*, son of *Ibrāhīm Soltān*. But, having lost his way, during the second day's journey, he found himself at length near the *Turkmāns* of *Tāka*, by the mountains of *Kurān*; where he imagined he was not far from *Marā*. As this mistake embarrassed him extremely, he resolved to rest there that night, in order to consider what he had best to do. Going at sunrise to sit in the shade to say his prayers, because it was *Midsummer*, he saw two *Naymāns* on horseback, coming from towards *Yawrsurdi*. These had formerly been his subjects, and of those who were carried into *Great Bukhāria*. As soon as they approached, they wished him long life, and informed him, that *Abdo'momīn Khān*, in his return from *Khorassān* to his own dominions, was slain at *Zamīn* (T), by his own people; and that they had set-out in quest of him to bring him the news. After Abdo'llah's death.

* ABULGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 304, & seqq.

(S) So that *Olearius* must be mistaken, when he says that the *Khān*, with his brother, and three of his sons, were taken by Shāh *Abbās*, and put to death.

(T) Or *Zām*, on the river *Amū*.

12. *Khân*
Hajim.
returns
and dies.

HAJIM Khân, greatly rejoiced at these tidings, made such haste to *Urjensb*, that he arrived there in eight days, and found the city without either a governor or a garrison. For, on the confusion which followed the assassination of their *Khân*, the enemy withdrew out of *Karazm*. *Hajim Khân* kept *Urjensb* and *Wazir*; he assigned *Khayuk* and *Kât* to his son *Arap Mahamed Soltân*, and gave *Isfândiar*, his grandson, *Hazârâsb*. Soon after the *Uzbeks*, made prisoners by *Abd'ollah Khin*, took the opportunity to return home; as did in the third year *Siunj Mahamed Soltân*, from the country of *Râm* (or *Turky*): at whose arrival his father resigned to him the dignity of *Khân*; and retired to live at *Khayuk*, with *Arap Mahamed Soltân*.

Khân Si-
unj Ma-
hamed.

SIUNJ Mahamed Khân did not long enjoy the sweets of reigning: for he died a year after his return to *Urjensb*; and was succeeded by his son *Abd'ollah Soltân*: but

Khân Ab-
d'ollah.

ABD'OLLAH Khân lived no more than another twelve-month after his father.

Hej. 1011
A. D.
1602.

At length *Hajim Khân* died in the year 1011, called *Bars*, or *the Tiger*, at the age of fourscore-and-one.

13. *Khân*
Arap Ma-
hamed.

ARAP (U) Mahamed Khân succeeded on the death of his father *Hajim Khân* to all his dominions; and on his advancement, added *Kât* to his son *Isfândiar*'s portion. Six months after, while he passed the summer, with the lords his vassals, on the banks of the river *Amú*, the *Urûs* (or *Russians*) of *Jaik* (X), knowing there were no soldiers at *Urjensb* during that season, came with 1000 men; and, after they had cut the throats of 1000 of the inhabitants, loaded as many waggon with the most valuable goods; and, burning what they could not carry away, marched off with 1000 females. The *Khân*, being informed of this in time, went to cut off their retreat at a certain defile: which he so well intrenched and palisadoed, though in a hurry, that the enemy could not force him, till after an attack of two days; and after all, they were obliged to leave their booty behind them. Mean time *Arap Mahamed Khân*, who had no design to let them escape him so cheaply, having gotten the start of them by cross roads, went to wait for them at another pass; which the *Urûs* not being able to force, and water beginning to fail, so that they were constrained to drink the blood of their slain, they made a last

Invasion
by Kof-
sâks,

* *ABULO. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 308, & seqq.*

(U) This is the *Turkish* pronunciation of *Arab*. who dwell on the river *Jaik*, or *Jaik*.

(X) These were the *Kossâks*,

effort

effort to break through the barricades : but this attempt suc-
 ceeded so ill with them, that scarce a hundred of their num-
 ber escaped. These remains made over to the river *Khesel* ;
 where they built a cabin, a good way beyond *Tâk*, and sub-
 sisted by fishing, waiting for an opportunity to get back : but
 five days after, the Khân, being informed of the place of their
 retreat, sent soldiers thither, who slew them every man.

SIX months after, a thousand *Kalmûks* (Y), passing between and Kal-
 the lake *Khoja Kâli*, and the mountain *Sheykh Asfz*, came to mûks.
 surprise some *Uzbeks*, who dwelt along the *Khesil*, towards *Kât* ;
 and, having killed a great number of them, were upon their
 return home, laden with booty and prisoners : but *Arâp Ma-*
hamed Khân, having been informed of their invasion, pursued
 them so close at the heels, that they had much ado to escape
 him, after they had been forced to leave what they had taken
 behind them.

SOME time after, the *Naymâns*, who never relished well the *Plots a-*
 government of this Khân, brought secretly into *Khayuk* one *gainst him*,
Khisserân Soltân, a descendant of *Ilbârs Khân*, with a design to
 kill *Arâp Mahamed*, and set up the other for Khân in his
 room. But *Arâp Mahamed Khân*, having timely notice of the
 plot from two men, one a *Kerghis*, the other a *Vigûr*, caused
 the Soltân to be seized and put to death. As for *Safi Mirza*,
 the chief conspirator, his own brother *Bâba Mirza* killed him,
 as a person unworthy to live after such a crime ; otherwise the
 Khân would not have punished him. Two years after, *Sâfî*
Mirza, with twenty *Vigûrs*, went from *Urjensb* to *Samarkant*,
 and brought from thence *Seleh Soltân*, a descendant of *Hassan*
Kûli Khân, with design to get him acknowledged Khân in *Ur-*
jensb. Of this *Arâp Mahamed Khân* being informed, he hastened
 to that city, and put the new pretender to death, without en-
 quiring farther after his accomplices ; who, he said, might be
 innocently drawn into the plot : and although he knew *Sâfî*
Mirza was the author of the whole, yet he would not put him
 to death, but left it to the *Vigûrs* to do by him as they judged
 proper.

TEN years after, the *Kalmûks*, having invaded *Karazm* on
 the side of *Bakirgan*, plundered many habitations, and return-
 ed with a great number of prisoners ; notwithstanding all the
 haste that was made to pursue them.

ARAP Mahamed Khân had now reigned peaceably for four- *Two of his*
teen years. When one day, being gone to *Urjensb*, several young *sons*

(Y) A nickname given the from whom the *Russians* have
Elûb Mangls, by the *Uzbeks* ; it.

13. *Khân* men persuaded two of his sons (Z), *Habâsh* and *Ilbârs* (the one sixteen, the other fourteen), to go with them from *Khayuk* to *Arâp Mahamed*. *Urjensb*, in order to get them received in quality of successors to their father. With this intention they actually advanced as far as a fountain in the province of *Pisbga*, only one day's journey from *Urjensb*, where they stayed ten days; during which time their father sent for them to come to him, and to tell them that he would give them *Wâzîr* for a portion. Their answer was, that they would come as soon as their men were gotten together. *Arâp Mahamed Khân* might have quashed this sedition in its birth, if he had only published his orders that none should join the princes: for he was so much feared by his subjects, that, if he had forbidden them to have any commerce with their wives for a whole year together, they would not only have obeyed his orders, but even avoided coming too near their houses, for fear of giving room for suspicion: but neglecting this precaution, though at the same time he knew many went to visit them, the people imagined that what they did was by his own consent.

rise against him: THE two princes, judging themselves strong enough, made an irruption into *Khorassân*; from whence they returned to their camp laden with plunder, and sent two *Persians* as a present to their father: after this they dismissed all their troops, excepting fourscore men. Hereupon the *Khân* sent again a *Vigâr* lord to exhort them to come before him: but the *Uzbeks*, dwelling between the provinces of *Darugan* and *Bakirgan*, who had joined them, answered, "that the princes had no occasion to go to their father, and that they had nothing to do with him." As this language foreboded a rebellion, the *Khân*, being seized with fear, at the advice of that lord, retired to *Khayuk*. Upon this news, the two princes went a second time to ravage the *Persian* territories; and, at their return, seizing all their father's granaries, distributed the corn among their troops; which increased them considerably. Wheat was at that time so cheap in *Karazm*, that two hundred weight might have been bought for a Tanga: for nothing but that kind of grain was sown, from the small town of *Modekân*, to this side of *Bakirgan*, and as far as the province of *Kuigan*.

*masters
accommodated:*

ABULGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 312, & seqq.

(Z) He had in all seven; 1. *Khân Soltân*; 2. *Isfândiar Soltân*; 3. *Habâsh Soltân*; 4. *Ilbârs Soltân*; 5. *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*; 6. *Karazm Soltân*; 7. *Augân Soltân*. The second and third were by one mother, the fifth and sixth by another.

THE

THE Khân, who possessed a great extent of land on that side, caused the *Khesîl* to be cut behind the town of *Tûk*, and by means of that opening, and several canals which proceeded from it, watered his meadows : after which, the gap being closed up, the river resumed its course to the sea of *Mazân-derân*. *Arap Mahamed Khân*, finding the mutineers multiply daily, came to an agreement with his sons, giving up to them *Wâzir*, and all the *Turkmâns* depending on it : after which, the two princes, followed by 4000 men, went to *Khayuk* to salute their father.

FOUR years after this, *Ilbârs Soltân* assembled troops at *Say-zakuduk* to the north of *Wâzir*, under pretence of going to besiege *Yawrfurdi* : but, hearing that the Khân his father was on the road to *Urjensb*, he went and took *Khayuk*. *Arap Mahamed Khân*, being informed of this surprise, turned back by advice of his lords ; who were of opinion, that on his approach *Ilbârs* would quit the city. But when he came to *Khasgan*, a little town near *Khayuk*, *Ilbârs* sent thither 500 men ; who, entering in the night, seized him and all his retinue. From thence they were convoyed to *Khayuk* : where *Ilbârs* detained them all as his prisoners, and distributed among his troops all the money found in his father's chest, which he had been gathering for many years ; as well as the effects of the captive lords. The other brothers, being informed of this detestable action, resolved to make war on *Ilbârs* ; even *Habâsb* himself offered to join them in the undertaking : but they were diverted from that resolution by some of their lords, who judged that such a proceeding might bring their aged father's life in danger ; while *Ilbârs*, if let alone, would release him of his own accord : as shortly after it fell out.

WHEN the Khan was returned to *Urjensb*, with his son *Jf- fândiar Soltân*, it was resolved to seize *Ilbârs Soltân* : but he, discovering their design, fled to the desert with only five or six men ; however, they ruined his habitations, and removed the greater part of his subjects. At their return from this expedition, *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* proposed to go kill his brothers *Habâsb* and *Ilbârs*, who still carried on a close correspondence, as the only way to secure his father's life. But the Khân would determine nothing till he had consulted *Zîn Hâji*. *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* returned at the time appointed ; and, understanding that this lord did not approve of his proposal, put his father in mind how he had been deceived before by the brother of *Zîn Hâji*, magnifying the forces of those princes, to whom he was sent on their first revolt : which act had obliged the Khân to retire to *Khayuk*, when he might easily have seized them, but for that false representation. He added, " that as every body else,

13. *Khân* "whom the *Khân* had consulted, approved of his design, excepting *Zîn Hâji*, it confirmed him in the opinion, which *Arap Mahamed* "he had all along entertained, that he and his brother *Kur-bank* were both traitors; and held a criminal correspondence "with *Ilbârs*, by means of their two other brothers, who "were the most intimate confidants of that prince." In short, he told his father, that, if he did not follow his counsel, he would repent it when it was too late."

proposes to kill them. For all this, *Arap Mahamed Khân* refused to enter into his measures; nor would *Isfândiar Soltân*, his eldest brother, be concerned in any such design. Mean time, *Habâsb Soltân*, who had his spies every-where, being informed, by one of *Isfândiar Soltân*'s principal domestics, of *Abû'lghâzi*'s proposal to destroy him, never could forgive it him.

The Khân marches FIVE months after, *Arap Mahamed Khân*, beginning to repent that he had not followed *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*'s advice, sent orders to *Isfândiar Soltân*, and him, to repair forthwith to *Khayuk*, with their troops. In the interim, he sent to tell *Habâsb* and *Ilbârs Soltân*, that, in case they delivered up to him ten persons, who never ceased giving them evil counsel, he would pardon all which was past; otherwise he would own them no longer for his children. Upon their refusal, the *Khân* advanced with his troops to *Kandûm*, a borough not far from *Khayuk*; where he waited for his two sons. *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, leaving his men to follow leisurely, rode before (A); and, being come to *Kandûm*, would have had his father march along the right side of the river: while he, with his 800 men, should oblige the *Turkmâns*, who encamped in the desert, and were more than half of them his subjects, to join him; resolving to destroy such as belonged to his rebel brothers, in case they refused: for, without their assistance, those provinces could not raise 400 men: but the *Khân* could not approve of his advice this time neither. As soon as *Isfândiar Soltân* arrived with his troops, they set forward; and, when they came into the province of *Ikzi Kumâni*, *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* set upon his father once more to make a diversion among the *Turkmâns*: thought to as little purpose as before. In short, having advanced by slow marches as far as the little canal, called *Tasbli Ghermish*, the two rebel princes, who had time enough given them to assemble all their forces, came and charged their father so vigorously, that his men began presently to fly, and left the un-

against his sons;

* *ABULGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 316, & seqq.*

(A) He left *Kât* in the morning, and came to *Kandûm* late in the evening.

fortunate Khān a second time prisoner in the hands of his un-
natural sons.

In this battle, which was very bloody, *Abū'lghāzi Soltān*, being hemmed in by forty men, was brought off by six of his own; who came opportunely to his relief. On this occasion he received a shot with an arrow in the mouth; so that he was obliged afterwards to have some little bone taken away on the fractured side. After this he made towards a river: but had scarce gotten his coat of mail off, before the enemy came running after him, and crying kill! kill! Hereupon, plunging into the stream, which was very rapid, he, with difficulty, escaped drowning, by giving the horse his head, and holding fast by the mane. As soon as he had crossed the river, with three of his men, he took the road to *Kāt*, where he met with ten more; and with them retired into *Great Bukhāria* to *Imām Kūli Khān*, successor of *Abdōlmomīn Khān* at *Samar-kant* (B); who received him very kindly *.

ISFANDIAR Soltān, having retreated to *Hazārāsb*, with his brothers *Sharif Mahamed* and *Karazm Khān Soltān*, *Ilbārs* and *Habāsb* came and besieged them: but, coming to an accommodation at the end of forty days, *Isfāndīar* retired to the Shah of *Persia*, under pretence of performing the pilgrimage of *Mekka*, and left the city in possession of *Sharif Mahamed Soltān*; who, four months after, retired into *Great Bukhāria* to his brother *Abū'lghāzi Soltān*. As *Karazm*, by his departure, fell intirely into the hands of *Ilbārs* and *Habāsb*, they divided it between themselves. The first had *Khayuk* and *Hazārāsb*; the latter *Urjensb* and *Wāzir*; with their dependencies. They assigned their father the little town of *Kumkāla*, to live there with his three wives and two youngest sons: but twelve months after, *Ilbārs*, sending for his father and two brothers, caused him to be put to death, with *Karazm Khān Soltān*; and sent *Augān Soltān* to *Habāsb*, that he might meet with the same treatment. However, this latter, without whose knowledge all the rest had been done, unwilling to imbrue his hands in his brother's blood, had him sent to

* *Asiatick. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 321, & seqq.*

(B) This seems to clash with what is related, p. 333 & 334; of *Abū'lghāzi Khān's* history; where it is said, that, from *Kāt*, he crossed *Māwara'nāhr* to *Samar-kant*, in order to go to *Imām Kūli Khān*, in *Great Bukhāria*.

From hence also it may be inferred, that *Māwara'nāhr* is a different country from *Great Bukhāria*; and that *Imām Kūli Khān* reigned at *Bokhāra*, not at *Samar-kant*.

14. *Khân* the Czar of *Russia*; where he remained till he died. As to *Isfândiâr*, the two sons of *Isfândiâr Soltân*, who were both infants, *Ilbârs* had them educated at *Khayuk*. *Arap Mahamed Khân* lost his life in 1031, called *It*, or *the Dog*, after having reigned twenty years.

Hej. 1031
A. D.
1621.

4. *From the Death of Arap Mahamed Khân to the Reign of Abû'Ighâzi Khân.*

14. *Khân*
Isfândiâr's
attempt:

THE news of the *Khân's* death having reached the *Persian* court, the *Shâh* gave *Isfândiâr Soltân* 300 chosen men, to see if he could recover his father's dominions. As he was joined on the road by 170 *Turkmâns* of the tribes of *Tâka* and *Tamut*, he advanced directly to the camp of *Habâsb Soltân*, near *Tâk*; but found him not there. That prince was then feasting at the house of one of his lords; when hearing on a sudden the trumpet sound (which is forbidden on any account, except on the approach of an enemy), he instantly took horse, and fled for shelter to *Ilbârs Soltân*. After this, all those who had any regard for the memory of the late *Khân*, as well as such who were the subjects of his other sons, came and joined *Isfândiâr*: whose affairs were taking the best turn imaginable, when the face of them was intirely changed by the artifice of one *Nâsar Khoja*.

defeated by
pious
fraud;

As soon as this person, who was descended from a holy man, called *Sâghidâta*, saw the storm rising, he sent to bid *Ilbârs*, who had married his daughter, take courage; and promised to join him in two days, with all the men he could get together. To this end he armed fifty men, and pressing all the people he met on the road, went and seized the ford of the river *Khesil*, in order to hinder any from passing who had a mind to take part with *Isfândiâr*. This done, he took the *Korân* in his hands, and began to curse that prince aloud; giving out that he had embraced the *Persian* sect, and that, where-ever he came, he put to the sword all the men, and made slaves of the women and children. As he supported all this with the solemnest oaths, many of the common people, who could not believe that a man of his birth would violate the most sacred laws purposely to impose on them, instead of repairing to *Isfândiâr*, as they at first designed, went over to the two usurpers.

he reco-
vers Ka-
razm.

ILBÂRS and *Habâsb*, by this means, quickly found themselves in a condition to march in search of their eldest brother: and the two armies at length meeting, *Isfândiâr* was constrain-

ed, after a bloody action, to retire towards *Mankishblâk*. However, in that place, being joined by 3000 *Turkmâns*, and a great number of *Uzbeks*, who began to grow weary of the government of the two princes, he turned back again ; and his brothers having advanced to meet him with a considerable army, they continued fighting for twenty-two days successively : but at length *Isfândiâr* gained the victory ; and having taken his brother *Ilbârs* prisoner, caused him to be put to death on the spot. *Habâsh Soltân* took refuge with the *Mankats* (C), who inhabit along the river *Sîr* : but, not thinking himself safe enough with them, he retired to *Shârnîk Mîrza*, a lord of the *Mankats*, who dwelt about the banks of the *Tem* ; in hopes of meeting with a good reception from the chief of that tribe, in return for having sent back all the *Mankat* prisoners within his dominions, when he reigned at *Urjensb* : but that lord, detesting his heinous actions, caused him to be arrested, and sent him to his brother *Isfândiâr* ; who had him executed without delay, in the year 1032, called *Tongûz*, or the *Heg*.

14. *Khân Isfândiâr*Hej. 1032
A. D. 1622.

THE news of this event coming to the ears of *Abû'lghâzi*, *Partien* and *Sharîf Mahamed*, at *Samarkant*, they took leave of *Imâm of the Kûli Khân*, and returned to *Urjensb*. At their arrival, they caused *Isfândiâr* to be proclaimed Khân ; and divided the dominions of their father among them. The Khân had for his share the cities of *Khayuk*, *Hazârâsh*, and *Kât* ; *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, *Urjensb*, with its dependencies (being then just nineteen years old) ; and *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, *Wâzîr*.

THE year after, all the principal subjects of *Isfândiâr Khân* went in autumn to pay their court to him : but *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, before he set out, invited his brother *Sharîf Mahamed*, with three of his vassal lords, to his house ; and, in presence of two of his own vassals, asked him, if there was not some animosity between him and the Khân. On his answering in the negative, he enjoined all the six to secrecy under an oath ; and then told them, “ that he could not comprehend “ what his brother meant by keeping the *Turkmâns* about “ him a whole year : that possibly his design was to destroy “ all the *Uzbeks* about *Khayuk*, for having always favoured “ *Ilbârs Soltân* ; in which case he would be sure to demand “ help of them on their appearance at *Khayuk* : that, for this “ reason, the best course they could take was not to go to “ that city ; since their absence might divert his intention : “ but that, if they must needs go thither, it was his advice “ to kill all the *Turkmâns* they should meet on the road ; and

(C) Nicknamed *Karakâlpâk*,

“ then

14. *Khân* " then present themselves before the *Khân*, with ropes about
Isfândiâr. " their necks, to implore pardon ; excusing themselves on
 " account of the usual treachery of that people, and the great
 " occasion of complaint given by them in times past." But
Sharîf Mahamed Soltân, not approving of killing the *Turk-
 mâns*, proposed assassinating the *Khân* his brother, and then
 proclaiming *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* in his room.

Vigârs THIS proposal was liked by four of the lords ; but the
and Nay- fifth, named *Kurbân Hâji*, a *Vigâr*, and one of *Abû'lghâzi*
mâns *Soltân*'s vassals, not only rejected it, but declared, that, if he
slain : heard any more mention of such a plot against the *Khân*'s life,
 he would impeach them. So blunt a declaration having
 broken all their measures, they went to *Khayuk* : but four
 days after, when they were about to return, *Isfândiâr Khân*
 caused *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* to be arrested, and all the *Vigârs*
 and *Naymâns* then in the city, to the number of 500, to be
 put to the sword. On this occasion, 100 *Uzbeks* of other
 tribes were slain, although he had forbidden that any harm
 should be done to such. In like manner the troops, which
 were sent to destroy all about *Khayuk* belonging to those two
 tribes (whom he was determined to root out), contrary to his
 orders, slew all the *Uzbeks*, who dwelt from *Hazdrâb*, as far
 as the high stone-tower, where the river *Amû* divides in two
 branches (D) ; not sparing the very infants at the breast *.

THE *Khân*, after this, sent *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân* to *Ur-
 jensb*, with orders to cause the throats of all the *Vigârs* and
Naymâns, depending on that city, to be cut. However, on
 his arrival there, those people gave him to understand, that
 they were resolved not to suffer themselves to be massacred
 without selling their lives very dear : but that they were ready
 to quit the country, or receive *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, and *Maha-
 med Sayn Beg* (one of the *Khân*'s most trusty servants) to in-
 spect their conduct. These proposals appearing reasonable to
Sharîf Mahamed Soltân, he sent them to *Isfândiâr Khân* ; who
 pitched on the last expedient. As soon as *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*
 arrived thither, he went and took up his abode by the side of
 the *Khêfil* ; which he fortified for his security. A few days
 after, *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân* came thither also, with eighty
Turkmâns in his train ; who immediately quitted him, and went

Stand on
 their de-
 fence ;

* ABULON. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 328, & seqq.

(D) One of these arms, called by a large channel into the *Kesh*
Tokay, passes by that tower ; near *Tâk* ; which had rendered
 the other, which is greater, *Urjensb*, when the author wrote,
 having quitted its old bed, runs no better than a desert.

to join *Mahamed Sayn Beg*. Mean time thirty of the most considerable *Uzbeks*, beyond the river, came to welcome *Abû'l-ghâzi Soltân*, and offered him 1000 choice men to be employed in his service against *Isfândiar Khân*. On this occasion, they proposed to begin by killing *Mahamed Sayn Beg* and his eighty men, because they considered the *Turkmâns* as the only authors of the late massacre of their brethren; and then, marching to *Khayuk*, would put to the sword all such of that nation as they found in its neighbourhood.

BUT this project appeared impracticable to *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*; who knew that the eighty *Turkmâns* would be so much upon their guard, that, on the least motion of the *Uzbeks*, they would take flight: so that, before the *Uzbeks* could reach *Khayuk*, the rest of them would be removed with their effects; and, what would be still worse, the *Kalmûks*, in their absence, would come and carry off their wives and children. He was therefore of opinion, that they ought to treat *Mahamed Sayn Beg* kindly; and send him back laden with civilities, in order to lull *Isfândiar Khân* asleep: that after this, *Sharif Mahamed* should go pass the winter in the little town of *Kayuk*, near *Urjenb*; whilst the *Uzbeks*, beyond the river, began to make an intrenchment, as if for their security against the *Kalmûks*: that they should place guards along the two roads leading to the country of those *Tatars*, as though to observe what passed; and that, in spring, a man should come running from those guards, with news of a *Kalmûk* invasion: that on this advice they should assemble troops, under pretence of going to meet the enemy: but that in the way, joining *Sharif Mahamed Soltân*, they should turn on a sudden towards *Khayuk*; surprise that city, when there could not be at such time more than sixty men about the Khân, and put all the *Turkmâns* to the sword.

THE *Uzbeks*, however, had no inclination to depart from their design upon *Mahamed Sayn Beg* and his eighty *Turkmâns*: but these latter, smelling it out, retired at night-fall, when every body else was gone to rest. The *Uzbeks* arriving soon after, *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* told them, that, as the shortest follies are the best, his advice was to send to assure the Khân, that they knew not the reason of *Mahamed's* sudden departure, having given him no cause to complain; and that, in case they had intended him any harm, they might easily have prevented it. But this advice was not relished by his brother and the *Uzbeks*, who insisted that they had no other measures to take, than to march with all their forces to *Khayuk*. According to

14. *Khân* this resolution of the majority, they set forwards; and, arriving in two days at the bridge of *Tâjb Kupruk*, they halted there forty days; in which time they killed some *Turkmâns*, the rest retiring into that city.

the *Uzbeks* deserted.

MEAN time the *Kalmûks* having surprised one part of the *Uzbeks* camp, and carried a great number into slavery, many of them deserted the army, beginning to have a bad opinion of their success. On the news of this revolt of the *Uzbeks*, the *Turkmâns* who dwelt about the mountain *Abû'lkhân*, and at *Mankisblâk*, joining *Isfândiar Khân* at *Khayuk*, this prince took the field in his turn; and, engaging the *Uzbeks* in the place above-mentioned, intirely defeated them. *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, seeing the battle lost, retired with some of his men into the intrenchment, which they had raised to cover their baggage; where he found four or five hundred busy at packing up to be gone: but, obliging them to dismount, he made them tie their horses together, to take from them all hopes of saving themselves by flight, and then in a posture of defence waited for the enemy. In the evening, *Isfândiar Khân* drew near: but *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, sallying out at the head of 500 men, gave him so warm a reception, that he durst not make a second attempt; contenting himself to intrench with his troops at a small distance. After they had looked at one another in this manner for six days, without daring to engage; on the seventh, they came to an accommodation, which the *Khân* had set on foot only with a view to draw *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* into the open field; where he proposed to have put him and all his followers to the sword. But he missed of his aim by an accident: for the *Turkmâns* had gone to pillage the borough of *Khânaka*, inhabited by *Sarts*, just at the time his brother passed out of his intrenchment: however, at their return, the *Khân* did not fail to pursue him with 5000 men. *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, who had in all but 540 men, suspecting his design when he perceived him advance, formed in haste an inclosure with his chariots; and defended himself so well, that the *Khân* was obliged to come to a second treaty, after having had 80 killed and 2000 wounded in the action: whereas of *Abû'lghâzi's* soldiers no more than 20 were slain, and 100 wounded. After this *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, and his brother *Sharif Mahamed Soltân*, fixing their abode at *Urjensb*, all the *Uzbeks*, who dwelt before on both sides of the *Amû*, went and settled about that city^b.

Karazm deserted.

SOME time after, a comet having appeared in the sky, the common people, who were persuaded, considering the extra-

^b *ABULGH. Hist. Turks, &c: p. 340, & seqq.*

ordinary

ordinary animosities which reigned among their princes, that it portended some very great calamities, departed by troops, which they call *Top*, *Top*, and went into other countries. Nor was it in the power of *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, by any means, to restrain their flight: for while he sent after a party which went off on one side, two or three others withdrew another way: some with design to seek shelter in *Great Búkhâria*, others in *Turkeftân*, among the *Kasáts* (D) and *Mankáts*. So that having, in one month's time, lost three considerable troops of his subjects, he was constrained to retire elsewhere, to avoid lying at the mercy of *Isfândiar Khán*. Accordingly he bent his course towards the *Kasáchia Orda*, and visited *Isbím Khán* of *Turkeftân*: while *Sharíf Mahamed Soltân*, who was in the same case, went into *Great Búkhâria*.

THREE months after, *Isbím Khán*, going to *Táshkant*, to pay his respects to *Tursum Khán*, the reigning prince of those provinces, presented *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* to him; and at the same time mentioned the obligations which they both owed to his house, on account of the protection given to many of their relations, who had fled for refuge to *Karazm*. Hereupon *Tursum Khán* received him at his court, and treated him with much distinction: but, two years after, *Isbím Khán*, having assassinated *Tursum Khán*, and massacred all those of the *Kataguns* who were his antient subjects; *Abû'lghâzi*, who saw there was no less discord between their families than there was in his own, went into *Great Búkharia*. On his arrival there, he found a very cool reception from *Imâm Kúli Khán*; because he had applied himself first to *Tursum Khán*, who was his enemy.

FOR this reason he told the *Uzbeks*, who had retired thither before him, that he should be obliged to hearken to the *Turkmáns*, who promised to espouse his interest, to the utmost of their power, provided he would forget what was past. Upon this declaration the *Uzbeks* assured him, that although they had left the country at the appearance of the comet, yet he might always depend on their zeal for his service: that, on the other hand, they flattered themselves, that he would continue his protection to them; of which, they said, they had the more need, as they daily perceived they could not depend on the promises of his brother *Sharíf Mahamed Soltân*, who was naturally inconstant, and might, one time or other, side with the *Turkmáns* against them. In the last

(D) These are the *Kasátsia*, part of *Turkeftân*, as the *Man- or Kasáchia Orda*, mentioned *káts*, or *Kara Kasák*, do the below, who possess the east west part.

place,

14. *Khân*, place, they counselled him to go over to the *Turkmâns* on *Isfandiar*. the first invitation, and promised to repair to him in proper time.

returns to
Karazm.

SHORTLY after, there came a new deputy from the *Turkmâns*, to let him know, that *Isfândiar Khân*, being informed they had invited him to their quarters, had retired to *Hazar-âsh*, fearing a surprise. Upon this advice *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, followed only by five or six persons, went away directly to *Khayuk*, where he was immediately joined by numbers of people, who flocked to him from all parts. Two months after, he learned, that his brother *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân*, being reconciled with *Isfândiar Khân*, was arrived at *Hazar-âsh*; and that they both intended to turn all their forces against him. On this information he took the field with what troops he had; and the two armies coming to an engagement, that of *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* had the better; which obliged his two brothers to sign a treaty of peace. Yet, six months after, when least expected, they came again, and besieged *Khayuk*, with above 15,000 men, having been joined by all the *Turkmâns* thereabout. But, although *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* had no more than 600 with him, he defended himself so vigorously, that he obliged them, at length, to return with loss: the consequence of which was a new treaty.

Uzbeks
massacred.

SOME time after, 3000 families of those *Uzbeks*, who, three years before, had fled from about *Khayuk* to the *Kaf-sâts* and *Mankâts*, to avoid the fury of *Isfândiar Khân*, returned and went to settle on the sea-coast, about the mouth of the river *Amû*. On this news 800 others set forward, on their return from *Great Bukhâria*, with design to settle in the province of *Arâl*: but the *Khân*, who looked on the *Vigûrs* and *Naymâns* as the authors of all the misfortunes which had befallen his family, being informed thereof, came upon them by surprise, with some troops, on the banks of the *Khesil*, towards *Kât*, and put them all to the sword, man, woman, and child.

Abû'l-
ghâzi
Soltân
arrested:

ISFANDIAR KHAN, taking this occasion to invite his two brothers to court, under pretence of regulating with them what concerned the affairs of the *Uzbeks*, persuaded *Sharîf Mahamed Soltân* to repair to the province of *Arâl*, among those people, as it were of his own accord, and unknown to the *Khân*. Next morning early, some of the principal *Turkmâns* coming to visit him on that occasion, he solemnly protested, that *Sharîf Mahamed* had undertaken the journey without his privity; and, to incense them against

* *ABU'LEK. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 343, & seqq.*

Abû'l-

Abū'lghāzi Soltān, insinuated that it was done by his advice. He went still farther, and told them, that it was this last who had recalled the *Uzbeks* to settle in the province of *Arāl*, with a design to employ them against the *Turkmāns*; and that he had sent his brother thither, to prepare them for the enterprise. He concluded by saying, that, as from thence it appeared he was contriving some dangerous plot against them, their only course was to prevent him by seizing his person.

THIS counsel having been approved of by the assembly, he commanded the gates of the castle to be shut, and sent to arrest *Abū'lghāzi Soltān*, who was still fast asleep. After this the Khān, carrying him to *Yawrsurdi*, ordered the governor to send him under a strong guard into *Persia*: but that officer thought fit, for better security, to conduct him in person to *Hamadān*, where *Shāh Sefi* (E), the successor of *Abbās*, then was. This prince had him conveyed to *Isfāhān*, where he assigned him a house, and 10,000 *Tanga* (F) per year, for his maintenance (G): but, at the same time, caused him to be strictly watched, that he might not escape.

ISFANDIAR KHAN died in the first day of the year 1044, called *Ghilkī*, or *the horse*, after having reigned twelve years, and left two sons, *Yusban* and *Asbrāf*. He was succeeded by his brother *Shartf Mahamed Soltān*; who fixed his residence at *Urjensb*. This Khān was much at variance with the *Kadmuks* (or *Eluths*); who, in his time, came and seized a great part of *Karazm*. He died in the year 1052, leaving, as it should seem, the throne vacant, for two years.

5. The Reign of Abū'lghāzi Khān.

Abū'lghāzi Soltān succeeded his brother *Shartf Mahamed* in quality of Khān. This prince was born at *Urjensb*, in the year 1015, called *Tausbkān*, or *the hare*, on Monday, in the month of *Asfet*, at sun-rise, forty-eight days after the defeat of the *Kossaks*, before-mentioned^a. These *Kossaks* having, near the river *Taik*, met with ten merchants of *Urjensb*, trading to *Russia*, slew eight, and reserved the other two for guides in their expedition. On this occasion his father *Arap*

^a P. 178.

(E) He ascended the throne in 1629, at the age of 16.

(F) A silver coin, the fourth part of a crown. See before, p. 148.

(G) This happened about the year 1630: for it was thirteen years before he was proclaimed Khān.

16. *Khân* *Mahamed Khân* said, that child will be happy, because his enemies were defeated before he was born (H): and, in regard his mother was descended from *Soltân Gâzi*, son of *Ilbârs Khân*, he gave him the name of *Abû'lghâzi Bahâdr*: and, when he was sixteen years old, married him: at which time he made him a grant of one half of *Urjensb*; assigning the other half to *Habâsb Soltân*. The year following (I), upon some difference, which happened between the two brothers, his father gave him the city of *Kât*, for his portion; and, not long after, the unfortunate battle was fought, wherein the *Khân* was taken prisoner, and put to death by his unnatural sons^e.

escapes from Isfahân: WHAT passed from that time till *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* was sent into *Persia*, has been already related. After this prince had remained in that country, in the condition of a prisoner, the space of ten years, he formed the design to make his escape: This having been approved of by three of his domestics, whom he acquainted with it, he called the person who had the guard of him, and ordered him to take to the butchers a horse, which had been sent for his kitchen. This done, he gave him a thousand *Tanga*, bidding him go buy a pretty slave; and gave him leave to pass the night with her. His ward being gone, full of joy at this present, *Abû'lghâzi Soltân* and his men went to a neighbouring stable, and took out eight horses. After this, ordering them to shave their beards close, when every body was at rest, he made one of them, who could speak both *Turkisch* and *Persian*, to put on his best clothes, because he was to represent the master. The second domestic was dressed also like a gentleman; the third wore the garb of a valet, and himself passed for a groom.

suspected at Bastâm: IN this equipage they led the horses very softly out of the house, and, mounting, at midnight, when they beat the drum, they arrived at the gate of the city the very instant it was opened: then, continuing their journey, they got safe to *Bastâm* (K), and passed through the town in the evening, without any accident; but three of their horses failing a little beyond that city, they were obliged to stop at the village of *Boyisb*, inhabited by *Saghits*. He who passed for the master, being seated on a carpet at the gate, with one of the valets

^e ABU'LGH. ubi supra, p. 328, & seqq. also 347, & seq.

(H) The *Tatars* are full of such superstitious whimsies. (K) A city in the province of *Komes*, or *Kumes*, on the

(I) This was in *Hejrab* 1031, borders of *Astarabad*.
A.D. 1621.

standing behind him, while the other held the horses, *Abû'l-ghâzi Soltân* entered into the place, to exchange the tired cattle. He presently got off two of them. But having asked one among the croud, who flocked about him, which was the way to the village of *Maghi*? an old man of seventy grew suspicious of him, telling his neighbours, that as scarce one in ten of themselves knew the way to *Maghi*, he believed this must be the Soltân of the *Uzbeks*, who was making his escape. He added, that as, in case it was so, there would be couriers after him within a day or two, therefore it would be best to seize and carry him to *Bastâm*; or, at least, not to exchange horses with him, in regard they who did would suffer for it. On this occasion the counterfeit groom, who spoke the language of the country perfectly well, by way of answer, told the old man a very formal story: that, as his mother had laid her commands on him to go see a person who lived at *Maghi*, he had prevailed on the lord his master, who sat on the carpet, to take that road. This invention gained the people on his side; but the old man, being still of his first opinion, went to the servant of the overseer of the village, and bade him in haste to acquaint his master, that there were deserters in the place, and that he would do well to have them seized. On this, the valet rode up to *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*; and, calling him robber, asked him, where he was going? But the pretended groom foisted the valet with the name of his counterfeit lord, and the danger he said he was in of losing his nose, in case his lord should hear what he had uttered, that the valet begged his pardon, and pretended he spoke only by way of jest. After this the groom found no difficulty to exchange his third horse, and get sufficient information of the road ^f.

16. *Khân*
Abû'l-ghâzi.

avoids the danger:

HAVING made great expedition to pass the borders of *Khorassân*, he at length arrived in the neighbourhood of *Karakum* (L), at a place where the road dividing, one led to *Mankisblâk*, the other to the mountain of *Kurân*. Resolving now to keep the fields no longer (as till then he had done, to avoid meeting much people), he struck into the latter, and came to a village which belonged to the *Turkmâns*. At the same time, seeing a boy near the road, he asked him, what kind of people they were? The youth replied, we are *Kifilafaks*. He then demanded, how they came to be there,

gets out of Persia:

^f *ABU'LGH.* Hist. Turks, &c. p. 349, & seqq.

(L) *Karakum* signifies *black sand*. A black sandy desert, on the borders of *Karazm*.

16. *Khân*
Abû l-
ghâzi.

received
by the
Turk-
māns:

is pro-
claimed
Khân:

Hejrah
1053.
A.D.
1643.

attacks
Khayuk,

since they belonged to *Mankisblāk*? and was answered, that the *Kalmûks* had driven them out of their habitations three years before; and named some families of the tribe of *Irsâri*, known to *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, who dwelt not far off.

THE Soltân, joyful to find himself out of the *Persian* dominions, went to the village, where he was received with extreme joy by the inhabitants; at whose invitation he staid there the whole winter: but in spring repaired to the *Turkmāns* of the tribe of *Tûka*, who dwelt near the river *Amû*, at the foot of the mountain *Kurân*. With these he staid two years, and then went to *Mankisblāk*; where he found no more than 700 families, who were reduced under the dominion of the *Kalmûks* (or *Elûth Mungls*). The *Khân* of the *Kalmûks*, being informed of *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*'s arrival in his dominions, sent one of his principal officers to invite him to court (M). *Abû'lghâzi Soltân*, accepting of the invitation, was treated with great distinction all the while he staid there, which was a whole year. After which, having taken a resolution of going to *Urjensb*, the *Khân* suffered him to depart, and shewed him many marks of friendship. He arrived at that city in the year 1053, called *Ghilan*, or *the serpent*; and, six months after, the *Turkmāns* proclaimed him *Khân*, in the province of *Arâl*, towards the entrance of the river *Amû* into the sea of *Mazānderân*. This was in 1054, two years after the death of *Sharîf Mahamed Khân*. *Yusban* and *Asbrâf*, the two sons of *Isfāndiar Khân*, his predecessor, being in possession of *Khayuk* and *Hazârâsb*, the *Turkmāns*, within their jurisdiction, refused to submit to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*; and put themselves under the protection of *Nadir Mahamed Khân*, of *Great Bukhâria*, after sending *Asbrâf Soltân* to the *Persian* court, to be brought up there.

UPON this, *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, having sent twice to pillage the habitations of the subjects of *Khayuk*, the *Khân* of *Great Bukhâria*, placed commanders and strong garrisons in that city and *Hazârâsb*; and sent the widow of *Isfāndiar Khân* to dwell in the country of *Kanski*. Having afterwards conferred the government of those two places on his grandson *Kâssim Soltân*, son of *Khisserrân Soltân*, *Abû'lghâzi Khân* resolved to pay him a visit. With this design he embarked his infantry in the province of *Arâl*, to ascend the river *Khesil*, as far as

(M) The author does not mention where the *Khân* kept his court, or whether any part of *Karazm* was then under his dominion. It was at this time

that the author learned the *Mogol* (or *Mungl*) language, in which he wrote his history. See *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* Hist. Turks, &c. p. 31.

the

the bridge of *Taş Kapruk*, and followed by land with his 16. *Khân*
cavalry. Being arrived at the place of rendezvous, he march- *Abû'l-*
ed, with some of his foot, to the village of *Kondâm*; and, *ghâzi.*
passing a brook which lay between him and the city, concealed
one hundred and eighty of his men in a valley: then, with
sixty bowmen and twenty musketeers, advanced up to the
place, ordering them not to fire till they saw him fire.

THE enemy, perceiving them coming on, made a sally *without*
with a thousand men, of whom seven hundred had coats of *success*:
mail; whereas not above five of the Khân's were so accoutred.
But that prince, without being dismayed at their numbers, drew
dextrously to the place where he designed, and then, march-
ing up, gave them so rude a salute with arrows and bullets,
at twenty paces distance, as allayed much of their first ar-
dour; whilst they who lay concealed advancing at the same
time to charge them in flank, the enemy fell into confusion,
and fled towards *Khayuk*. The Khân, who was not able to
pursue them, for want of horse, returned, and sent his troops
into quarters (N).

SOMETIME after this, *Nadir Mahamed*, Khân of *Great after*
Bukhâria, recalled his grandson *Kâssim Soltân* from *Khayuk*, *wards*
and sent *Takûb*, one of his lords, to *Hazârâşb*, to govern what *takes it.*
he possessed in *Karazm*: but having in the interim been de-
throned by his vassals, for his harsh treatment of them, they
set up his son *Abdo'lazîz Soltân*. On the news of this revolu-
tion, *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, marching to *Khayuk*, in the year 1056, *Hejrah*
called *Tauk*, or *the Hen*, found no difficulty to possess himself *1056.*
of that city. After which he caused proclamation to be *A. D.*
made, that all the *Turkmâns* who had quitted their habita- *1646.*
tions, on account of their late troubles, might freely re-
turn home, on his promise never to call to mind their past
offences.

ON these assurances, they who dwelt beyond *Hazârâşb* sent *Perfidious*
deputies to the Khân; who ordered, that they should all *dealing*
repair to his camp before that city, which he was going to take
possession of, and there tender him their faith and homage.
The *Turkmâns* being assembled, pursuant to his commands,
he, by a messenger, desired them to provide his kitchen with
milk and cattle, for that he intended to make a great enter-
tainment the day following. This having been performed, to

§ *ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 354, & seqq.*

(N) Here *Abû'lghâzi Khân* he died. What follows of it
breaks off his history; having was added by his son and suc-
been hindered from finishing it cessor *Azûza Mahamed Babâdr*
by a grievous sickness, of which *Khân.*

16. *Khân*
Abû'l-
ghâzi.

with the
Turk-
mâns.

A. D.
1647.

A. D.
1648.

Kalmûks
invasion.

A. D.
1649.

A. D.
1652.

the Khân's satisfaction, he treated them in a very splendid manner; but, towards evening, caused all his guests to be killed, to the number of 2000 persons; and then sent to plunder their habitations.

NEXT year, being that called *It*, or *the Dog*, in the month of *Jomado'l-arwal*, he marched into the province of *Tarkhân*, in quest of the *Turkmâns*, who had quitted *Khayuk*, after *Kâssim Soltân's* departure; and put to the sword all those whom he met with: but the greater part of them fled into the province of *Bamuburinak*, whither he went to dislodge them, in the year *Zizkân*, or *the Mouse* (O). They who knew not where else to retire, sent their wives and children into the province of *Arâl*, and intrenched themselves under the ruins of some old walls. The Khân, finding them in this situation, made them some specious proposals of accommodation: but, as they durst not trust him, they marched out on foot, and threw themselves desperately on his troops: however, they were so well received, that not one of them escaped the sword. The day after, *Abû'lghâzi Khân* detached some of his men towards the province of *Arâl*, in pursuit of the wives and children of the *Turkmâns*, who had lost their lives on this occasion, and returned himself to *Khayuk*. In short, being resolved to reduce the *Turkmâns* so low, that they should not be able to raise disturbances for the future, he made several expeditions against them, in which he severely chastised them^a (P).

IN the year *Saght*, or *the Cow*, a *Kalmûk* lord, of the tribe of *Kurlaût*, advancing with some troops as far as *Kât*, caused many people to be killed, and others carried into slavery. Soon after, another, called *Boyan*, of the *Torgaût* tribe, coming into *Karazm* to traffick, the Khân suffered him and his followers to finish their business; and then, pursuing them, defeated their rear, in the province of *Tuguruk-bâsb*: after which, overtaking the body of their troops, they were constrained to fly, and leave their effects behind them. Three years after, in that called *Lu*, or *the Crocodile*, *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, having been informed that the *Kalmûks* hovered upon the frontiers both of *Great Bâkhâria* and *Karazm*, with strong parties, and made terrible havock where-ever they came, sent *Abdo'laziz* notice to be upon his guard. Mean time, the lords of the *Torgaûts* invaded the lands of *Hazârâsb*, where they de-

^a ABU'LOH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 357, & seqq

(O) The first of the duodecary cycle of the *Mungls*.

(P) Particularly the *Bayratz*, *Ghemergem illi*, and *Sarik*.

stroyed

stroyed the village *Yezdur*, and took many people and cattle out of another called *Danugân*.

UPON this advice, *Abû'lghâzi Khân* took horse immediately, to pursue them, contrary to the request of his officers: and, although they had gotten ten days march before him, yet, by riding day and night, he at length came up with their rear, near the mountain *Irder*, and defeated them. Then, pursuing the rest, he overtook them in the province of *Segheri Rabat*; where they had so well intrenched themselves that it was impossible to force them: but, on the other hand, as they durst not venture out to continue their journey, they sent all the plunder which they had taken, with their bows and arrows to the Khân, and intreated pardon for the offence; pretending, in excuse, that they did not know the above-mentioned village belonged to him; and promising never to invade his dominions for the future, or suffer any of their nation to do it. Hereupon *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, considering that none of that tribe of *Kalmûks* had ever incommoded his subjects before, he sent them their release, and let them return home in peace.

AFTER this, *Subhân Kûli*, Khân of *Bâlk*, who had married his brother *Sharîf Mahamed Khân's* daughter, sent to intreat his aid against *Abdo'lazîz Khân*, who had taken the field, with an intention to deprive him of his dominions (Q).

Abû'lghâzi Khân, though he had designed to pass the rest of his days in repose, yet willing to assist his near relation, and revenge the injuries done his house by *Abdo'llah Khân*, advanced, in the year called *Koy*, or *the Sheep*, into the province of *Kogbertlik*, bordering on *Great Bûkhâria*; and sent a body of 10,000 men to plunder the city of *Karakûl*, whilst he went in person against that of *Siunjbâla*, which he destroyed, with thirty or forty neighbouring villages. After this, he returned for a while to *Kbayuk*; and then, in a second expedition, made the same year, plundered *Karakûl* in person. Then passing on to the province of *Gordîsb*, he defeated an army of 15,000 men, sent by *Abdo'lazîz Khân* from *Kârfsi*, of whom scarce 1000 escaped. A great part of these 1000 threw themselves into *Karakûl*; but the Khân, following them, took prisoners all who escaped the sword, and burned the few houses which remained in that town¹.

IN the year *Bizin*, or *the Ape*, he took the town of *Zâr-jui*; which he intirely destroyed, and plundered the circum-

¹ *ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 361. & seqq.*

(Q) It is of the embassy of these two Khâns to *Aureng Zib*, the *Great Mogol*, that *Bernier*

16. *Khân* adjacent country. Next year, he went and ravaged the province of *Tayzi*; which extends from the city of *Karakul* to that of *Nersem*; and, having taken much booty, was gone back to his own frontiers, at the same time that *Abdo'laziz Khân*, accompanied by *Kasim Soltân*, was on the march, with a numerous army, to make a diversion in the province of *Kogbertlik*: but, as soon as he heard of *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* return to *Karazm*, he retreated with so much precipitation, that many of his men killed their horses with haste to get off, although no one had any thoughts of pursuing them. *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, who in the mean time had taken a turn to *Khayuk*, made another invasion the same year, with 25,000 men, into *Great Bâkhâria*; and, having taken the city of *Karmîna*, gave it to be pillaged, returning with considerable booty, and many prisoners.

Attacked
in retreat-
ing,

IN his retreat, after he had passed a river over a bridge, he caused his tents to be set up there; and, believing himself very secure in that place, ordered that the baggage should begin to march at midnight, and that the army should follow at day-break, keeping about his person no more than his usual guard of one hundred men. Next morning, some hours after the army had decamped, one of his principal officers entered his tent; and, finding him still fast asleep, cried to him, "Rise, sir; is this a time to sleep here?" But the *Khân* made answer, "Who is it you would have me afraid of; since we have not heard of any enemy-troops in all this province?" At the same time one came to inform *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, that troops appeared on the other side of the river. And in reality it was *Abdo'laziz Khân* himself, at the head of 60,000 men; who, having been informed, by a beggar, that the *Khân* of *Karazm*, from whom he had received an alms on the road, was going to besiege *Karmîna*, set forward immediately, with all his forces.

by great
forces,

ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, on the enemy's approach, retired leisurely towards his troops; which being about to pass a little marshy brook, he sent orders for them to halt on this side. Mean time 1000 horsemen, in coats of mail, began to press him at the heels: on which the *Khân*, having gained a pass, made his hundred men alight (as he did himself), the better to make use of their muskets; and sent orders for his army to return. After this, he detached *Yadigar Atalik* (lately made the first lord of his court), with thirty men, to attack the 1000 horse, at the entrance of the defile, while he stood ready to support him with the rest. *Yadigar* executed his orders with so much conduct, that, having first stunned

stunned the enemy by a successful fire made on them near at hand, afterwards managed his small force so well, by retiring or advancing, as occasion required, that he disputed the pass, till *Anusba Mahamed Babâdr Soltân* (the Khân's son, then no more than fourteen years of age) came to his father's assistance at the head of 600 horsemen, with 300 foot soldiers behind them^k.

16. Khân
Abû'l-
ghâzi.

ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, having received this reinforcement, found himself in a condition to march out of the defile to attack those 1000 men: but as in the interim the enemy's army had time to approach, they were quickly supported by a great body of troops; which, having surrounded the Khân of *Karazm* on all sides, would infallibly have handled him severely, if he had not ordered his son *Anusba Mahamed*, with 400 men, to fall vigorously on the right of a large squadron, which blocked up the road to their army, while he attacked the rest with the remaining 600. This scheme was executed with so good success, that, having forced the enemy's troops on both sides, they made their way through them, and rejoined their own; which advanced in haste to rescue their Khân from the danger he was in.

His brave
defence.

As soon as he had put himself at the head of his army, he caused it to march, under the command of *Anusba Mahamed Babâdr Soltân*, to attack the enemy's forces, which began to appear; and when the rest of his troops arrived, he made them advance to the right and left of his son, in order to support him. In this disposition they began the battle, which soon became general; and both armies fought a long time with equal fortune: but, at length, the juvenile courage of the prince prevailing (although it was the first time he had ever been at such an entertainment), the forces of *Abdo'laziz Khân* were defeated, notwithstanding their great superiority, and pursued as far as the above-mentioned river. The rout was so signal, that a great number of the enemy, who could not gain the bridge, were drowned in the stream; and their Khân himself, though much wounded, was obliged to swim over, to avoid being taken.

Defeats
the enemy.

ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, returning to *Khayuk*, with a great number of prisoners, gave a splendid feast to all his lords and great officers; and, after he had in public extolled the valour of his son, resigned to him the city of *Hazârâsh*, with subjects for its defence. Next year, called *It*, or the *Dog*, the Khân again entered *Great Bukhâria*, and took the city of *Wardansî*, which he ordered to be sacked, and returned

A. D.
1658.

^k *ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 367, & seqq.*

16. *Khân*
Abu'l-
ghāzi.

A. D.
1662.

loaden with plunder and captives. Four years after, in the year called *Bārs*, or *the Tiger*, he made another expedition thither; and, advancing to the very walls of *Bokhāra*, capital of the whole country, caused all the villages within its jurisdiction to be destroyed. After this, he encamped before the gate *Namāsga*, with a design to take the city by force. But, considering there was no glory in such an exploit, at a time when the *Khân* was absent at *Samarkant*, and that there were none but women and *Tajiks*, or burghers, in the place; he laid aside the design till another opportunity, and returned into his own dominions, with much booty and many prisoners.

resigns the
crown:

ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, being by this time arrived at the age of sixty years, began to consider that there was blood enough spilt to revenge the murders committed by *Abdo'llah Khân* on the princes of his family; and that it would be acting against the dictates of conscience, to persist any longer in giving disturbance to a prince who was of the same religion with himself, while he could more usefully employ his army against the *Kalmûks* and *Persians*. Guided by these sentiments, he dispatched ambassadors to *Abdo'lazîz Khân*, with proposals of peace; which having been accepted of, he recalled his troops from the borders of *Great Bukhāria*, and sent them towards the country of *Khorassān*. After this, he resigned the throne to *Anûsba Mahamed Bahādr Soltān*, with a design to spend the rest of his days in serving God: but he died not long after, in the month of *Ramadhān*, 1074, called *Tāushhān*, or *the Hare*; when he had reigned twenty years¹.

Hejrah
1074.
A. D.
1663.

Death and
character.

CHARDIN, who calls this prince *Abû'l Kāzi*, gives him a very advantageous character. He says, that he knew so well how to disguise the natural barbarity of the *Tatars*, that you would have taken him for a *Persian*. He behaved with a grace and affability on all occasions. So that *Shāh Safi*, for distinction-sake called *Māzi* (*), that is, *the past reign*, observing him to be endowed with so many rare qualities, admitted him into his *Mejels*, or royal assemblies, where he ranked him on an equality with the grandees of his kingdom. The same author informs us, that, on his being brought to *Isfāhān* (R), *Safi* looked on him not as a robber, but a prisoner of war, and paid him all the honours due to a person of royal birth; assigned him a revenue of 1500 *Tomāns*,

Honoured
in Persia.

¹ *ABU'LGH.* Hist. Turks, &c. p. 370, & seqq.

(R) According to *Chardin*, (*) *Abû'lghāzi Khân* ascribes he was made prisoner after a this title to *Shāh Abbās I.* See battle, wherein the *Uzbeks* lost vol. vi. p. 167.
12 or 18,000 men.

amounting

amounting to 6000 pounds; and gave him a stately palace, richly furnished, with a suitable number of officers and retinue to attend him, during the ten years he continued in his capital. After his return (S) to *Karazm*, he proved a constant friend to *Persia*; keeping *Subhân Kûli Khân* (T), and *Abdo'lazîz Khân*, of *Bokhâra*, in such awe, that as soon as either of them entered *Persia*, he was in the bowels of their territories.

BUT, after his death, the crown descending to his son *Entâb* (or *Anâbâ*) *Khân*, *Abbâs* II. withdrew his pension, which, in kindness, he had given his father. But the son, who looked on it as a kind of tribute, paid by the *Persian* monarch to the king of *Karezm*, or *Orkenj* (U), to restrain him from plundering his dominions, judged the surest way to recover it, or at least to make himself amends for the loss, would be, to ravage the frontier provinces. To this end, he entered into a league with the two other Khâns, against *Persia*; espousing the sister of the prince of *Bâlk*, and giving his own in marriage to him of *Bokhâra*.

HOWEVER, *Abû'lghâzi Khân* having been of the *Shi'ah* sect, which the *Persians* follow, and not of the *Sunni* persuasion, such as the *Uzbeks* (X) profess, *Entâb Khân* made profession of the latter: but his allies, as a proof of his sincerity, required that he should begin the war first, promising to assist him the next year with all their forces. Hereupon the prince of *Orkenj* entered *Persia*, in the year 1665; but met with a very powerful resistance: for *Shâh Abbâs*, having been informed of the conspiracy of these petty kings, marched with a great army, resolving to conquer their territories, and annex *Bâlk* to his own dominions. The *Uzbeks*, terrified at his approach, thought it best to desist; and, the year following, sent to beg a peace.

(S) The circumstances of his escape are told by *Chardin* in a different manner from what he relates himself.

(T) That is, *the prince, the slave of the Praise-worthy*; meaning God.

(U) That is, *Karazm*, or *Urjensb*. *Orkenj* being the *Persian* name.

(X) *Chardin*, and several others, write *Yusbeks*; which, according to the *Persians*, signifies *one hundred lords*: to shew, that they are governed by many princes. He adds, that the

Yusbeks reject this etymology, as false and injurious; saying, the word is compounded of *Yus*, *be*, and *bek*, *lord*; as who should say, *He the lord*, or *He is the lord*: as if these were the only people on earth who are truly lords. *Coronation of Soleymân III.* p. 115. But, in all likelihood, this must be a mistake; since, according to the *Uzbek* history, they take their name from *Uzbek Khân*, conformable to a custom among the *Tatars* in general.

Upon

18. *Khân*
Hâji
Mahamed.

makes
great
ravages.

UPON the death of *Abbas II.* which happened not long after, the *Tatars* taking heart again, the prince of *Orkénj*, in 1667, entered *Merue Sava* (Y) with his *Uzbeks*; who, finding no resistance, made strange havock. Nor could the governors have prevented it, if they had force enough, considering with what swiftness those people invade a country, and retire. *Persia* then being governed by a young unexperienced prince, preparations to repel the enemy went on very slowly. At length two great lords set out, with 4000 men, to join the forces which were already in *Khorassân*. Six weeks after, money was sent to pay the troops in that province, under a convoy of 200 men. But the *Uzbeks*, getting intelligence of it, sent out a body of 3000 horse; who took their measures so well, that they carried off the treasure, in spite of the troops which were detached to overtake them^m.

Hâji Ma-
hamed
Khân.

FROM this time to the present we find very little in authors, relating to the affairs of *Karazm*; till 1714; when, according to *Bentink*, *Haji Mahamed Bahâdr Khân*, grandson of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, sent a messenger to *Petersburgh*, to treat of an alliance with the court of *Russia*ⁿ. *Webber* mentions this prince; but calls him only the *Khân of Uzbek*: and says, the design of the embassy was to prevail on *Peter I.* to oblige *Ayâka Khân*, his vassal, not to join with the princes his neighbours, or stir them up against him. On this condition he offered to assist the *Tsar* with 50,000 horse at any time, and allow his karawâns a passage through his dominions to *China*; which journey might be performed in four months, the road being good; whereas that through *Siberia* was very long and troublesome (Z). He proposed likewise to enter into a treaty of commerce with *Russia*, which would be very advantageous to it.

Em'assy to
Russia.

THE ambassador was *Acher Bey*, about fifty years old, of a lively and venerable aspect, wearing a long beard, and an ostrich feather on his turban, which is worn by none but the principal lords. He said, his *Khân* was turned of twenty; and that, the year before, he had married the king of *Persia's* eldest daughter: that his country was called *Uzbek* (A); and

^m CHARDIN'S Coronation of Solyman, p. 116, & seqq.
ⁿ ABU'LGH. Hist. Turks, p. 373.

(Y) This must be the territory of *Marû*, written also *Marræo*, and *Marve*, so often mentioned before; and, for a time, belonging to *Karazm*.

(Z) But, should that road be

deserted, it would hinder the peopling of *Siberia*.

(A) The author mistook the name of the people for that of the country; which has also been so miscalled by geographers.

place

place of residence *Khiva*, which consisted only of tents and huts; but never fixed to any certain spot (B): that the Khân is a sovereign prince; but his authority limited by a kind of senate: that he was able to raise 200,000 cavalry; in which number were included, in the *Tsar's* judgment, all his male subjects, old and young: lastly, that the country of *Uzbek* bordered on *China*, *Hindûstân*, and *Persia*. Among other things relating to this embassy, it is mentioned, that the *Tsar* liked the ambassador's music well enough°. On which occasion it may be observed, that the inhabitants of *Karazm* were formerly very famous for their proficiency in that art°.

BENTINK informs us, that, between 1714 and 1724, when he wrote, there happened a revolution in that country; of which he knew not the particulars°. Probably it may be the same with that mentioned by the missionaries of *Syria*, who acquaint us, that some years before they wrote (C), they saw the prince of the *Uzbeks* pass through *Aleppo*, in his way to *Mohammed's* tomb, with an intention to live there a private life. His son had rebelled; and, having seized him, caused his eyes to be put out, that he might have no longer hopes of ascending the throne. He marched on horseback, with his eyes bound up, conducted by fifty guards. But, since that time, we understand, continues our author, that the son died miserably, and his father was restored°. It may be presumed, that *Hâji Mahamed* was the unnatural child; although the title of *Hâji*, or pilgrim, better suits the blind prince: but *Mahamed* seems too young to have had such an enterprising son. However that be, in 1719, the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm* ought to have had a Khân of an enterprising genius, and who could see well, to command in person the expedition against *Beckowitz*, sent by the *Tsar* in that year, to discover the river *Daria*°.

° Present State of Russia, vol. i. p. 20, & seqq. P LA
CROIX Hist. Gengh. p. 240. ° ABU'LGH. ubi supr. p. 373.
° See Journey from Aleppo to Damascus, p. 80, & seq. ° See
New collect. of voya. and trav. vol. iv. p. 477 and 514.

(B) This must be understood of his summer camp (for he dwells under tents in that season); which is not fixed: but his winter residence is *Urjensb*, or some other city.

(C) The author wrote between 1720 and 1724, when his memoirs were printed in *Memoires des missions en Syrie & en Egypt*. Tom. vi. p. 198.

B O O K IX.

A Description of Hindûstân, or the Empire of the Great Mogol.

C H A P. I.

Name, Extent, Mountains, Rivers, and Produce, of Hindûstân.

India, its name;

INDIA, or the *Indies* (A), takes its name, according to some authors, from the river *Indus*; to others, from the inhabitants, named *Indows*, *Hindows*, or *Hindûs*. Hence it is called, by the *Turks* and *Persians*, *Hindûstân*, or the country of the *Hindûs*: of which *Indostan*, a name used by *Europeans*, is a corruption. In the geography of these latter, *India*, or the *Indies*, is a term of vast limits, extending over not only a great part of the continent of *Asia*, but also of the islands of the ocean lying to the south of it. The continent of *India* is situated between the 84th and 127th degrees of longitude; and between one degree 12 minutes and 36 degrees of north latitude: containing in length, from west to east, about 2315 miles, in breadth, from south to north, 2110 miles. It is bounded on the north by the countries of *Great* and *Little Tibet*; on the south, with the *Indian* ocean; on the east, with *China*, and the *Chinese* sea; and on the west, with *Persia*, and the *Indian* sea.

bounds, and extent.

Division.

THIS large region is divided into three great parts. The peninsula of *India* within, or on this side of, the *Ganges*; the peninsula without, or beyond, the *Ganges*; and the main land. The two peninsulas contain several potent kingdoms; but the third part is, at present, under one sovereign, called the *Great Mogol* by *Europeans*. This is chiefly the part which at present we have to do with; and this only of the three is known to the orientals by the name of *India* or *Hindûstân*.

Hindûstân.

HINDUSTAN, or the *Mogol's* empire, is bounded on the north with *Great* and *Little Tibet*; on the east, with *Tibet*, and the farther peninsula of the *Indies*; on the south, with the hither peninsula, part of the *Indian* sea, and bay of *Bengâl*; and on the west, with *Persia*. It is situated between the 84th and 102d degrees of longitude, and between the

(A) Commonly called the *East Indies*, to distinguish them from the *West Indies*.

21st and 36th degrees of latitude; being in length about *Soil*, 1204 miles, and in breadth 960: though in some parts not *mountains*. near so much.

THIS is the part of *India* which consists of the greatest extremes. Towards the north it is very cold and barren; towards the south, very hot and fruitful, in corn, rice, fruits, and other vegetables. The northern provinces are very mountainous and sandy; while the southern are, for the most part, very level country, and well watered with good rivers. *Nature of the country.*

THE most remarkable mountains are those which surround it on three sides, and serve as a rampier against the bordering nations (B). Those on the west, which separate *Hindûstân* from *Persia*, are called in different parts by different names, and in general by that of *Soleyman Kûh*, or the mountain of *Soleyman*. These mountains are of a vast height, as well as breadth; and are only passable in certain places, through which roads have been made for sake of commerce. The chief are those which lead to *Kâbul*, *Gâzna*, and *Kandahâr*. This great chain of mountains is inhabited by several different nations of hardy fierce people: the principal of whom are the *Afghâns*, or *Patans*, and the *Balluchîs*; who have extended themselves on the side of *India* as well as *Persia*. The mountains on the north are called *Nagrakût*, *Hima*, or *Mûs Tâg* (which has an affinity with *Imâûs*); and by other names, which are given also in common to the mountains on the east side, which separate *Hindûstân* from *Tibet*: but this is for want of due information procured by travellers, since we know that these mountains are differently denominated, both by their inhabitants and their neighbours. The northern part of this eastern chain is, for instance, called *Kantel*, *Kentel*, or *Kenti*, by the people of those parts. The very prospect of them is frightful, being nothing but hideous precipices, perpetually covered with snow; and not to be crossed without the greatest difficulty as well as horror^a.

AMONG the rivers of *Hindûstân* two have been particularly famous from all antiquity, for their great length and capacity, as well as other reasons. These are the *Indus* and the *Ganges*. The *Indus* is called by the orientals *Send*, *Sind*, or *Sindi*. It rises in the mountains, to the north or north- *River Indus, or Send.*

^a Lettr. Edifiantes, vol. xv. p. 190.

(B) According to the *Indian* geographers, *India* is environed almost on all sides by the mountain of *Ghats*; and is divided into two parts, the north and south, by that of *Balagate*. *Theravenot Trav.* part iii. c. 46. p. 80.

Rivers, weather. east of *Hindûstân*; but the exact spot is not yet known to us. From thence it runs southward by *Kâshmîr* and *Attek* to *Multân*, where it turns towards the south-west; and, having passed by *Bukor* and *Tatta*, falls into the *Persian* sea, below *Lowre Bander*, by several mouths. In its course it receives several other large rivers, as the *Nilâb*, *Jamâl*, *Behât*, and *Lakka*.

The Ganges. THE *Ganges*, called in the *Indies* *Ganga*, rises in the kingdom of *Tibet*; and, having taken a large sweep towards the west, and then, by the south and east; enters *Hindûstân*, or the *Mogol's* empire, about the 30th degree of latitude, and runs first thence, south-eastward, by the cities of *Bekâner*, *Minâpor*, *Halabas*, *Benâres*, and *Patna*, to *Rajah Mâhl*, where it divides into two great branches. The eastern, having passed by *Dâkka*, capital of *Bengâl*, enters the gulf of that name, about *Chatigan*. The western, descending by *Koffum-Bazâr*, and *Hugley*, falls into the gulf below *Shandernagor* towards *Pipeli*. The *Ganges* in its course admits several other considerable rivers into its bosom, particularly the *Ehun*, or *Jemna*, and the *Gâderafu*, on the west side; the *Persilis* and *Lakia* on the east side. This river ever has been held in great veneration, and as sacred, by the *Indians*, who think they are freed from their sins by washing in it at certain times. The *Great Mogol* also drinks the water of the *Ganges*, as being deemed lighter and purer than that of any other river.

The heats. THE weather and seasons are for the general very regular in this spacious country. The winds blow constantly for six months southerly, and northerly for six months, with very little variation. The months of *April*, *May*, and the beginning of *June*, till the rains fall, are so extremely hot, that the reflexion from the ground is apt to blister one's face; and, but for the breeze or small gale of wind, which blows every day, there would be no living in that country for people bred in northern climates: for, excepting in the rainy season, the coldest day is hotter there at noon, than the hottest day in *England*. However, very surprising changes of heat and cold sometimes happen within a few hours: so that a stifling hot day is succeeded by a night cold enough to produce a thin-ice on the water; and that night by a noon as scorching as the preceding. Sometimes in the dry season, before the rains, the wind blows with such extreme violence, that it carries up vast quantities of dust and sand into the air, which appear black, like clouds charged with rain: but fall down in dry showers, filling the eyes, ears, and nostrils of those among whom they descend, and penetrate every chest, cabinet,

cabinet, or cupboard, in the houses or tents, by the key-hole or crevices ^b. Precious stones.

FROM *Surat* to *Agra*; and beyond, it seldom or never rains, excepting in one season of the year; that is, from the middle of *June* to the middle of *September*. They generally begin and end with most furious storms of thunder and lightening. During these three months it rains usually every day, and sometimes for a week together without intermission. By this means the land is enriched, like *Egypt* by the *Nile*. Although the land looks before like the barren sands of the *Arabian* deserts; yet, in a few days after those showers begin to fall, the surface appears covered with verdure; which shews the richness of the soil: on which occasion our author observes, that among many hundred acres of divers kinds of grain, he never saw any but what was prime good, standing as thick as the ground could well bear it. When this worst season is over, the sky becomes perfectly serene again, and scarce one cloud appears all the nine months after. However, a refreshing dew falls every night during that dry interval, which cools the air and cherishes the earth ^c. Rainy season.

THE produce of *India* is very rich, in every kind, whether the fossil, vegetable, or animal. With regard to fossils, we meet with here the most valuable precious stones, particularly diamonds. However, there is properly only one diamond mine in the *Mogul's* empire, and that is at the town of *Soumelpûr*, in *Bengâl*. The other diamond mines are in the hither peninsula of *Ganges*; and the mines of coloured stones chiefly in *Pegu*, a kingdom of the farther peninsula, and in the island of *Ceylon* ^d. Quarries of Theban stone are so plenty in some countries of the *Râjahs*, and elsewhere in the *Mogul's* empire, that *Thevenot* saw both mosks and pagods built intirely of stone ^e. Nor is *Hindûstân* destitute of lead, iron, or copper (C). Nay, it is said the country affords silver mines also ^f. But, if so, they need not be opened, since the bullion of all other nations is sunk in this empire; which will take nothing else in exchange for her commodities, and prohibits the exporting it again.

^b TERRY Voya. to E. India, p. 272, & seq. Folio edition.

^c Ibid. p. 361, & seq.

^d TAVERN. Trav. part ii. p. 139.

^e THEVENOT Voya. part iii. p. 146.

^f TERRY, ubi supr.

p. 370.

(C) So says *Terry*; but *Bernier* affirms, that *Hindûstân* produces no metals: yet *Thevenot* avers, there is an excellent iron

mine in the mountain *Nerouer*, five days journey from *Agra*. Trav. Ind. part iii. p. 39.

*Grain,
fruits.*

Agriculture.

THE soil being brittle, tho' fat, is very easily cultivated. They till it with oxen, and foot-ploughs; sowing their seed in *May*, and the beginning of *June*, that all may be over before the rains. Their harvest is in *November* and *December*; which are with them the most temperate months in the year. Their ground is no-where inclosed, excepting a little, near towns and villages; which lie scattered very thick over this empire. Nor do they mow their grafs to make hay; but cut it off the ground, either green or withered, as they have occasion to use it.

Grain.

WHEAT, rice, barley, and other grain proper for making bread, grow here in plenty, and are very good; the wheat especially is more white and full than the *English*.

Fruits.

THE country abounds no less with fruits. Besides pomegranates, citrons, dates, grapes, almonds, and cocoa-nuts, there are, among other plums, that called the mirabolan, of an excellent kind, and remarkable for its curious stone. Plantens, which grow in clusters, are long, like slender cucumbers; very yellow when ripe, and taste like a *Norwich* pear, but much better. The mango, another excellent fruit, in shape and colour like an apricot, but much larger. If rolled between the hands, when full ripe, the substance within the rind becomes like the pulp of a roasted apple, and is very delicious, being sucked out from the large stone which is left behind. But the best fruit of all in *Hindûstân* is the anana: it is like our pine-apples, and seems to the taste a pleasing compound of strawberries, claret, rose-water, and sugar. In the northern parts they have variety of pears and apples: limons and oranges are common here, but not so good as in other countries. Lastly, they have very good musk-melons, and water-melons; some as large as pompions, which they resemble in shape. The inner substance of this fruit is spungy; but exceeding tender, and well tasted. Its colour is a mixture of red and white; and in the middle is inclosed a liquor, which is extremely cooling and delicious^f. However, we are told by later authors, that those which are eaten at the *Great Mogol's* court are brought from *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*.

Woods and trees.

BESIDES the woods and groves, which adorn the country, you find trees scattered over it; but none of the kinds known in *England*. They afford abundance of timber, firm and strong, fit for building, and other uses. Some bear leaves as broad as bucklers; and those of others are small, and divided like the leaves of fern: of this kind is the tamarind-tree, whose fruit grows in a pod resembling that of beans. There is one very

^f TERRY, ubi supr. p. 353, & seqq.

remarkable

remarkable tree among the rest : for out of its branches there shoot downwards little sprigs ; which, taking root, in time become supporters to the branches which yielded them. So that the tree, by this means, grows at length to a very great height, and spreads so much in compass, that some hundreds of men may shade themselves under it, in any season ; as the trees in those southern parts of *India* keep their leaves all the year ^b. This is that which is called by *Europeans* the Banian, and war-tree. But, of all the trees of this part of *India*, the cotton and mulberry may be reckoned the chief, on account of the wealth they bring to the natives, arising from the manufacture of calicoes and silks. There are many other kinds of trees, which produce excellent fruits peculiar to the country. Trees and flowers.

THEY plant abundance of sugar-canes here, as well as tobacco ; both which are much used, and very cheap : but the latter, though good in itself, is not so rich and strong as that reared in *America*, for want of knowing how to cure and order it.

THE soil of *Hindûstân* affords plenty of roots known to us ; as carrots, potatoes, onions, and garlick ; besides some small roots and herbs for fallads. In the southern parts ginger grows almost every-where. These are all of a good kind : but their flowers are generally no better than painted weeds ; for, although their colours be beautiful to look at, they have no scent ; excepting roses, and some few other kinds ; among which there is a white flower, like the *Spanish* jasmîn, yielding a most fragrant smell. From this is extracted an excellent oil, wherewith they anoint the head, and other parts of the body ^h. Roots.

HINDUSTAN abounds with animals, both wild and tame : of the former kind are elephants, rhinoceros's, lions, tygers, leopards, wolves, jackals, and the like. These last seem to be wild dogs ; which in companies run about in the night, and disturb people with their hideous noise. They dig up and eat dead bodies (A). The rhinoceros is a large square beast, bigger than the *English* ox. The skin is extremely thick, and tough ; all wrinkled, and without hair. It has a strong, but short horn, with the point turned upward, just over the nose ; from whence it has its name (B). This beast is not common in the *Mogol's* empire : but elephants are very nume- Wild beasts.

^a TERRY, ubi sup. p. 363, & seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 360, & seqq.

(A) Some say they are purveyors to the lion, marching before, and directing him to his prey.

(B) In some this horn is very long, and those of *Africa* have another horn upon the forehead.

Wild
beasts.

Elephants.

roust¹. They are the largest of all creatures. Our author had seen some, which were twelve feet high; but was told there were others fourteen or fifteen in height. Their skin is black, thick, smooth, and without hair. Their eyes are full, but not proportionable to their bodies; their ears like those of oxen; their tails slender, and not very long. Their legs are like the trunks of small trees, cut off towards the roots; and the feet set round with thick short and broad toes. They are not without joints, as some have fabled: for the elephant can lie down and rise at pleasure. It walks slow; at most three miles an hour: is very sure-footed, and exceeding tractable, as well as sensible. Their trunk is a great length, hanging down between their tusks; and, being of a gristly substance, is endowed with so much strength, that the stroke of it will break the bones of a horse, or camel, and even kill him outright. With it the elephant can likewise pull up great trees by the roots; yet it is so pliable, that with it he can convey victuals to his mouth; and, at the command of his rider, who sits on his neck, take up dirt, dust, or kennel-water, and dash it in the face of any body^k.

Game in
common.

THERE is plenty of venison, or game of several kinds; as red deer, fallow deer, elks, antelopes, kid, hares, and such-like. All these are in common; for none are imparked, so that one sees them every-where on the road: but, as they may be any body's who will be at the pains to take them, they do not increase to damage the husbandman, or do other mischief.

Elks, An-
telopes.

The elks are very large, strong, and fierce creatures. The antelopes also differ somewhat from those of other countries. They have even more courage, and are to be distinguished by their horns, which are blackish, and one foot and a half long; whereas the horns of antelopes elsewhere are greyish, and not half that length. Those of the former grow winding to the point like a screw. The *Fakirs* and *Santons* commonly carry two of them joined together, and armed with iron at each end, which they make use of as a little staff^l.

Musk-cat.

AMONG the wild animals may be reckoned the musk-cat and monkey. The musk-cat is pretty common; particularly in the province of *Azmír*. It is snouted like a fox, and no bigger than a hare. It has teeth like a dog, and is of the colour of a stag. The musk is contained in a kind of bladder, or purse; under the belly. The woods and groves, especially in the southern parts of *Hindústán*, are full of apes, monkeys, and baboons; which live among the trees, and climb them at

¹ TERRY, ubi suprà p. 366, 371.

^k Ibid. p. 380, & seqq.

^l Ibid. p. 359. THEVENOT, part iii. p. 38.

pleasure.

pleasure. Our author had seen some of them taller than the largest *English* greyhounds ^{m.} Tame animals.

HINDUSTAN affords variety of beasts for carriage ; as camels, dromedaries, mules, asses, horses, oxen, and buffalos. The camels here have an odd quality ; for they cry and make a hideous noise at night when their burthens are taken off : but are very quiet when laid on. Beasts of carriage.

THE horses are very good, well-shaped, and high-mettled. Some are black ; but most of them white, and curiously dappled. Many are pied and spotted all over ; nor are there wanting some which are of other bright colours. The oxen are not very large, and have a great bunch of gristly flesh between their shoulders. Their flesh is very sweet and tender, besides much whiter than that of *English* breed ^{n.} As they are very tame, many people use them as they do horses to ride on ; though they commonly go but a slow pace. Instead of a bit, they put one or two small strings through the gristle of the nostrils, and, fastening the ends to a rope, use it instead of a bridle ; which is held up by the bunch he has on the fore part of his back. They saddle him as they do a horse ; and, if spurred a little, he will go as fast. These are generally made use of all over the *Indies* ; and with them only are drawn Oxen used for horses. waggons, coaches, and chariots. They are yoked at the end of the pole, by a long yoke laid on their necks, and the coachman governs them by the rope before-mentioned. These oxen are of different sizes ; but generally very hardy : so that some will travel fifteen leagues a day. There is one kind almost six feet high ; but they are very rare : and another, called dwarfs ; because not three feet in height : these have a bunch on their backs like the rest, go very fast, and serve to draw small waggons. For this sort of carriage white oxen are in most esteem ; but they are held at an extraordinary rate. In the province of *Azmîr*, or *Asmîr*, the roads being very stony, they shoe their oxen when they are to travel far ^{o.}

THE buffalo is very large and strong, having a smooth skin Buffalo. without hair ; which makes excellent buff. The female yields very good milk : but their flesh neither so palatable nor wholesome as beef. They are much employed to carry water, for the supply of families, in large skins, which hang on both sides of them. The *Hindûstân* sheep differ from the *English* in their great fleshy tails ; which are very weighty. Their flesh is very good, but their wool coarse ^{p.}

^m TERRY, p. 368. ⁿ TERRY, p. 359.
^o THEVENOT, part iii. p. 51. ^p TERRY,
 360, 365, 375. p. 359, & seq.

Reptiles and insects. *HINDUSTAN* is much infested with reptiles and insects; some of a noxious kind. Of the former are lizards, scorpions, snakes, and rats. The lizards are of a dark-green colour, and small; they often are seen in houses, but not hurtful, like the **Lizards.** other three kinds of animals. Scorpions are very common, and frequently creep into houses; especially in the rainy season. They are of the shape and size of crayfish; they also are black like them before they are boiled. They have a little round tail, which usually turns up, and lies on their back: at **Scorpions:** the end of it is the sting; which they do not draw in and let out of their bodies, like other venomous creatures; but always appears ready to strike. It is very sharp and hard; not long, but crooked like the talon of a hawk. Its sting is very painful, and mortal, if the patient has not some present remedy; such as oil of scorpions, to anoint the part affected; which is a sure and sudden cure. Or if the scorpion itself be taken and beaten to pieces, the oily substance which it affords is a present remedy¹. However, we are told, that the best medicine is the actual cautery. They take a burning coal, and hold it as long and as near the wound as they can. The venom keeps the patient from being incommoded by the fire, while the poison is perceived to work out of the orifice by degrees; and in a short time after he is perfectly healed².

Snakes. SNAKES and serpents are here sometimes used in executions. Our author gives an instance in a man who had killed his mother. The *Great Mogol* ordered two snakes to be set upon him: each twined about one of his thighs, and bit him in the groin. After they were taken away, he complained of a violent fire which ran through all his limbs: and his whole body began to swell exceedingly. He kept his feet about a quarter of an hour, then fell; and, near half an hour after, expired in grievous torture³.

Large Rats. THE rats here are very large, and so bold that they attacked some of Sir *Thomas Roe*, the *English* ambassador's retinue, in their beds at night; biting them by the fingers, toes, ears, and noses; or, in short, any part of their bodies, which they could get at.

Insects troublesome. THE most troublesome insects in this hot country are flies, musketos, and chinchies (or bugs). The first kind swarm so thick in the heat of the day, that they would fill their cups, and cover their meat, if it was not for servants; who, all the while they are eating, are employed to drive them off with

¹ TERRY, p. 371, & seq.
P. 452.

² THEVENOT, p. 51.

³ TER.

napkins. And as they are annoyed with the first by day, they are no less plagued in the night with the two other sorts of insects; the last of which offend as much with their stench, as their bite^a. *Fowl and birds.*

HINDUSTAN breeds plenty of peacocks, partridges, quails, geese, ducks, pullets, pigeons, doves, and variety of other good fowl. They do not cut their chickens; so that they have no capons there, except the human^x: the inhabitants being less tender-hearted to men, than other animals. The partridges are smaller than ours: among the hens there is a small sort, whose skin is perfectly black; but the flesh very white and delicious^y. The pigeons differ from ours only in colour; being all over green. These and parrots are taken in this manner. The fowler, marching behind a sort of shed, or screen, comes on the birds, who, seeing no man, never offer to fly away; and, without any difficulty, surprises them with a wand daubed with bird-lime. The *Indians* are no less dexterous at catching water-fowl; for, swimming after them, with a pot on their heads, covered with feathers, they pull those they come-up with under water by the feet; the rest, never suspecting the deceit, and imagining their companions have only dived, are all by degrees taken^z.

THERE are two kinds of bats in this country. One like those in *Europe*; the other of a singular make. It is eight inches long, and covered with yellowish hair: the body is round, and as big as that of a duck. It has the head and eyes of a cat, and a sharp snout like a great rat: the ears prick-up, are black, and without hair. The wings are almost two feet long, and seven or eight inches broad; joined to the body along the sides from the shoulder downward. They are of a black skin, resembling wet parchment. The four legs, or arms, seem to be glued within the wings; each as big as a cat's thigh, and towards the joint almost as thick as a man's arm. The two foremost, from the shoulder to the fingers, are nine or ten inches long; and each is fleshed into the wing, perpendicular to the body, being covered with hair, and terminating in five fingers; which form a kind of hand. These fingers, which are black and without hair, have the same joints with those of a man, and serve the animal to stretch out its wings, when it has a mind to fly. Each hind-leg, or arm, is but half a foot long; and, being fastened to the wing, parallel to the body, reaches to the lower part of the wing, out of which peeps a little hand, much like the human; only instead of


Extraordinary bats.

^a TERRY, p. 372.
part iii. p. 24.

^x Ibid. p. 359.

^y THEVENOT, ubi sup. p. 38.

^z BERNIER,

Provinces and cities.  nails it hath claws. The hinder-arms are black and hairy, like those before; but somewhat smaller. These bats have no tails; but under the wings appear two teats, each as big as the end of one's little finger. They stick to the branches of trees, with their claws; fly almost out of sight; and some, who had eaten of them, said they were good meat ^a.

Little birds. AMONG the birds, which frequent the woods, there is a species less than the wren; which are very beautiful, being neatly shaped, and covered with curious parti-coloured feathers, embellished with various little spots: nor do they delight the eye with their form more than the ear with variety of pleasing notes. Nature has instructed them to build their nests in the twigs at the extremity of the boughs of trees; where they hang like little purse-nets, out of the reach of the smallest monkeys ^b.

Fishes. LASTLY, with regard to fish: not to mention crocodiles, which infest many rivers, there is variety of what is very good; especially two sorts, resembling our pike and carp ^c. Both fish and flesh is very cheap all over *India*; which is owing in great measure to the *Hindûs* not eating animal food.

CH A P. II.

Provinces of Hindûstân.

Number of provinces. **A**LTHOUGH *Hindûstân*, or the empire of the *Great Mogol*, comprises many provinces; yet they are not so numerous as the earlier authors represented them. *Terry*, for instance, reckons up no fewer than thirty-seven: but *Thevenot* was assured by an *Indian*, who was acquainted with the geography of his country, that the empire contained no more than twenty, exclusive of *Viziapûr*, and *Golkonda*; and that they who have counted more have been misinformed, since of one province they must have made two or three ^a.

THIS remark is confirmed by a late writer; who has given two lists of the provinces from the *Mogol* historians, as they stood, one in the time of *Shâh Jehân* ^b, the other in that of *Aureng zib* ^c; as follows:

^a THEVENOT, p. 70.

^b TERRY, ubi supr. p. 363.

^c BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 25.

^a THEVENOT'S Trav. Ind.

part iii. c. 3. p. 5.

^b FRASER'S Hist. of Nadir Shah, p. 26.

^c Ibid. p. 34.

Provinces,

Provinces.	Chief Cities.	Provinces and cities. their names :
1. <i>Dehli.</i>	<i>Idem.</i>	
2. <i>Agra.</i>	<i>Idem.</i>	
3. <i>Ajmir.</i>	<i>Idem.</i>	
4. <i>Aileh abâd.</i>	<i>Idem.</i>	
5. <i>Panjâb.</i>	<i>Labûr.</i>	
6. <i>Audih [or Haud].</i>	<i>Idem.</i>	
7. <i>Multân.</i>	<i>Idem.</i>	
8. <i>Kabûl.</i>	<i>Idem.</i>	
9. <i>Kashmîr.</i>	<i>Shrinâgr.</i>	
10. <i>Guzerat.</i>	<i>Âhmed abâd.</i>	
11. <i>Babar [or Patna].</i>	<i>Pâtna.</i>	
12. <i>Send.</i>	<i>Tâtтар.</i>	
13. <i>Dawlat abâd.</i>	<i>Awrengabâd.</i>	
14. <i>Mâlwa.</i>	<i>Eujîn.</i>	
15. <i>Berâr.</i>	<i>[Shâpûr.</i>	
16. <i>Khândîsh.</i>	<i>Brampûr.</i>	
17. <i>Bedr.</i>	<i>Zâffer abâd.</i>	
18. <i>Bengâl.</i>	<i>Dakka.</i>	
19. <i>Odissea.</i>	<i>[Jakanat.</i>	
20. <i>Heyder abâd.</i>	<i>Heyder abâd.</i>	
21. <i>Vijapûr.</i>	<i>Vijapûr.</i>	

THIS list of cities differs from the other, not only in the order of placing the provinces, but in the number and names. In that of Shâh *Jehân*, the provinces of *Heyder abâd*, formerly known by the name of *Golkonda*, and *Vijapûr*, or *Viziapûr*, are wanting, as not having been conquered till the time of *Aureng zib*; and, in the list of this latter prince, those of *Balkh*, *Kandahâr*, *Buddakshânî*, and *Buglâna*, are wanting; the three first having been lost again, and the last perhaps joined to some other province, as to that of *Dawlat abâd*. On the other hand, the provinces, which in the above list are named *Panjâb*, *Send*, and *Bedr*, are, in the list of Shâh *Jehân*, called *Lakûr*, *Tâtta*, and *Tillingâna*. In like manner, as these lists differ from each other in the respects before-mentioned, so they do from that of *Thevenot*, and other authors. What is worse, some of the provinces in *Frazer's* lists having changed their names, or being called by names different from those given by other travellers, we are at a loss how to draw the parallel. Thus, altho' we know that *Heyder abâd* is *Golkonda*, *Bedr* is *Tellengâna*, or *Telenga*, and *Dawlet abâd*, *Balagât*, joined perhaps with *Buglâna*, yet we cannot tell what province in *Thevenot's* list is the same with *Alah abâd*. We are no less at a loss to determine what provinces, in *Frazer's* lists answer to those of *Varad*, or *Varal*, *Bekar*, and *Halabâs*, in the catalogue of *Thevenot*; and

Province the rather since *Frazer* has given only simple lists of the provinces, without any account of them (A). For this reason also
Guzerât. we are obliged, in our description of *Hindûstân*, to follow the division as found in other authors ; particularly *Thevenot*.

Guzerât
Province.

I. *GUZERAT*, formerly a kingdom, is a maritime province, and the most pleasant in all *Hindûstân* ; though none of the largest. It is rendered fertile by the *Nardaba*, *Tapti*, and other rivers. The fields look green all the year round, on account of the corn and rice which cover them, as well as the various kinds of trees, which continually bear fruit. The most considerable part of *Guzerât* lies upon the sea-coast ; on which stand the towns of *Surât*, *Baroch*, *Brodra*, *Kambaya*, and *Ahmed abâd* ; which last is the capital.

THIS province fell into the hands of the *Great Mogol Akber*, about the year 1565, on the following occasion. About the year 1545, or 1546, Soltân *Mahmûd*, king of *Guzerât*, being near his death, intrusted the tuition and regency of his only son Soltân *Modaffer* to a great lord of his court. This nobleman, to support himself against the other great men of the kingdom, who were his enemies, at length called in *Akbar*, under pretence of protecting his pupil, though already of age, against his rebellious subjects. *Akber*, having defeated the malecontents, instead of being satisfied with one city, and its district, which was promised him, seized the whole kingdom, and made both the king and governor prisoners. *Modaffer*, after this, made his escape, with design to recover his kingdom ; but, having been defeated and made prisoner a second time, he, in despair, slew himself *.

THE inhabitants of *Guzerât*, who are *Paragaus* for the most part, continue their old trade of thieving and pirating ; plundering all whom they can overcome both by sea and land : nor can the *Great Mogol*, whose subjects they are, restrain them : for their country is secure from the marches of armies into it, being so soft and muddy, occasioned by the many inlets of the sea, which overflows the low grounds, that in many places there is no travelling but by little boats.

Kuchnâg-
ghen.

THE first town next to *Sindi* is *Kuchnâgghen* ; which has some trade for cotton, corn, coarse cloath, and chonk ; a large kind of periwinkle-shell, which, in *Bengâl* and other parts of *India*, they saw into rings, or ornaments, to the arms of women.

* THEVEN. Trav. Ind. part iii. p. 6.

(A) All the provinces of this *Voy. to E. Ind.* sect. 2. p. 362.
 vast empire are full of towns fol. edit.
 and villages, according to *Terry*.

THE

THE province and town of *Kuchnâgghen* is governed by a *Province* queen, who is very formidable to the neighbouring states. They *Guzerât.* chose to be governed by the female sex ; because, in their judgment, they are more tractable and gentle than men, who, intoxicated with power and honour, become obstinate in their opinions, and insolent in their behaviour.

THE next province to *Kuchnâgghen* is *Sangânia*, governed *Sangania* also by a princess, for the same reason. It produces cotton and corn, like the rest of *Guzerât* ; but, living wholly by piracy, admits of no trade, for fear of being civilized by example. Their chief sea-port is called *Baët* ; and as they give protection to all criminals, such as commit offences deserving punishment repair thither, and become public robbers. Depending on their numbers, they board all the ships they can come at (B). Our author, Captain *Hamilton*, had several brushes with them. Before they engage, they drink *Bang* ; an intoxicating liquor, made of a seed like that of hemp ; which renders them quite furious. They wear long hair ; and, when they let it loose, it is a sign they will give no quarter ^b.

THEVENOT observes of those pirates, whom he calls *Zingânes*, that they keep with their barks on the bar of *Sindî* ; and, when they see a merchant-vessel, get to windward. Then drawing pretty near, before they lay her on board, throw in a great many pots full of lime, reduced to a very fine powder ; and, while the crew are blinded with the dust, leap into the bark, putting all to the sword : for they give no quarter till they are masters of the vessel. The only way therefore for the sailors and passengers to save themselves is to jump into the sea, and keep above water till the pirates are sure of their prize ; after which they shed no more blood, but spare all who remain alive. Yet death from them perhaps would be a greater favour than life : for, to prevent their prisoners from escaping, they cut the great tendon of their legs a little above the heel, which disables them even to walk ; and in that condition set them to keep their flocks. Our author adds, that the *Great Mogol* sends them presents every year, although

^b *HAMILTON's New Account of the E. Ind. c. 12. p. 131, & seqq.*

(B) Our author gives two or three instances of their attacking *English* ships. In 1717, they attacked the *Morning-star*, in her way from *Gomrûn* to *Surât*, with eight vessels ; one of five hundred tuns, three others of be-

tween two and three hundred tuns, the rest galleys, with above 2000 men on board ; but although the *English* ship had no more than seventeen fighting men, she disabled and got clear of them.

they

Province they are his subjects, to oblige them to forbear their piracies ;
Guzerât. but, although they accept of his bounty, they still continue
 their robberies ^c.

Jigat port. THE next port to *Baët* is *Jigat*, standing on a low point of land, called Cape *Jigat*. The city makes a good appearance from the sea; and is the seat of a Fouzdar, or governor, for the *Mogol*: but has no trade. Yet *Mangaroul*, the next maritime town, admits of commerce; chiefly for coarse callicoës and provisions. It is inhabited by *Banyaus*; so that deer, antelopes, and peacocks, are not afraid to enter into the very houses. *Poremain*, which follows on the shore, is a pretty, large town. Its trade and inhabitants are of the same kind with the former: but both places are obliged to maintain *Râspouts* (or *Râjipoûs*), who are natives of *Guzerât*, to protect them from the insults of the *Sangâniens*.

Diu, or *Div city.* *DIU* (C), which is the next port, and most southern land of *Guzerât*, is a small isle, three miles long, and two broad, belonging to the crown of *Portugal*. The city is pretty large, surrounded with a high stone wall, flanked with bastions, well furnished with cannon; and a deep moat cut in a hard rock, to defend it on the land-side; which is about one third part of the city. The other sides are fortified by the ocean, thick-set with dangerous rocks and high cliffs, which forbid any approaches that way; and a rapid, deep river, which affords a good harbour on the north-east side. The harbour is secured by two castles (D): one of them, which is large, can bring 100 great pieces of artillery to bear on its mouth, and obstruct the entrance of shipping. The other is but small, built on a rock in the middle of the river, and serves for a magazine of stores.

Situation and strength. *DIU* is one of the best built cities, as well as best fortified, both by nature and art, that our author ever saw in the *Indies*. It is situated on an ascent, beginning from the great castle; and as it hath five or six beautiful churches, which stand one above the other, facing the sea, the prospect from thence is extremely pleasant. The stately buildings of freestone and marble, which still remain, are evidences of its antient grandeur and opulence: but at present not above one fourth part of the city is inhabited. This fortress first baffled the power of the king of *Guzerât* (*Bâdr*); who, after granting them leave to build it, would

^c THEVENOT. Trav. Lev. part ii. p. 178.

(C) *Diu*, or rather *Dîw*, signifies an island in the *Malabâr* language. (D) *Thevenot* says it had three in his time.

have expelled them again, when he saw that it drew all the *Province* trade from his other ports: and then that of the *Turks*, in *Guzerk*. 1538; who brought a great fleet to dispossess them: but, about 1670, the *Arabs* of *Muskat*, with a fleet of *Trankis*, landed by night on the west end of the island; and, marching silently up to the town, at break of day, when the gates were opened, entered without resistance. The enemy slew all the *Portugueses*, who could not get quick enough into the castle; and for three days loaded their vessels with the rich plunder. They also mounted some cannon on one of the churches, and fired on the fort; but to little purpose. The governor could easily have made them remove farther off the castle, with his heavy artillery; but the priest forbade him, under pain of excommunication, to shoot a single bullet, for fear of hurting some holy image. However, that menace did not save the sacred trumpery; for the *Arabs* not only took away all the consecrated plate and cash, but did not leave a gold or silver image behind them: as for those of wood and stone they broke them to pieces. These latter indeed were soon repaired again; but our author found none there of either of those metals ^d.

At length, the *Arabs* growing secure and negligent, about 4000 soldiers and slaves, on promise of freedom, made a sally, with such success, that they killed 1000 of the enemy, and drove the rest out of the city; which still feels the dismal effects of that surprise. At present there are not above 200 *Portugueses* in both the town and castle. The rest of its inhabitants are *Banyans*, to the number of about 40,000: but few of them are rich; because it is unsafe for monied strangers to dwell among the *Portugueses*, who, for all their losses in *India*, still retain their pride and insolence. The king of *Portugal* receives about 12,000 pounds yearly by poll-tax, and 6000 by the customs and land-tax: but was *Diu* in the hands of some industrious nation, it would be the best mart-town on the coast of *India*, on account of the neighbourhood of the *Indians*, both by the bay of *Sindi* and that of *Kembaya*.

ALL the country between *Diu* and *Dand-point*, which is about thirty leagues, admits of no traffick, being inhabited by free-booters, called *Warrels*; who often associate with the *Sangâhians*, in their piracies and depredations. As soon as they get on board their prizes, they throw in showers of stones on the decks, in order to sink the crew, if they do not yield. They likewise cast in pots full of unquenched lime, well sifted; which breaking, there arises such a dust, that the defendants can scarce either breathe or see. At the same time they fling

^d HAMILTON, ubi sup. ch. 2. p. 335, & seqq.

Province into the ship lighted wicks of cotton, dipped in a certain oil;
Guzerât. which burns fiercely, and sets fire to the parts which it lights upon.

Coast dangerous. THESE *Warrels* dwell in small villages. The best of which, called *Chance*, stands about sixty miles to the east of *Diu*, three miles within the mouth of a river; which has a small island lying athwart it, two miles from the sea, furnished with good springs of fresh water, but no inhabitants. In 1716, the *English* went to burn that village, and their pirating vessels; but were unsuccessful in the attempt. Though people occupy all the coast from *Dand-point* to *Goga*, which lies about twelve leagues within the gulf of *Kambaya* and the coast between; those limits are very dangerous, being not only thick-set with rocks and sand-banks, but a rapid tide of six or eight miles an hour runs among them, in a chanel twenty fathom deep in some places; which causes anchoring to be dangerous also.

Goga. *GOGA* is a pretty large town, and has had some mud-wall fortifications; which still defend them from the insults of their neighbours the *Kowlis*; who inhabit the north-east side of *Guzerât*, and are as great thieves by land, as the former are by sea. Nor is there any getting at them to chastise them; for there are so many rivulets in their country (made by the sea and certain rivers), whose bottoms are soft and muddy, that neither men nor horses can penetrate into it. Besides, their towns are inclosed with such thick hedges of green *bambûs*, which are not quickly burned; and the people so numerous, as well as valiant, that it would be a hard task to civilise them.

GOGA has some trade, and admits strangers to a free commerce. Its harbour is capable of receiving the largest ships, although they lie dry on soft mud at low-water; but the tides, rising four or five fathoms perpendicular, afford water enough at high-water. The place is governed by an officer from the *Mogol*, with about 200 men under his command; who are kept there to guard it.

Kam-baya city. *KAMBAYA*, or, as the natives call it, *Kambarwt*, lies about twelve leagues from *Goga*, at the bottom of the gulf, or bay, of *Kambaya*, on a small river, made, as our author supposes, by the overflowings of the *Indus* (and from thence reckons it a branch of that great river). It is a large city, with high walls; and the capital of a kingdom, which bore the same name, when the *Great Mogol Akber* sent his son *Jehân Ghîr* with a great army, who conquered it*. This city lies about fifteen or sixteen leagues from *Ahmed abad*, and is as big again

* HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 140, & seqq.

as *Surât*; but not near so populous. The walls are of brick, defended by towers. The streets are large, with gates at the end; and the houses high. The castle is large, but not handsome: the town swarms with monkeys, who throw at passers from the house-tops. The tides are so swift in the north part of this gulf, that a horse at full speed cannot keep pace with the first waves. This, and the sea falling off from the city (E) a mile and a half, has much diminished the trade of the place^f.

KAMBAYA is still a place of good trade, though not half *its trade* inhabited; and contributes greatly to the wealth and grandeur of *Surât*, to which it is subordinate: and its vicinity to *Ahmed abâd* makes it share the advantages of that large city; for most of what it exports comes to *Kambaya*, and is carried by the *Surât* shipping all over *India*; except what is transported to *Europe*.

THE product and manufactures of this place are scarce inferior to any in the *Indies*. It abounds with grain and cattle, cotton and silk. The cornelian and agate-stones are found in its rivers, and no-where else in the world. Of the first the make rings, and stones for seals. They cut the agate into bowls, spoons, handles for swords and knives, snuff-boxes, buttons, and other curiosities. Our author has seen cabinets fourteen or fifteen inches long, and eight or nine deep, of one intire stone, excepting the lid, valued at thirty or forty pounds *English*. The people of *Kambaya* embroider the best of any in the *Indies*, and perhaps in the world: but they are much infested by their neighbours the *Patâns*, as well as the *Râspûts* and *Koukts*; who have sometimes surprised and plundered the city. In 1716, they put a stop to trade; and, by their ambuscade, cut off 10,000 out of 20,000 men, sent against them by the governor of *Surât*^g.

THE next maritime city to *Kambaya* is *Baroch*; it stands on the east shore of the bay, on the side and at the foot of a high and steep hill, looking southward to the river *Nerdâba*. It is long and square, encompassed with stone-walls, eighteen feet high, flanked with round towers. The fortress stands

^f THEVENOT, part iii. p. 12. seqq.

^g HAMILTON, p. 144, &

(E) *Baldeus*, p. 1. says the *Indus* falls into the gulf of *Kambaya*; and *Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 131, that the *Indus* reaches *Guzerât*, an island, by a branch,

which runs into the sea at the city of *Kambaya*: yet *Thevenot*, and other travellers, place no river there at all.

Province well, but is neglected : here the *Basta's* are made^b. These
Guzerât. are famous all over *India*, the cotton of this country being the
 best in world. It depends on *Surât*, and was formerly a place
 of great trade; but it suffered much in the wars, which,
 about 1660, *Aureng zâb* had with his brothers. For, having
 held out obstinately against the forces of that prince, who lost
 many men for want of water and provisions, he put to the
 sword all found in arms; and razed part of the walls, pro-
 nouncing a curse on him who should repair them : yet *Sevaji's*
 incursions obliged him to order them to be rebuilt; and he
 called it *Sûk abâd*, or *the dry city*, although it still retains the
 old name. The *English* and *Dutch* had formerly factories
 here, but of late have withdrawn them.

Surât city. *SURAT*, or *Surrât*, is twenty Kos (or leagues) from *Baroch*, situate on the banks of the river *Tâpti*, or *Tâpta*; and the present city is not much above ninety years standing : for, about 1660, the *Tâpti* being incommoded with sand-banks at *Ran-ner*, the then mart-town on this river, the *English* removed two miles farther down, on the opposite side, near a castle; which had been built many years before, to secure the trade from the insults of the *Malabâr* pirates. Soon after, others following their example, within a few years the place became a large town; but without walls : and so continued till the *Rajah Sevaji* (in 1664) came and plundered all but the *European* factories; which stood on their guard. After this, at the request of the inhabitants, *Aureng zâb* inclosed with walls a space of ground, about four miles in compass, to build their city in; but, the number of people increasing with the trade, several large suburbs were added for the convenience of mechanics. The wall was built of brick, about eight yards (F) high; with round bastions, 200 paces asunder, each mounted with five or six cannon¹.

Inhabit- *SURAT* is very populous at all times; and from *December*
ants : to *April* so full of people, that both in the city and suburbs lodging can scarcely be had. It is inhabited by *Mohammedans*, *Hindûs*, and *Parsis*. There are very rich people here. The *English* have settled here the greatest staple of their trade : the *Dutch* also have a factory in the place. The castle stands on the river to the south of the town, is square, and pretty large, with a wet ditch. The houses are flat, and pretty well built of brick : the streets large, and even; but there is no

^b THEVENOT, p. 6, & seqq.

¹ HAMILTON, p. 146, & seqq.

(F) *Thevenot* says, only nine feet high; but as many thick.

considerable public building within the walls. Provisions ^{Province} here of all sorts are plenty ^{Guzerât.}

THIS city flourished in trade till the year 1686, when the *English* company disturbed its tranquility, by an unjust war ^{its trade:} which they made on *Surât*; and which ended in three years, neither to their profit nor honour. In 1695, its trade was molested, by Captain *Avery* taking one of the *Great Mogol's* ships, with a booty of 325,000 l. and a young *Mohammedan* lady, on her return from *Mekka*; whom he kept: and since then the city has felt many convulsions in its commerce. In 1705, the neighbouring Rajah's, with an united force of 80,000 horse, plundered all the villages in the plain country, and then besieged *Surât*; but, having no artillery, they could do it no great harm; and, the river being open, they had every thing they wanted from *Guzerât*. These free-booters are composed of *Warrels*, *Koultis*, *Râspâts*, *Pâtanners* (or *Pâtans*), and *Grassias*; but go under the general name of *Gannims*. ^{Gannims} The *Grassias* were formerly the landed men of this country; who, on their submission to *Akber*, articted to have the ground-rents paid them: but, as the Nabâbs often defraud them, they levy it themselves in the manner above-mentioned. While this rabble army lay before the place, the inhabitants built sconces about half a mile without the wall, and afterwards joined them by curtains: so that this new wall, which incloses the suburbs, extends about five miles from the bank of the river above the town, to that part which terminates below the town; and all the inclosure is well peopled.

THE inhabitants of *Surât* are computed to be 200,000; ^{Rich men} and among them are many very rich men, as well *Mohammedans* as *Hindûs*. Our author was acquainted with one of the former, named *Abdol Gafour*, who drove a trade equal to the whole *English East India* company. His only son dying, he left his estate to two grandsons: but the court had a sling at them, and got above a million sterling out of their fortune. The commerce of this city is very considerable; for the revenue, arising from the customs, land-rents, and poll-money, amount, one year with another, to 162,500 pounds ^{chant.}

THE port of *Surât* is *Swalli*; two leagues north of the bar, ^{The port.} or entrance of the *Tâpti*. It is distant from the city four leagues and a half: and to go to it by land, you cross the river at the town. There is good anchoring here; but, because the customs have been often stolen, no ships have been suffered to put in there since the year 1660; excepting those of the *English* and *Dutch*, who have their magazines in the place. Since ^{The bar.}

* TUEVE. p. 15, & seq. — HAMILT. p. 44-147, & seqq.

Province
Guzerât.

that time, the vessels of all other nations come to an anchor at the bar of *Surât*, which is only a road, and that an incommo-
dious one, by reason of the sand-banks; there not being wa-
ter enough to carry vessels, though unloaded, over the bar,
till the spring-tides: but small barks may get-up to the city
at any time ^m.

THERE are in *Guzerât* about thirty-five cities, or consider-
able towns; among which may be reckoned several of the
ports already mentioned; and all the rest are near the sea:
but we shall only speak of two inland places. The first is
Brodra; which lies between *Baroch* and *Kambaya*. It is a
large modern city, with pretty good walls, and has above 200
towns and villages within its district; where store of lakka, or
gum-lak, is found ⁿ. The second place is,

Ahmed
abâd:

AHMED ABAD, or *Ahmed's City*, so called from a king
of that name, was before denominated *Guzerât*. *Shâh Jebân*
nicknamed it *Gherd-abâd*, or the *Habitation of Dust*; because
it was much incommo-
dified therewith. It was the seat of the
Guzerât kings, as it is now of the *Mogol* governor. The city
stands in a lovely plain, and is watered by the little river *Sa-
bremetti*; which, though not deep, in time of rains overflows
the plains prodigiously. The walls are built with stone and
brick, flanked at certain distances with great round towers and
battlements. It has twelve gates; and, including the suburbs,
is about four miles and a half in length. It is distant from
Surât eighty-six Kos; which make about forty-three *French*
leagues. The streets are wide. The *Meydân Shâh*, or *King's*
Square, is 700 paces long, and 400 broad, planted round with
trees. On the west side is the castle, well walled with free-
stone, and as spacious as a little city; but not very fair with-
in: the *Karawanferay* is on the south of the square, and its
chief ornament. Near the *Meydân* also is the king's palace;
whose apartments are richly ornamented: and in the midst of
the city the *English* factory. The place from an eminence ap-
pears like a wood, it is so full of gardens, stored with trees;
among which, without the town, is the king's, very large,
and full of agreeable walks. The *Hindûs* have here an hos-
pital for sick birds, and another for sick beasts ^o. A late au-
thor says, that for magnitude and wealth this city is little
inferior to the best in *Europe*; and that the revenue which it
yields, is generally reckoned to be ten times as much as that
of *Surât* ^p.

fair and
rich.

^m THEVENOT, p. 26, & seqq.
p. 8, & seqq.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 31.

^o Ibid.

^p HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 144, 149.

THE province of *Agra* is one of the largest in all *Hindūstān*; and its capital, of the same name, the greatest city in the whole empire; distant from *Surāt* about 210 leagues. It stands on the river *Jemna*, or *Jemini*, as some call it (named also *Chun*); which, rising in the mountains north of *Dehli*, becomes a very considerable river at *Agra*, and falls into the *Ganges* at *Hala-bās*. It was no more than a country-town, with a little castle of earth, when the *Great Mogol Akber*, pleased with the situation, enlarged it, and made it the seat of his empire, in 1566, calling it *Akber abād*, or *Akber's City*. The present castle, built by him in place of the former, is the biggest in all the *Indies*. The walls are of stone and brick, terrassed in several places, and twenty cubits high. Between it and the river is a large space, left for drawing up troops, and other diversions, in the emperor's view. The palace is in the castle; containing three courts, set round with porticos and galleries, all painted and gilt; nay some pieces are plated over with gold. Under the galleries of the first court are the lodgings for the *Imperial* guards: those for the officers are in the second court: and the third contains the stately apartments of the emperor and his ladies.

Provinces:
Agra.
Province
of Agra.

THIS palace is accompanied with twenty-five or thirty other very large ones, all in a line; belonging to the princes and great lords of the court. On the same line are several lesser palaces, and other buildings; for all are desirous to enjoy the lovely prospect and convenience of the *Jemna*: which is the reason that the city is very long but not broad; and, excepting a few fair streets, all the rest are very narrow and without symmetry. Before the king's palace (of which more will be said hereafter), there is a very large square; besides which there are twelve others in the city. But the chief ornament, next the palaces, is the *karawanfarays*, above sixty in number; some of which have six large courts, with their porticos. There are at *Agra* above 800 public baths, and a great number of mosks, with very magnificent sepulchres. Among the latter is that of *Akber*; but especially another, erected by *Shāh Jehān*, in honour of his beloved queen *Taje Māhl* (otherwise called *Nūr Māhl*), are extremely beautiful; and shew, that the *Indians* are not ignorant in architecture, although theirs differs much from the *European*.

Other
palaces:
Fair man-
sion.

AFTER all, *Agra* is very inconvenient for the heats in summer-time. It is extremely crowded when the court is there; but at other times not over-populous: besides, the greater part being taken up by the palaces and gardens, it cannot contain so many inhabitants as some have reported. The generality of houses are low, and those of the inferior sort of people made only

Provinces. of straw. The *Dutch* have a factory there, but the *English* are
Dehli. withdrawn ⁹.

Fetipūr. THE province of *Agra* hath above forty cities, or large towns, dependant on it; and, as they say, above 340 villages. Among the cities is *Fetipūr*, before called *Sikari*, about six leagues from *Agra*. *Akber*, having at the beginning of his reign rebuilt the walls, made it the seat of his empire. It was then a lovely palace; but, removing afterwards to *Agra*, it was quite abandoned, and is now much decayed: yet there is still a large square to be seen, adorned with fair buildings. The stately entrance of *Akber's* palace is still intire; and has adjoining to it one of the loveliest mosks in all the east, with a great reservatory near it; which supplied the whole city with water. *Biāna* and *Skānder abād* are famous for indigo. This latter was formerly several leagues in length, having been the capital of a powerful *Patan* king; and in its neighbourhood are the ruins of ancient palaces and other buildings ^r.

Dehli
province. THE province of *Dehli* lies to the north of *Agra*. The road betwixt the two capitals, and which reaches as far as *Labār*, is that famous alley, or walk, 150 leagues in length, which *Jehān Ghīr* planted with trees. Each half-league is marked with a kind of turret, and at every stage there are little farays, or karawānsarays, for lodging travellers. At that called *Sheki Saray*, six leagues from *Agra*, there is an antient pagod, one of the largest and fairest in the *Indies*; greatly frequented, before the *Jemna*, on which it stood, retired about half a league from it. The road, though tolerable, has many inconveniences: it is not only frequented by wild beasts, but by robbers, so dexterous at casting a noose about a man's neck, that they never fail, if within reach, to seize and strangle him. They gain their point likewise by means of handsome women; who, feigning great distress, and being taken up behind the unwary traveller, choak him with the snare ^r.

City of
Dehli. THE capital *Dehli* consists of three cities, built near one another. The first, now quite destroyed, is said, by the learned *Indians*, to have been the residence of king *Porus*, invaded by *Alexander*: they report also, that it had fifty-two gates. The second city is that which was taken by *Humayūn*. It was then beautified with several stately sepulchres of the *Patan* kings, and other monuments: but Shah *Jehān* demolished it to build *Jehān abād*; which makes the third city, and joins the ruins of the second. It stands in an open plain country, on the side of the *Jemna*; which rises in this province. The fortress, which

Fortress.

⁹ THEVENOT, p. 23. & seqq.

^r Ibid. p. 40.

^r Ibid. p. 39. & seq.

is a mile and half in circuit, has good walls, with round towers, and ditches full of water, faced with stone. This citadel is surrounded with lovely gardens; and in it is the emperor's palace; of which more when we come to speak of the *Great Mogol's* court.

Provinces.
Azmîr.

DEHLI, or *Jehân abâd*, is encompassed with walls, excepting towards the river. They are of brick, flanked with round towers; but without a ditch, and terraced, behind four or five feet thick. The circuit of the walls may be about nine miles; but if you take into the city a very long suburb, thro' which the way lies to *Lahôr*, with what remains inhabited of old *Dehli*, which is likewise a very large suburb, besides three or four other small ones, the whole would make in a line about a league and half.

THE province of *Azmîr* (or *Ajmîr*), lies south-west of *Azmîr Dehli*, east of *Sindi*, west of *Agra*, south of *Multân* and *Penjab*, and north of *Guzerât*. It hath been divided into three provinces, of *Bando*, *Jeselmîr*, and *Soret*. The capital bears the same name with the province, and is about sixty-two leagues from *Agra*.

THE city *Azmîr* stands at the foot of a very high, and almost inaccessible mountain, which has at the top an exceeding strong castle; to ascend to it, one must go winding about for above a league. The city has stone-walls, and a good ditch. *Azmîr* is pretty large; but when the *Great Mogol* comes here, there is no stirring in it. The place is famous for the tomb of *Khoja Mondî*, a *Mohammedân* saint; to which they resort from all parts in pilgrimage. Great quantities of salt-petre are made in this city, whose chief trade consists in it.

City of
Azmîr.

THE province of *Sind*, or *Sindi*, by some called *Tâtta*, has *Azmîr* on the east; *Multân* to the north; a desert and the *Indian* sea to the south; and to the west *Makrân*, and *Sejessân* in *Persia*. It extends from north to south, on both sides of the *Indus*, called by the orientals *Sindi*, or *Sind*; from whence the province takes its name.

Sind, or
Sindi.

THE chief city is called *Tâtta*, and the most southern town *Diul*, or *Diul-sind*, and heretofore *Dobil*. Some orientals name the country of *Sind* the kingdom of *Diul*. It is a province of great traffick, especially at *Tâtta*, where the *Indian* merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the inhabitants; who are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of arts. The *Indus*, towards the *Tâtta*, forms a great many little islands; which, being very fruitful and pleasant, render it one of the most com-

City of
Tâtta.

¹ THEVENOT, p. 41, & seq.
Emp. part.iii. p. 5, & seq.

² BERNIER, Mem. Mog.
^{*} THEVENOT, p. 48, 54.

Provinces. modious cities of *Hindūstān*, notwithstanding it is exceeding Azmir. hot there. A great trade is likewise carried on at *Lowri Bānder*, three days journey from *Tātta*, upon the sea-coast; where there is a better road for ships than in any other part of the *Indies* ⁷.

Lowri, its port. A LATE traveller, who calls this port *Larri Bundar*, says it stands five or six leagues from the sea, on a branch of the *Indus*, capable to receive ships of 200 tons. This mart is no more than a village of 100 houses, built with crooked sticks and mud: but has a large stone fort, mounted with four cannon, to protect the merchandize, brought thither from the *Ballowchis* and *Makhrāns* of *Persia*, on the west; and the *Jāms* of *Hindūstān* to the east; who often rob the *kasfilas*, which pass between this port and *Tātta*, although escorted by one or two hundred horse; the country being almost level, and overgrown with shrubs and bushes, fit to cover their ambuscades.

Tatta ci-adel. *TATTA* is the emporium of the province, a very large and rich city: it is about three miles long, one and a half broad, and about forty miles from *Larri Bānder*. It has a large citadel at its west end, capable of lodging fifty thousand men and horses, with convenient stabling, and a palace for the Nabāb, or viceroy. The city stands about two miles from the *Indus*, whence canals are cut to convey water to it. In 1699, no rain having fallen for three years, a plague ensued; which, in the town only, carried off above 80,000 manufacturers in silk and cotton ⁸.

Famous for learning. *TATTA* is famous for learning in theology, philology, and politics; there being above 400 colleges in the city for training up youth in those studies. A *Seys*, who was a professor in theology, told our author, that their histories mentioned *Alexander* and *Porus*, by the names of *Shāh Hasānder* (G) and *Prorus*. He added, that *Hasānder*, being a great magician, summoned above a million of wild geese, which swam his army over the *Indus*; and that the elephants of *Prorus* would never turn their heads towards the place where *Hasānder* was. The *Portugueses* had formerly a church at the east end of the town. The house is still standing; and in the vestry there remain some pictures of saints, and holy vestments; which they offered to our author. They have plenty of black cattle, large

⁷ THEVENOT, p. 52, & seq.

⁸ HAMILT. p. 115, & seqq.

(G) In other parts, as *Tanjaor*, *vans*, or *Greeks*. See *Lett. Edif.* tom. xxvi. p. 230.
He is known by the name of *Jamāna Rajāb*, the king of the *Jas*

and good ; horses small, but hardy and swift. They hunt *Provinces.* with dogs, leopards, and a fierce creature, called a *Shúgús.* *Azmír.* It is as big as a fox, with ears like a hare, and the face of a cat. Being shewed the game, deer or antelopes, it springs *Cattle and game.* after them, leaps on their shoulders, and scratches their eyes out ^a.

THEY have but few coaches at *Táta* ; because the *Euro-Indian* *peans*, who only use them, seldom go thither : but they have *chariots.* chariots, which are exceeding neat, and convenient enough for travelling. They are flat and even at the bottom, having a border four inches broad, with pillars all round, commonly eight ; that is, one at each corner, and one on each side. Leather thongs are interwoven from pillar to pillar, to keep one from falling. Some, who will go to the charge, have ivory ballusters instead of pillars. The bottom is covered with a neat carpet, on which the party, who is carried through the town, sits after the eastern manner. Some cover it above with a slight canopy, to keep off the sun, when they go into the country. This machine hath no more than two wheels, no larger than the fore-wheels of our coaches. They do not advance beyond the sides of the chariot, have eight square spokes, and many times are not hooped with iron. Hackney-coaches to travel in are hired for twenty-five pence, or half a crown, *per day* : but are not so easy as our coaches, because not hung. The wheels of waggons, or carts for carrying goods, are made of one solid piece of timber : they are drawn by eight or ten oxen.

THE finest palankins in all the *Indies* are made at *Táta.* *Palankins.* It is a kind of coach with four feet, having on each side ballusters four or five inches high, and at each end a back-stay, like a child's cradle. This machine hangs on a *bambú* pole, five or six inches thick, arched in the middle, by means of two wooden frames nailed to the feet at each end, with rings at top, for fastening it to the pole by ropes. The whole is covered with a piece of callico, or red serge, if a woman be in it ; but velvet if, a lady : if it threatens rain, a waxed cloth is the covering. In the bottom are laid mats and cushions, to lie or sit on : some have their palankins covered with plates of silver, others only painted with flowers, or set round with gilt balls. They are commonly very dear. The *bambú* alone costs sometimes 100 crowns : but porters, of whom there are required two at each end, may be had for nine or ten shillings a month ; out of which they maintain themselves ^b.

^a HAMILT. p. 125, 128.^b THEVENOT, p. 53, & seq.

Provinces. THE *Indus* at *Tâtta* is about a mile broad, and measured
Multân. six fathom deep from side to side. The stream is not very rapid, its motion not exceeding two miles and a half in an hour. It produces many kinds of fish, and among them the best carp the author ever tasted. The country is made fruitful by the overflowing of the *Indus*, in *April, May, and June*. It is navigable as high as *Kashmîr*, for their vessels, called *kastis*, which are of several sizes; the largest containing about 200 tons. They are flat-bottomed, with cabbins on each side, from stem to stern, which hang over about two feet, each furnished with a kitchen, and place of exöneration. These are for passengers; and the hold is made into separate apartments for traders. Our author never saw better conveniencies for going by water, in all his travels. They have one mast, and a square sail: but hawl the ship up the stream when the wind is against them. So that they are six or seven weeks in a voyage from *Tâtta* to *Lahûr*; although they return in eighteen days, and sometimes in twelve. It would be difficult to find the mouth of the *Sindî*, were it not for the tomb of a *Mohammedan* saint, with a high tower over it, called *Sindî Tower*, and always kept white, to serve for a land-mark. The bar, going into the river, is narrow, and has not above two fathom and a half on spring-tides: but this is only a small branch of the *Indus*; which appellation is lost in this country, where it is called *Divellî*, or *Seven Mouths*: although it discharges its waters into the sea by many more.

Multân province, THE province of *Multân*, which includes that of *Bukor*, has to the south *Sind*, to the north *Kâbul*, with *Persia* to the west, and *Lahûr* to the east. It is watered by many rivers, which makes it fertile.

and city. THE city of *Multân*, which is by some ascribed to *Sind*, is but small for a capital; yet it is pretty well fortified, and of great importance as a frontier, since *Kandahâr* is in the hands of the *Persians*. It has many good cities under its jurisdiction, as *Kozdâr*, or *Kordâr*, *Kandavil*, *Sandur*, and others. *Multân* furnishes the best bows, and nimblest dancers, in all *Hindûstân*. Being not far from the *Indus*, it had formerly a very good trade: but as at present vessels cannot ascend so high up, because the river is spoiled in some places, and the mouth full of shelves, the traffick is much diminished. However the province yields abundance of cotton, sugar, opium, galls, brimstone, and camels. *Multân* is the chief resort of the *Baniyâns*, for sake of trading into *Persia*, by *Gâzna* and *Kandahâr*. They are very jealous of their wives, who are fairer than the men, yet

† HAMILT. p. 125, & seqq.

still

Still of a very brown complexion, and given to paint. This city is properly the country of the *Kâtri* (or *Kutteri*); who, from thence, disperse themselves all over the *Indies*. These two sects (or casts), have a famous pagod here, to which pilgrimages are performed. The idol worshipped there, is clothed in red leather, has a black face, and two pearls in place of eyes: but the *Mohammedan* governor takes the offerings, which are made to it^d.

Provinces.
Kâbul-
estân.

THE province of *Kâbul*, or *Kâbulestân*, is separated on the north from *Tartary* by *Kâf Dâghi* (that is, *Mount Caucasus*); *estân*. *Kashmîr* lies to the east, *Zâbulestân* and *Kandahâr* to the west, and *Multân* to the south. The country, though watered by two of the rivers which fall into the *Indus*, yet, being very cold and mountainous, is not very fruitful: for all this, it is very rich, on account of its great trade with the rest of *India*, *Persia*, and the country of the *Uzbeks*; who alone sell there yearly above 60,000 horses. It is situated so conveniently for traffick, that nothing is wanting there, and all things are very cheap.

THE city of *Kâbul* is very large, and has two strong castles, with a great many palaces; as kings have resided there, and princes successively have had it for their portion.

City of
Kâbul:

THIS province is full of aromatic trees and drugs, which are very profitable; and yields iron, which is fit for all uses. Mirabolans grow in the mountains, whence that fruit is called *kâbuli* by the orientals; and from hence especially come the canes, of which they make halberts and lances. *Kâbulestân* is full of small cities, towns, and villages. As most of the inhabitants are heathens, there are a great many pagods there. At the full moon in *February* they celebrate the feast of *Hâlî*, which lasts two days, in honour of *Krusbman* (or *Krîshna*) slaying a giant. This country supplies the *Indies* with physicians; who are all *Banjâns* (or *Baniyâns*), and some of them very skilful^e.

THE province of *Kashmîr*, or *Kîshmîr*, is bounded on the west by *Kâbulestân*, on the east by part of *Tibet*, on the south by *Lahûr*, and on the north by *Tartary* (G). It is surrounded intirely by mountains, of very difficult ascent, and crossed (only in two or three places) by very narrow passages. It is one of those countries called *Turk Hind*, that

its site:

^d THEVENOT, p. 55, & seqq.

^e Ibid. p. 57, & seq.

(G) *Shartôddîn Ali*, in his life of *Timûr Bek*, l. iv. p. 95. says *Kashmîr* is of an oval figure; that it has on the north *Badak-
shân* (in *Great Bukhâria*) and *Khorassân*; with the hords of the *Ougâni* (*Augân*, or *Afgâns*), on the west.

Provinces. is, the *India* of the *Turks*, or the *Turkey* of *India*; as having
Kashmir. formerly belonged to the kings of *Turkestan*.

extent:

KASHMIR is a very fair champain, diversified by little hillocks, about thirty leagues in length, and ten or twelve in breadth (H). Their histories say, that it was once a great lake, till a holy man let out the waters, by a miraculous gap which he made in the mountain of *Baramoule*. The mountains which inclose this little kingdom consist of two ranges, the higher and the lower. The latter, which are next to the plain, are of a middle height, all green with trees or pasture; stored with all sorts of cattle and game, without any wild beasts. Above these mountains rise others, exceeding high, and always covered with snow.

*springs
and
rivers.*

OUT of all these mountains issue innumerable springs and rivulets; which, at last, meeting, make a very fair river, as large as the *Sein*: and this river, having gently made the circuit of the country, and passed through the capital city, goes out of *Kashmir* at *Baramoule*, between two steep rocks. After this, it receives many small rivers, from the mountains, and falls into the *Indus* towards *Atok*. The country, being so plentifully watered, looks like a great ever-green garden, intermixed with towns and villages. They have here all sorts of *European* fruit-trees, with many of their plants and flowers, besides those of the country.

*The capital
Sire-
nâker.*

THE capital, which bears the same name (I) (and is by some called *Sirenâker*), is, without walls, two miles and a quarter long, to a mile and half broad; about two leagues from the mountains, and standing on a lake of sweet water, four or five miles in compass. It is made by the rivulets from the mountains, and falls, by a navigable canal, into the river, which passes through the city, where it is crossed by two wooden bridges. The houses are of wood, well built, and two or three stories high, with gardens. The lake is full of little isles, adorned with trees and shady walks. Beyond the

* BERNIER, ubi sup. part iv. p. 83, & seqq.

(H) The flat country in the middle is twenty leagues in breadth, from mountain to mountain. In the whole province there are 10,000 flourishing villages, full of fountains and green plains: but, according to the common opinion, there are no fewer than 100,000 in the plains and mountains.

Tim. Bek, l. iv. p. 95, & seq.

(I) In the time of *Timur Bek*, called *Nâgaz*, where the prince and his court resided. The river, though very rapid, comes from a single fountain. It had over it more than thirty bridges of boats, seven of them in the city. *Tim. Bek*, l. iv. p. 96.

lake,

lake, on the side of the hills, there is nothing but houses and gardens of pleasure, which make a charming prospect. Provinces-
Kashmir.

The finest of all those gardens is that of the king, called *Shâh-limar*. From the lake one enters it by a great canal, which is above 500 paces long, and runs, between two alleys of poplars, to a great cabinet in the middle of the garden; where begins another more magnificent canal, which runs to the end of the garden to another cabinet, with a row of water-spouts in the middle, at every fifteen feet. These cabinets, which are made like domes, in the midst of the canal, have each a gallery round it, and four gates; two facing the poplar alleys, with bridges to pass over to them; the two others look towards the canals. Each cabinet consists of a great chamber in the middle, and four lesser ones at each corner, all painted and gilded within. The gates are very rich, made of great stones, finer than porphyry^f. Fine garden.

It is not without cause that the *Mogols* call *Kashmîr* the paradise of the *Indies*; and that *Jehân Ghîr* was so enamoured with it, as to say, he would sooner lose all the rest of his empire than this little province; whose dominion once extended over all the neighbouring mountains (including the *Little Tibet*, the state of *Râjah Gamon*, *Kâshgar*, and *Serenâgher*), as far as *Great Tatar*y, and over all *Hindûstân*, as far as the island of *Seylân*, or *Ceylon*.

THE inhabitants of *Kashmîr* have the reputation of being *Inba-* very witty, much more intelligent and dexterous than the *bitants* *Indians*, and as fit for poetry and the sciences as the *Persians*. *very* They are besides very industrious; they make *Paleki's* (or *Pal-* *witty,* *lankîns*), and various kinds of moveables, which they varnish very curiously, and vend all over the *Indies*; but their most profitable manufacture are the stuffs called *shales*. These are an ell and half long, to one broad, embroidered at the ends twelve inches deep. The *Mogols* and *Indians*, of both sexes, wear them in winter on their heads, passing them over their left shoulder, like a mantle. They make two sorts; one of the wool of the country, finer than the *Spanish*; the other of hair, finer than beaver, taken from the breast of a wild goat in *Great Tibet*. Of this sort some cost 150 crowns; the price of the other sort seldom exceeds fifty.

THE *Kashmîrians* look as well as any *Europeans*; having *and hand-* nothing of the *Tatarian* flat nose, and little eyes, like those *some.* of *Kâshgar*, and most of the people of *Great Tibet*. The women especially are very beautiful; and as fair as in any

^f BERNIER, ubi supr. part iv. p. 85, & seqq.

Provinces. part of *Europe* *. This beauty of the females is confirmed by a famous *Persian* author ; who says, it has passed into a proverb among the *Persian* poets. There are three roads into the country ; that from *Khorassân*, in *Persia*, is so difficult, that the passengers are obliged to carry their goods on their backs, which the beasts are not able to do. The road of *India* is equally difficult. That of *Tobbot*, or *Tibet*, is easiest †. *Akbar* took this kingdom from *Justef Khân*, its natural prince, after he had reduced his son *Yakâb* by force ‡.

Lahûr province. THE province of *Lahûr* lies to the south of *Kasbmîr*, and north of *Dehli*. *Moltân* lies to the west, and to the east are high mountains, in many places inhabited by *Râjabs* ; part of whom are independent. This is one of the largest and most plentiful provinces of the *Indies*. It is rendered fertile by the rivers, especially five ; whence it takes the name of *Panjâb* ; that is, *five rivers*. Rice, corn, and fruits, abound here. It has pretty good wine, and the best sugars of all *Hindustân*. All sorts of manufactures are found in the towns, which make it a rich country.

Lahûr city. THE capital city, called *Lahûr*, is 100 leagues from *Dehli*, and 150 from *Agra*, the whole road being a lovely alley between shady trees. *Multân* lies threescore and odd leagues distant. It is situated on the *Râvi*, one of the five rivers above-mentioned, which all fall into the *Indus*. This city, which is large, was very handsome when the kings kept their court in it. The castle, which still remains, is very strong ; nor has the royal palace within it yet lost its beauty : there are a great many pompous paintings on the walls, representing the actions of the *Great Mogols*. It was only a borough before the time of *Humayân* ; who made a city of it, built the castle, and kept his court there. By this means it so increased, that, in a short time, it extended no less than three leagues in length. At present, there are streets above a league in length, full of ruinous palaces ; and the houses run daily to decay.

THERE are a great many pagods on the road from *Lahûr* to *Dehli*, especially towards the town of *Tanassâr* ; where there is a convent of religious *Hindûs*, called *Vartias* §.

Aynd, or Audin. THE province of *Aynd*, or *Hawd*, contains the most northern countries belonging to the *Mogols*, as *Kakares*, *Bânkîsb*, *Nâgarkut*, *Siba*, and others. It is watered by rivers which fall into the *Ganges* ; so that, notwithstanding the mountains

* BERNIER, ubi supr. part iv. p. 90—97.

Bek, l. iv. p. 96.

ibid. p. 60, & seq.

† THEV. ubi supr. p. 59.

‡ Hist. Tim.

* THEV.

which

which are in it, it is exceeding fertile; and its trade with *Provinces*, the countries to the north-east renders it very rich. There *Halabâs.* are many independent *Rājās* in this province, and two pagods of great note, one at *Nāgarkūt*, which is by far most famous, because dedicated to the idol *Mātta*. The other at *Kalamāk*, which is venerated, because the *Indians* look on it as a miracle, that the water of the town should be very cold, and yet spring from a rock which continually belches out flames. This rock belongs to the mountain of *Balagāt*¹. This province is written *Audib* by *Frazer*, who makes the capital of the same name.

THE province of *Varad*, or *Varal*, resembles in every respect that of *Ayud*, as to soil, fertility, trade, and wealth. *Varad, or Varal.* It contains the more north-eastern countries of *Hindūstān*; namely, *Gor*, *Pitān*, *Kandūāna*, and some others^m.

BE KAR comprises the provinces of *Dowāb* (K), *Jesuat*, *Bekar* and *Udeffeh*. It is watered also by rivers which fall into the *Ganges*, like *Ayud* and *Varad*. It lies east of *Dehli*, and is the most eastern province of *Hindūstān*; which on that side is bounded by the mountains of *Udeffeh*. It is large, and very rich, containing several good cities; the principal of which are *Sāmbal*, *Menapūr*, *Rājāhpūr*, *Jehānak*, and especially *Bekāner*, which is the capital, situate to the west of the *Ganges*. In this province, and the two above-mentioned, there are to be found some of all the casts and tribes of the *Indians*; which are said to be eighty-four in numberⁿ.

THE province of *Halabâs*, formerly called *Puroṣ*, comprehends those of *Narvar* and *Mevāt*, which have on the south *Bengāl*. The chief city bears the same name (L), and is situate on the *Ganges*, at the mouth of the river *Jemni* (or *Jemna*). For a long time it was one of the bulwarks of the kingdom of the *Patans*. *Akber* having taken it, after he had subdued *Bengāl*, caused a strong citadel to be built there; which stands on a tongue of land, inclosed with three walls, whereof the outmost is of very hard red stone. In this castle is a very antient obelisk, above sixty feet high, with many inscriptions on it; but the letters are so defaced that one cannot distinguish the characters. *Halabâs province.*

¹ THEV. *ibid.* p. 62.^m *Ibid.*ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 63.

(K) *De Laet de magni mogolis imperio*, p. 11. says *Do-ab* signifies the country between the two rivers, as lying between the *Ganges* and *Jemni*, and seems to be the same called by others *Sāmbal*, or *Sāmbel*.
(L) Formerly called *Praya*; some write *Praga*.

THE

Provinces.
Bengâl.
and city.

THE king's palace is a beautiful building; and underneath it there are places arched, where the pagods of the country are kept, which the people of the province ascribe to *Adam* and *Eve*; who, they believe, were created there, and whose religion they pretend to follow. This brings, at certain times, incredible numbers of people in pilgrimage from all parts of the *Indies*; who, before they approach the sacred place, purify themselves in the *Ganges*, and shave their heads as well as beards.

THERE are a great many considerable cities in this province; among which are *Narvâl* and *Jehûd*: but the people are so various and extravagant in point of religion, that one can hardly tell what to make of it. *Halabâs* is pestered with *Fakîrs*, a kind of religious mendicants, who perform strange penances, and are great knaves; but not quite so bad as the *Mohammedan Fakîrs*°.

Bengâl
province.

THE province of *Ouleffer*, which we call *Bengâl*, is named, by the *Hindûs*, *Jaganat*, from the pagod of *Jaganat*, which is there. It is inhabited mostly by *Hindûs*; who are as fantastic in their religion as those of *Halabâs*, and a hundred times more numerous than *Mohammedans*. They are, for the general, extremely voluptuous; have a piercing wit, and much given to stealing. The women themselves are bold and lascivious; using all sorts of arts to debauch young men, especially strangers, whom they easily trepan, because they are handsome, and go well-dressed. The people here live much at ease, because the country is so fruitful. One finds here above 20,000 Christians. This province was kept in far better order under the *Pâtan* kings, who reigned there before the *Mohammedans* and *Mogols* became masters of it; because there was then uniformity in religion. It has been found, that disorder was introduced with *Mohammedism*, and that diversity of religions hath caused corruption of manners^p.

Fertility.

BENGAL is by some travellers esteemed more fertile than *Égypt*. It supplies many foreign countries with rice, sugar, and sweetmeats. For half-a-crown one may have twenty good pullets; also ducks and geese in proportion. Kid, mutton, and pork, are in great plenty. No country affords such store of callicoes and silks, saltpetre, lakka, opium, wax, and civet. The worst of all to strangers is the air.

BENGAL, taking it near a hundred leagues in length, on both sides of the *Ganges*, from *Râjah-Mâhl* to the sea, is full of great canals, formerly cut out of that river, with vast

° THEV. *ibid.* p. 66.
vol. ii. p. 17, & seqq.

^p THEV. p. 67. HAMILT.

labour,

labour, and reaching far into the country, for the convenience of transporting commodities. These canals are on both sides lined with towns and villages; to which belong large fields, bearing rice, sugar-canes, corn, sesamum, small mulberry and other trees. These, joined to the vast number of great and small islands, made by those canals, give an incomparable beauty to the country¹, Provinces
Bengál.

BENGAL is full of castles and cities; as *Philipátan*, *Satigan*, *Patane*, *Kasan Bazár*, and *Chatigan*. As the *Indians* esteem the *Ganges* sacred, their chief pagods are built near it; among which the two chief are those of *Jaganat* and *Banarás*. In short, here idolatry reigns triumphant¹. The chief towns on the west branch of the *Ganges* are, first, *Hughli* (or *Ogáli*), a place of great trade. The *Dutch* have a factory at *Chinchura*, which is contiguous to it, and another at *Barnagur*, twenty miles lower: a little below that, the *English* have a factory, called *Fort William*, at the town of *Kalkutta*; and about three miles below *Hughli*, at *Char-nagur* (or *Chandetnagor*), the *French* have a factory.

KASSEM BAZAR, or *Kasan Bazár*, is a large and rich town, about 100 miles above *Hughli*. Here the *English* and *Dutch* have factories. Twelve miles higher is *Máksúd abád*, or *Rájah Máhl*, formerly the greatest place for trade on the *Ganges*, before it removed to *Kássem Bazár*. Forty or fifty miles to the east of *Rájah Máhl* is *Máldo*, a large town, where the *English* and *Dutch* had factories. The next city is *Pátana*, or *Pátua*, where the prince of *Bengál*, who is always of the royal blood, resides. About 100 miles farther up stands *Banáres*, *Bannáres* (M) (or *Banárús*), which is celebrated for its sanctity, and being the university of the *Indies*. Kássem
Bazár.
Banáres,
or Káshí.

ON the easternmost branch of the *Ganges*, which is largest, lies *Dákka*, or *Dáak*, under the tropic of *Cancer*, the largest city in all *Bengál*, and properly the capital. It is narrow; but extends four miles and half along the river. Most of the houses are only of canes covered with earth. The *English* and *Dutch* houses are more solid. As the tide comes up as high as *Dákka*, it renders trade there very easy. Fifty leagues lower this branch of *Ganges* falls into the sea, 100 leagues distant from the western mouth, or branch, at *Chittagoung*, called by the *Portugueses* *Xatigám* (or *Sbatigám*), the last Dákka
the capi-
tal.

¹ **BERNIER**, ubi *supr.* part iv. p. 149, & seqq.
VENOT, p. 68.

¹ **THE**

(M) Called also *Waranasi*, *Hindús* in the peninsula on this and *Vána Rájah*; and, by the side *Ganges*, *Káfi*, or *Káshi*.

Provinces. town of *Bengál*, and the *Mogol's* empire, eastward ; at present *Málva*. a very poor place ¹.

Malva province. THE province of *Málva* lies to the west of *Bengál* and *Halabás*. It includes the countries of *Rájah Ránas*, *Gwáliar*, and *Chitór*. This province is very fertile, and produces whatever is found in the rest. *Ratíspór* is the capital, and place of greatest traffick. It is situated on a mountain. Traitors condemned to die are sent to the castle of this city ; from the top of which they are precipitated. *Mándo* is a fine city, seated at the foot of a hill, on the top of which stands the castle. The ruins of temples and places shew it to have been a large and sumptuous place. *Chitór* is likewise a famous city, but almost ruined. It stands on a very high hill, which is plain at top, walled about at least ten miles. The remains of 100 pagods, many fair palaces, and above 100,000 houses, are still visible. There is but one ascent to it, cut in the rock, and secured with four gates. It was taken by *Akber* from *Rájah Ránas* ². *Row* mentions, as the chief cities, *Ujen*, (or *Eujin*) the present capital, *Nar*, and *Seringe*.

Chitór. *KANDISH* (or *Khandeysh*) lies to the south of *Málva* ; and they who reduced the number of provinces joined to it *Berar* (N), and what the *Great Mogol* possesses of *Orixa*. The whole taken together is of vast extent ; is full of populous towns and villages, and few countries in all the empire equal it for riches. It abounds with cotton, and manufactures of that produce ³. In the above-mentioned province of *Berar* (of which *Row* and *Ferry* make *Shápúr*, or *Shákpur*, the capital) *Herbert* places the fortress of *Rota*, or *Roughtáz*, made impregnable both by nature and art ⁴. It is seated on a hill, the sides of which are perpendicular. There is only one way of going up (O) to the top, where there is a plain sowed with rice and corn, half a league in compass (P). He adds, that the castle is fortified with six bastions, and twenty-seven pieces of cannon, with three moats full of water, and replenished with good fish. The plain is watered by above

Kandish province. *Fortress of Rotás.*

¹ HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 19, & seqq. THEV. p. 68. ² Ibid. p. 69. TERRY, p. 82. ³ THEV. p. 71. ⁴ HERB. Trav. Ind. p. 63.

(N) Which before belonged to *Bengál*, according to *Herbert*, p. 63, of his Travels.

(O) *Herbert* says, the way is cut obliquely in the firm rock for three miles together.

(P) *Herbert* says, the plain at

top is eight miles in diameter, and twenty-four in circumference ; abounding with water and necessaries : also that sixteen villages were inclosed within the castle-wall.

twenty springs; but all the rest of the mountain is a steep precipice, covered with over-grown woods. The *Rájahs* formerly used to live in this fort with 7 or 800 men: but the *Great Mogol* took it by the policy of *Amír Jemla*, although before it was never forced by any king of *India*. *Herbert*, who was in *India* in the year 1636, says, it was then in the hands of the *Great Mogol*, and was taken by stratagem, as will be related hereafter, by *Mohab Ali Khán* in the reign of *Akbar* 2.

Provinces.
Kandish.

THE capital of *Kandish* is *Brámpúr*, about eighty leagues from *Surát*. The governor is commonly a prince of the blood, of which *Aureng Zib* affords an instance. It is a great city standing on such very uneven ground, that the low streets look like ditches, when viewed from the higher: and these inequalities occasion much fatigue. The houses are not handsome, being of earth; but, as they are covered with varnished tiles of divers colours, the roofs, seen through variety of green trees, make an agreeable prospect. The *meydán* is above 500 paces long and 350 wide: but the ugly huts where fruit and herbs are sold, of which it is full, makes it look unhandsome. Two *karawánserays* stand facing it; and from it you enter the castle; whose walls are six or seven fathom high, with battlements, and at intervals large round towers, jetting far out, above thirty paces diameter. The east front of it is washed by the *Tápti*, which runs by the east side of the city; and in that part the walls are eight fathom high, with neat galleries at top. Whence the emperor, when at *Brámpúr*, views the fighting of elephants, which is commonly in the midst of the river; where there is the figure of that animal in reddish stone, erected by *Sháh Jehán*, in memory of one which died fighting in his presence: for the palace is within the castle.

Brámpúr
the capital.

THE water of the river being brackish, the inhabitants are supplied from a large tank, or basin, which is in the *meydán*. Beyond the *Tápti* is a pretty large suburb. The trade of *Brámpúr* equals that of any other city. Besides chints, there are white calicoes mixed with gold and silver; whereof the rich make veils, scarfs, handkerchiefs, and coverings. The same trade is driven at *Orixa* (or *Orísba*), *Berar*, and other towns of this province 2.

BESIDES the provinces already described; five more belong to the *Mogol's* empire; namely, *Ballagát Proper*, *Baglúna*,

1 TAVERN. Trav. Ind. part ii. c. 13, p. 139.
ubi supr.

2 THEVEN. p. 71. & seq.

* HERB.

Telenga,

The Pâtans.

Telenga, Viziapur, and Golkonda; the description of which will be given, when we come to treat of the hither peninsula of the *Indies*, wherein they are situated.

C H A P. III.

Inhabitants of Hindûstân.

Various nations.

HINDUSTAN is inhabited by several different kinds of people; as the *Hindûs*, the *Pâtans*, or *Afghâns*, the *Baluchis*, the *Parsis*, and the *Mogols*, or *Tatars*; besides several foreigners, particularly *Jews* and *Christians*, of various sects. All, excepting the *Hindûs*, who are the antient inhabitants, have settled there by conquest, or accident; having been induced by commerce, or compelled by war, and persecution, to abandon their native countries.

The Hindûs.

THE *Hindûs* are the original occupants; and, though subject to the *Mogol*, still preserve the superiority in numbers; being at least a hundred to one (A) compared with all the rest.

The Parsis.

THE *Parsis* are the descendants of the antient *Persians* (B), who worshipped the fire. These, to avoid the persecutions or oppressions of the *Mohammedans*, on their first conquest of *Persia*, fled in great numbers by sea to *India*; where they settled, on the western peninsula, chiefly about *Surât*, and there they still remain.

The Pâtans.

THE *Pâtans* were those from whom the *Mogols* conquered *Hindûstân* (C). Authors are divided about their original. Some say, they came from *Pâtna*, or *Pâtana*, a province in *Bengâl*, beyond the *Ganges*^a. But it is more likely they are the descendants of those *Mohammedans*, *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Arabs*, who, about the year 1000, first became masters of *Dehli* and *Multân*, under Soltân *Mahmûd Gâzni*^b. These people are still very numerous throughout *Hindûstân*, chiefly in the north-west parts, towards *Kâbul*, *Ghâzna*, and *Kandahâr*; from whence, in all probability, they originally came. They still inhabit the same provinces of the *Persian* empire,

^a TERRY voya. East Ind. sect. vii. BERNIER memoirs, c. 2. p. 17. ^b See Hist. Turks, Moguls, &c. p. 754, & seqq.

(A) Some say many hundreds of *Hindûstân*, before the *Mohammedans* and *Mogols* conquered it to one.

(B) *Parfi* signifies one belonging to *Pars*, or *Persia*. Trav. Ind. ch. 40. p. 68. Fraser says, the *Pattans* and *Afghâns* are the same people.

(C) *Thevenot* makes the *Pâtan* kings to have reigned in of *Nadir Shâh*, p. 7.

where

where they are chiefly known by the name of *Afghāns* (D). *The Pātans* they have a great aversion to the *Mogols*, for having dispossessed them of their territories; and, being high-spirited, still entertain hopes of recovering from them what they seized. The meanest of them frequently use this expression, *let me never be king of Dehli if it be not so*. These people are fierce and warlike. They now possess many of the mountain parts; where some have erected petty sovereignties, like the *Rājahs*^c. They have, from time to time, given great uneasiness to the *Mogols*; and had no small share in the late revolution brought about in that empire by *Nādir Shāh*.

THE Baluchi are another nation who possess several parts *The Baluchi* of *Hindūstān*, to the west of the *Sind*, or *Indus*; particularly the province of *Hajakhān*^d. But in *Persia*, where also they seem to have had their original, they are masters of a much greater dominion; for they are spread over all the large province of *Makrān*, and the neighbouring parts. They are a barbarous people, given to rapine: nor do they pay much obedience to either of the monarchs to whom they are reckoned as subjects.

THE Moguls, or *Jagatays*, are the present lords of *Hindūstān*, where they reign over the rest, for the most part, with an absolute sway. To these five nations we may add the *Europeans* who have settled there; particularly the *Portugueses*, *Spaniards*, *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, and *Danes*. The first established themselves along the coasts of both peninsulas, and in the islands, chiefly by force; but were afterwards dispossessed almost every-where by the *Dutch*. The *Spaniards* also made some conquests, as that of the *Philippine* islands: but the other three nations settled in the *Indies* by treaty with the inhabitants, or permission of their kings.

OF the several nations above-mentioned the *Hindūs* and *Several Parsis* are pagans: but excel all the rest in modest deportment, and the practice of virtue. *The Pātans*, *Baluchis*, and *Mogols* are *Mohammedans*. The two first given to arms, and of a restless disposition, subject on slight occasions to revolt, and plunder their neighbours, without distinction.

^c BERNIER, *ibid*.
fol. edit.

^d TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 387. sect. 7.

(D) Or, as others write, *Agwān*, *Augwāns*, according to their different way of pronouncing the word. *Frazer*, in his history of *Nādir Shāh*, p. 7, says, the *Pātāns* and *Afghāns* are the same. So do some of our old *English* travellers, such as *Steel*, and *Crowther* in *Purchas. Pilgr.* vol. i. p. 521.

Mogols,
or Jaga-
tays.

However, the *Pâtans* and *Mogols* are pretty strict observers of their law, and the rules of justice, at least among themselves.

HAVING given our readers this general idea of the several nations inhabiting *Hindūstān*, we proceed to treat more particularly of three of them, viz. the *Mogols*, the *Hindūs*, and the *Parsts*.

I.

Of the Mogols, or Jagatays.

Their
Shape:

THE natives of *Hindūstān* are like the *Europeans* as to stature: but generally very strait: for our author never saw or heard of any crooked or deformed person; nay, nor any idiot, or natural fool, among them. Their complexion is of a deep tawny, or olive colour: their hair jet black, very harsh, but not curled. They like not people who are very white or fair; because that is the colour of lepers, who are common in those parts.

MOST of the *Mohammedans*, except their priests and an-
cient men, keep their chins constantly shaven: but let the hair on their upper lip grow very long; and keep it of the natural colour, by means of black-lead combs. They likewise shave their heads all over, leaving only a lock on the crown, by which they expect to be drawn up to heaven by their prophet *Mahammed*. They wear, instead of hats or bonnets, a kind of turbān, made with a piece of narrow callico, wound several times about the head^e.

Saluta-
tion.

THE inhabitants in general are very civil and courteous, as well to strangers as one another. They salute not by pulling off their head attire, but by bowing their head, or their body, laying the right hand on their breast, and uttering compliments as they pass. The meaner people salute their superiors in a very submissive or abject manner; either by putting their right hand to the ground, and then laying it on their head, or else by falling on their knees, and then bowing their head to the earth. In their more familiar salutations, they take each other by the chin or beard (E), and cry *Bāba*, father, or *Bij*, brother. Their usual compliments at meeting are, *God give health: I wish you the prayers of the poor*, or that *one good may arrive to you quick after another*. Inferior people, whose dependance is on others, say, *I eat your bread and salt*; as much as to say, I am your servant, and at your disposal.

^e TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 376, sect. 5.

(E) This is an antient custom: for so *Joab* saluted *Amasa*.

THE

THE dress of the *Hindûstâns* is all the same, in great and small, rich and poor, differing only in the cost: for they never alter their fashions. Their coats to the waist sit close to their bodies, from whence they hang loose a little below their knees, the skirts sitting pretty full. These coats are fastened to their shoulders by slips of the same cloth, which is commonly white callico (F), and likewise to their waists, in the same manner, on both sides: besides, as they double over the breast, they are there also fastened, or made close, by such slips of cloth, thick set from the left armpit to the middle. The sleeves are long and tight, that they may ruffle from their elbows to their wrists. Under this out-coat they usually wear another slight one, of the same cloth, but shorter, in the nature of a vest: and this is all the cloathing generally worn on the upper part of their bodies. But some of the greater sort, in the cooler parts of the day, slip-on loose coats over the other, made of quilted silk or callico, or else of *English* scarlet cloth; for that is the colour they most affect. Under their coats they wear long breeches, like trowsers, which fall down to their ankles, and ruffle on the small of their legs: for their feet are always bare in their shoes; but as clean as their hands.

THE covering of their heads is made with a long piece of Head cloth, about half a yard broad, commonly white, and sometimes interwoven with threads of silk, gold, or silver, at least at one end, for ornament. This cloth, which they call a *sash*, winds round the head several times, and is a very great defence against the sun. However, as it must keep their heads hot, they endeavour to remedy that inconvenience by continual shaving. They have girdles of the same kind of sashes, which go twice at least about them, the ends hanging down before.

THE dress of the *Mohammedan* women differs but little from that of the men, wearing coats and breeches of the same fashion; only they bind their hair with long fillets, which hang down behind. They wear likewise on their heads mantles or veils of callico, which hang down over their other garments. They bore their ears not only in the flaps, but round the rims, in which they wear small pendants, made of thin and narrow pieces of gold or silver, brass or iron, according to the quality of the person. The lower

(F) Although the *grandees* the pure white and fine callico sometimes use silks, plain, or lawn. The collars, and some striped, of several colours, or other parts of their upper coats, slight silver or gold brocade; being set-off with needle-work. yet, for the general, they choose

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part of their left nostril is also pierced, for putting in rings of those metals, at pleasure; the ends of their gold rings meeting in a pearl drilled for the purpose. As the women of prime quality never appear abroad, our author could not say in what manner they were adorned with jewels: but he observed, that some of the better sort, whom he had seen, wore great hollow rings of gold enamelled, silver, or brass, upon their wrists and the small of their legs, two or three on each limb; which make a tinkling when they move^f.

Their diet.

ALTHOUGH *Hindustân* affords abundance of flesh and fowl, which are exceeding cheap, yet the *Mohammedans*, who are very temperate, do not feed much on them; and when they do, it is sparingly, and in conjunction with other diet. They dress no kind of meat in whole joints, and seldom their fowls whole; boiling, baking, and roasting, being parts of cookery quite unknown to them. They stew all their flesh, cut into slices or small pieces, putting to it onions, herbs, roots, green ginger, and other spices, with some butter; which makes a mess exceeding palatable. They sometimes with their other flesh mince that of fowls; which is like the *Spanish* oleo, but more delicious. But their common dish is rice; which they boil plump, without letting it break; seasoning it with ginger, pepper, and butter. In this form it is very good. Sometimes they make pillaw, by boiling pieces of flesh, venison, mutton, or fowls, in their rice, which they manage with art^g.

Bread.

THEY have several sorts of grain to make bread, especially wheat; which is more full and white than the *English*. The ordinary people use a coarser grain; which yet makes very good and hearty bread. They make it up like oaten cakes, and bake it on small round iron hearths (or plates); which they carry with them when they travel. Their butter, though soft, being cream beaten to a kind of thick oil, is very good. They have also plenty of cheese, made of milk taken from cows, sheep, goats, and buffalos; which last is very good.

Drink.

THE common drink of the inhabitants of *Hindustân* is water; which is rendered far more pleasant and sweet than ours by the heat of the sun. Hence all strangers choose it as well as the natives, and find it agree better with their bodies than any other liquor. Sometimes they boil seeds in it, to give it a flavour; and it is observed to be colder after heating than it was before. They have, besides water, two sorts

^f TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 409, & seqq. sect. 11.
406, sect. 10.

^g Ibid. p.

of wine in the *Indies*, one natural, the other distilled^h. What Mogols, we call natural wine is the juice of a tree, and called Toddi. or Jagatays. It is drawn from it by making incisions in the branches, which grow only towards the top, and hanging underneath pots, made of gourds, to receive the juice. This is done overnight, and early next morning the pot is taken away, and the vents stopped up. The liquor which distils from the tree is very clear, pleasant, and wholesome. If drank before noon it is then diuretic and inoffensive, only a little windy, like wine upon the must; but if kept till the heat of the day, it becomes unwholesome, not well relished, and very intoxicating: on which account the *European* sailors are very fond of it; and it is very cheap. Their distilled wine is drawn from sugar, and the spicy rind of a tree called Jagra. The *Indians* call it Raak (or Arak). Our author says it is very wholesome, if taken moderately (G); and that there was no great quantity made of it. Although they have excellent grapes, they make no wine, as being forbidden by the law of *Mohammed*. Those who are strict observers of their religion drink no wine at all, but use coffee (H). To supply the place of it likewise, they use Betel, or Pawne; which is the leaf of a shrub, like the ivy leaf, but more tender. They chew the same along with a hard nut shaped like a nutmeg, and a very little pure lime mixed with the leaves: of this composition, when chewed, they only let down the juice. They ascribe to it many rare qualities, particularly to strengthen the stomach, comfort the brain, preserve the teeth, and cure or prevent a tainted breath. This our author observes, in confirmation hereof, that, when chewed in a close room, the breath of the person using it fills the place with a very agreeable scentⁱ.

To give our readers the better idea of the diet, as well as *Entertainment* manner of eating, in use among the *Mogols* of *Hindūstān*, we shall insert an account of the entertainment made by *Ashf*

^h TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 358, 364. sect. 2. ⁱ Ibid. p. 361, 365. sect. 2.

(G) *Bernier* says, it affects the nerves, and breeds incurable disorders, if taken a little immoderately. *Memoirs*, part iii p. 28.

(H) Mr. *Terry* observes of coffee (which in his time was little, if at all, known in *England*), that it was made of a

black seed, boiled in water, which it turned almost of the same colour; but did not alter the taste of it much. He adds, that this liquor was more wholesome than palatable; being very good to help digestion, quicken the spirits, and cleanse the blood.

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tays.

Khân, in the reign of *Jehân Ghîr*, for Sir *Thomas Rowe*, the English ambassador. The feast was served up in a very spacious and beautiful tent, well perfumed; the floor of which was covered over with very rich and large carpets. These were covered again, in the places where the dinner was served, with other carpets of stitched leather, which were spread with fine white callico cloths. On these were ranged a great number of silver dishes, with gilt brims, most part of them no larger than plates. To this entertainment none of the ambassador's retinue were admitted, excepting his chaplain, Mr. *Terry*. The three sat cross-legged on the ground, as it were in a triangle, facing each other, Sir *Thomas* being placed at a good distance from the *Khân*, on his right hand. Each had his mess to himself. The ambassador's consisted of ten dishes more, and his chaplain's of ten less, than what the *Khân* had, which were sixty. All the dishes were set before them at once, and spaces left between, for the waiters to come and reach them to the parties one after another. So that our author tasted a little of each, and found them all well relished.

Kind of
dishes.

As to the provision itself, the larger dishes were filled with rice, dressed as before described, and tinged with different colours. Many others were furnished with flesh of several kinds, pullets, and other sorts of fowls, all cut in little pieces. To these succeeded variety of jellies, and culices: flower of rice boiled, and then sweetened with sugarcandy and rose-water, to be eaten cold. Among the rest was a very delicious dish made of the flesh of pullets, stewed with rice-flower and almonds, pounded exceeding small; then, being beaten to pieces so fine that it could not be discerned, all was mixed together, and sweetened with rose-water and sugarcandy, and perfumed with ambergris. The *Portugueses* call this *Mangee real*, food for a king. Other dishes consisted of cakes in several forms, made of the finest wheat-flower, mixed with almonds and sugarcandy: some of them perfumed, others not. Towards the end came potatoes, excellently well dressed; divers kinds of sallads, and the curious fruits of the country, some preserved, others fresh. To these succeeded roots candied, almonds blanched, raisins of the sun, prunellas, and other things, to make up the number of dishes appointed^k.

Marriage.

THE *Mohammedans* in this country are married with much the same ceremonies as elsewhere: for after the Mullah, or priest, has done his office, which is in the evening, they go

^k TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 407, & seq. sect. 10.

in procession through the principal streets of the city: the Mogols, man on horseback, with his relations and friends about him, or Jagatays, preceded by many lights, drums, and wind music; with some drolleries, to increase the merriment. The bride follows with her women friends, in covered coaches: and, having made their tour, return to the house of the married couple; where the company is entertained: although the *Mohammedans* are allowed to marry four wives, very few, and those only of the richer sort, take more than one, in the more western parts under their dominion: but our author tells us of a servant belonging to Sir *Thomas Rowe*, who had for wages no more than five shillings a moon, and yet had four wives.

THEY who have most wives and women are most jealous; so that they will not suffer either the brothers or fathers to speak to them, but in their presence: and custom has made it a high reflection for a wife to be seen by any man besides her husband (1). Adultery and fornication also are reckoned so criminal, that, rather than the offender shall escape punishment, their own brother will not scruple to take away their lives: for which barbarity they shall not be called to an account, but commended. Great men have eunuchs to wait on or guard their women. Common women are tolerated here: but they must be registered or licensed before they can have liberty to open a house. Some of the better sort of these prostitutes, at certain times, repair to court, to divert the *Great Mogol*, with singing their wanton songs, and playing on their timbrels.

THE women are exceeding happy in this part of the world, in having easy labour: for it is common to see them one day riding great with child, and the next day ride again, carrying the infants in their arms. The children of the poorer sort go naked for several years; only now-and-then their mothers cover them with a slight callico mantle. The eldest son by a lawful wife has a privilege above the rest, who call him *budda*, or their great brother.

THE *Mohammedans* wash the bodies of their dead; which they bury not in their mosks or churches, but in some open place out of the towns; digging the grave very deep and wide. Their mourning over the deceased is immoderate, and often

¹ TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 430, & sect. 17. TERRY, Ibid. and THEVENOT, part iii. ch. 24, p. 47.

(1) Thevenot says, the *Mohammedan* women are very wanton, the *Indian* women very chaste. Trav. Ind. part iii. ch. 25, p. 47.

Mogols,
or Jagatays

renewed every year, especially by the women, in their houses, and at their graves, which they bedew with tears ; frequently asking the party, as if living, Why would he die ? since he had such loving wives, such loving friends, and other comforts in this life. The men of greatest quality often provide fair sepulchres for themselves and nearest friends. For this purpose they inclose, with a wall, a good piece of ground, near some *tank*, or spring of water, in order to make fountains : then they erect little mosks, and near them tombs ; which are either round, square, hexagonal, or octagonal, with cupolas of stone over them. They are raised upon pillars, or else piers, with arches, and within is the body deposited. The workmanship is exceeding good. The rest of the ground is planted with fruit-trees and the choicest flowers.

Sepulchres.

THERE are likewise many handsome monuments erected in memory of such as they esteemed *pirs*, or saints : in which are lamps continually burning ; with votaries, who have salaries, to attend them. These sepulchres are daily resorted to by devout people : and certainly no places in the empire afford more delight than their burying-grounds ; nor do they bestow so much cost on any other structures : witness the famous sepulchre at *Sekandra*, three miles from *Agra*, begun by *Akber* and finished by his successorⁿ ; of which an account is given by travellers.

Language.

THE common language of the empire, called the *Hindústán*, has much affinity with the *Persian* and *Arabik* ; but is more smooth, and easily pronounced ; very significant and concise. The characters are also very different, and written from the left hand to the right, like the *European*. The *Persian* is spoken at court, and the *Arabik* is the learned language ; although all the learning of the *Mogols* amounts to read and write : for they have no logic, nor rhetoric, but what is natural. However, the people themselves are men of very strong reason, and will speak off-hand on any subject exceeding well ; so that, if there was literature among them, they might produce many excellent works : and as it is, they are said to compose witty poems, as well as histories of their own, and the neighbouring countries. For all this, they have not many books (K)

Learning.

ⁿ TERRY, p. 421, & seqq. sect. 18.

(K) In this, no doubt, *Terry* was mistaken, for want of being able to read their books, or converse with the natives : at least, matters have altered since his time, as may appear by the ca-

talogue of MSS. on various subjects, brought from *India* by Mr. *Frazer*, and inserted at the end of his account of *Nádir Sháh*.

in use; among which may be reckoned that of *Aristotle*, *Mogols*, whom they call *Aplis*, and the physician *Avicenna* (L); both or Jaga- in *Arabik*. Their chief science seems to be astrology; in tays. which there are many pretenders: because the generality are infatuated with the belief of it, which is encouraged by the example of the court: for the *Great Mogol* has his astrologers about him; nor does he undertake any thing of the least moment without consulting them^p.

THE religion of the *Mogols*, *Afghâns*, and *Pâtans*, is the *Their be-* *Mohammedan*, of the *Sunni* sect, such as the *Turks* are of, who *liefs*, hold *Abubekr* for the true successor of *Mohammed*, in opposition to the *Shiya*, who acknowledge *Ali* in that quality as the *Persians* do. These make the greater part of the emperor's court, and consequently must weaken his interest when at war with *Persia*: however, they appear outwardly to be of the same opinion with the rest of the grandees. When the kingdoms of *Golkonda* and *Viziapûr* were in being, the *Shiya* sect prevailed in the former, and in the territories of the latter the *Sunni* and the *Shiya* were mingled together^q. As to the number of *Mohammedans*, compared with the Pagans, there are at least an hundred, if not several hundreds, of the latter to one of the former^r.

WE need not here insert an account of the *Mohammedan* re- and prac-
ligion and way of worship, which do not differ from what they *tise*.
are in other countries, whereof an account hath been already given^s. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a few particulars, which may deserve to be taken notice of. One respects the great strictness and devotion of the *Mohammedans* in the practice of their religion: another is the temperance observed by far the greater part of them, as well as by the *Hindûs*, or Pagans, to such a degree, that they will rather die than eat, or drink, any thing which their law forbids (M); and what they do of either kind is merely to satisfy nature. For they hate gluttony, and look upon drunkenness as another madness; in-
somuch, that they have only one word in their language,

^p TERRY, p. 412, sect. 12.

^q TAVERN. Trav. Ind. ch.

i. p. 159.

^r BERNIER Mem. part ii. p. 22.

^s See vol.

i. p. 1, & passim.

(L) A corruption of *Ebn Sina*. His name was *Abu ali ebn Sina*.

(M) *Terry* extols the people of *Hindûstân* (Voy. sect. 14.) for the observance of moral duties: and, according to *Ovington*, they are so peaceable and ho-

nest, that there had not been a criminal put to death for twenty years together; although, when he was there, in 1609, some European pirates were going up to court to be tried. *Voy. to Surât*, p. 230, & seq.

namely

Mogols,
or Jaga-
tays.

namely *mest*, for a drunkard and a madman. The *Mohammedans* are very charitable: some build inns in great cities and towns for lodging travellers; others make wells and tanks, a kind of reservoirs, or cisterns, for the public use: while some keep servants to attend on the most frequented roads, with water in great skins, carried by buffalos, to refresh passengers and their beasts, at free cost¹.

Monks.

AMONG the *Mohammedans*, as well as Pagans, there are many, who out of devotion (or under the pretence of it), voluntarily undergo very rigid penances, far exceeding all the *Romanists* boast of. Of these there are two sorts: the first called *Dervishes*, who spend their lives in solitude and contemplation, retiring to the tops of hills, shaded with trees; where they fix their habitation, from whence they never stir. They never cease crying out, *God Almighty look upon me, I love not the world, but thee; and do all this for thy sake*. After their retirement, they let their hair and nails grow to their full length, and will perish, sooner than go out of their cells, depending for relief on the charity of others, who send them clothing and victuals; but both must be of the coarser kind, and the latter only for their immediate sustenance, otherwise they will not accept of them. Some impose on themselves tasks of fasting, without any food, for so long a time, that their natural strength is almost quite spent for want of nourishment.

Fakirs, or
mendi-
cants:

The second sort of penitents (called *Fakirs*), wear nothing about them but what is sufficient to cover their nakedness; and, like mendicant friars in the *Romish* church, make a profession of begging for their subsistence. They commonly dwell in the out-skirts of towns; and, making little fires in the day, sleep at night in the warm ashes, with which they besmear their bodies. They sometimes take intoxicating drugs, which make them talk wildly: this draws the common people about them, who mistake such jargon for prophecy. Some, out of devotion, put iron fetters on their legs, so heavy, that they can scarce move with them; and then, covered with a blue mantle (which is the mourning colour), walk many miles, as fast as they can, barefoot, on the scorching ground, in pilgrimage to the tombs of their saints².

vastly nu-
merous:

THEY reckon, that there are in the *Indies* no fewer than eight hundred thousand *Fakirs*, besides twelve hundred thousand idolatrous mendicants, or penitents (called *Joghis*); who, according to another author, are all vagabonds and lazy

¹ TERRY, p. 417, sect. 14. and p. 429, sect. 16. ² TERRY, p. 427, & seq. sect. 16.

drones, imposing on the credulous multitude by a false zeal, Mogols,^{or Jaga-} and abundance of idle words; which pass on them for oracles. ^{tays.} Of these *Fakirs* there are several kinds: the almost naked sort, whom we have been speaking of, have no certain abode, and give themselves up to all manner of uncleanness. There are others, whose garments are of so many different pieces and colours, that one can hardly tell what they are made of. These reach half-way down the legs, and hide the rags which are underneath. They generally go in troops, and have their superior, known by his habit; which is commonly more abject, and full of patches, than those of his gang. He draws after him a great iron chain, above two yards long: this he rattles all the while he says his prayers, which he does with a loud voice, and an affected gravity, which draws the veneration of the people; who in the interim prepare dinner for him on the spot, where he takes his stand; which is generally in some street, or other public place.

go in companies:

THERE he causes his disciples to spread carpets; and, ^{deceive the} sitting down, gives audience to the people: on the other hand, ^{people.} his disciples go about publishing through the country, that God reveals to him his most important secrets, and gives him power to relieve persons in affliction by his advice. The multitude, who swallow all this delusion, approach him with great devotion, as a holy man, pulling off their shoes, and prostrating themselves to kiss his feet. Then the *Fakir*, to shew his humility, reaches out his hand to kiss, makes them sit down by him, and hears every-one apart. They boast of having a prophetic spirit; and, above all, to teach barren women a way how to procure children, and be beloved by whom they please. Some of these *Fakirs* have more than 200 disciples, whom they assemble by the sound of a horn, or beat of drum. When they travel, they have their standard, lances, and other weapons; which they pitch in the ground near their master, when he reposes in any place.

THE third sort of *Fakirs* are they, who, being born of poor ^{Another} parents, and desirous to understand the law, in order to be- ^{sort.} come doctors, retire to the mosks; where they live on the alms which are given them. They employ all their time in reading the Korán; which they get by heart: and, if to this study they can but add the knowledge of some natural things, together with an exemplary life, they come to be chief of the mosks, and to the dignity of mullahs, and judges of the law. These *Fakirs* marry; and some have three or four wives, thinking they do God great service, in begetting many children to be followers of his law, as they account the Korán.²

² TAVERN. ubi supr. ch. 2. p. 160.

The Hindûs.
Toleranti-
on.

ALL religions are tolerated in *Hindûstân*; which makes the tyrannical government more easy to be endured: and the people treat the clergy of any persuasion with much respect ^r.

II.

Of the Hindûs, or Hindows, as divided into tribes, or families.

Hindûs
tribes:

THE *Hindûs* are divided into four great tribes, or orders, of people; 1. The men of the law, or the priesthood; 2. The men of arms, to which belong their Râjahs, or kings; 3. The merchants, or men of traffick; 4. The commonalty; in which are included mechanics, husbandmen, and all inferior kinds of people.

THE first class is called by the *Indians* *Brahmans*, *Brammans*, or *Bramins*, as some authors write it. The names of the other tribes seem to differ in different parts of the country. *Roger*, who resided at *Paliakât*, in the kingdom of *Karnâta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*, calls the second order *Settreas* (N): *Bernier*, who got his information at *Agra* and *Banâres*, in the *Mogol's* empire, calls them *Ketteris*; and *Thevenot*, *Katri*. *Lord*, who conversed with the *Baniyâns* at *Surât*, with some little variation, *Kutteris*. The third order is named by *Roger*, *Weynias*; by others, *Vanias*, and *Baneans*, or *Baniyans*: *Bernier* calls it *Besku*; *Lord*, *Shuddëris*; and by *Thevenot*, *Soudr*, and *Kourmi*. The fourth class is named *Soudras* (O) by *Roger*; *Sidra*, by *Bernier*; *Wife*, by *Lord*; and *Wens*, by *Thevenot* ².

their
names.

THE disagreement found in the two last articles is not easy to be accounted for. Both *Roger* and *Lord* make the merchants, or *Baniyans*, the third order: but whereas the

^r TERRY, p. 475, § 30.

² ROGER Mæures des Bram.

p 2. BERNIER Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 145. LORD's Account of Banian Relig. c. 9. THEVEN. part iii. ch. 38. p. 63.

(N) There seems to be some mistake, perhaps in the printing, of *Settreas* for *Ketteras*; tho' it is every-where printed so in that author.

(O) The *Romish* missionaries to *Karnâta*, and *Madûra*. name them, 1. *Bramins*, or the nobles; 2. *Kebatris*, or the Râjahs; 3. *Sboustres*, or the common people;

and 4. *Parias*, or the basest sort of all. *De Faria*, with still less care, names the classes as existing in the coast of *Malabar*; 1. *Brammans*; 2. *Chatrier*, or *Esbatri*; 3. *Bacstri*, or *Vaisber*; 4. *Chadra*. See *Lett. Ediff.* tom. v. p. 18, & alibi. and *Pert. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 391, 408.

first

first calls them *Shudderis*; the latter gives that name (for *Sou-* Hindûs
dras is doubtless the same) to the fourth order; and although Brâm-
Thevenot agrees with *Lord*, in terming the third order *Soudr* mans.
 (which is the same with *Shudderis*), yet he agrees with *Roger*
 as to the signification, by making them the commonalty; and
 differs from them both, in placing the merchants last. As to
 the difference in the names, it seems to arise from hence, that
 those given by *Roger* and *Bernier* denote their profession, or
 some other mark of distinction belonging to the respective
 tribes; whereas the names made use of by *Lord* are derived
 from their great ancestors, like those of the two first, and
 taken immediately from the *Shâster*, one of the *Hindûs* sacred
 books; consequently of most authority in this matter.

THESE four principal classes of the *Hindûs* are subdivided
 into several subordinate classes; of which it will be necessary
 to give our readers some account.

1. *Of the Brâmmans, or Brâmins.*

THE *Brâmmans* derive their name from *Brammon*, the eldest Bramans
 son of *Pourous*, the first man (according to the *Hindûs*); or else name:
 from *Brema*, or *Bremaw* (P), the first created being of the
 second age, to whom the law was delivered; and are divided
 into 82 sects, or families ².

THE *Bramins* themselves say, that there is no race or family
 of men more worthy, or agreeable in the eyes of God, than
 theirs; and all the other *Hindû* families allow the first place
 in dignity to be due to them. The *Vedâm*, or book of the
 law, which the *Hindûs* hold to be sent from God, had declared
 its esteem for this family, by ordering that a *Bramin* shall not
 be put to death for any crime he commits, how atrocious so-
 ever it may be. His punishment is to be the loss of his sight: persons sac-
 for it is reckoned one of the five great sins to kill a *Bramin*, cred.
 not to be expiated by less than a twelve years pilgrimage:
 during that time also the homicide is to beg alms, with the
Bramin's skull in his hand, out of which he is to eat and drink
 what is given him. And when the time of twelve years is ex-
 pired, he is then to bestow much in alms himself, and build a
 temple in honour of *Eswâra* (or *Isburen*); nay the *Vedâm* has
 made the person of a *Brâmin* so sacred, that if one of them

² *Lord*, ubi sup. ch. 10.

(P) The *Brammans* themselves say, they are descended from
 the latter.

Hindús
Rájahs.

will go to war, and happens to be slain, that he who killed him must build the temple, in case he be able ^a. Besides these express precepts of the Vedám, or Wedám, the *Brámins* claim, and obtain, from the *Hindús*, no small veneration, on account that this book was delivered to them, and that they are the keepers of it ^b.

Race of
kings.

In some parts of *India*, as on the coast of *Malabár*, *Brámins* are kings : they are in other countries frequently made governors of provinces, or cities, and are generally farmers under the Rájahs ; and this probably gave rise to the account we meet with in the Shâster, of the race of *Kutteris* being destroyed, and kings supplied out of the *Brámmans* ; of which more in the next article.

THE tribe of *Brámmans* is among the *Hindús*, as the tribe of *Levi* among the *Jews* : but we shall consider them as priests, when we come to treat of the *Hindú* religion hereafter, in our account of the hither peninsula of *India*.

2. The Kuttereys, or Settreas.

Kutte-
reys.

THE *Kuttereys*, or *Kutteris*, had their name from *Kutte-rey*, the second son of *Pourous* : and, as dominion and government was given to him, therefore all kings and soldiers are of this tribe ^c ; which properly consists of the nobility, named *Rájah*, who have a chief, or king, stiled *Rájah of Rájahs*, and the God of the *Rájahs* ; which is to be understood of the king of *Bisnágar*, or *Narasinga*, in *Karnatika*, or *Karnata*.

The nobles :

IN former times, this family of nobles was divided only into two branches ; the first named *Sowri Wanjam*, so called from the sun, which in the *Samskörtam*, or learned language, is named *Sowri* ; because they are the true nobility. The other branch is named *Soma Wanjam*, from the moon. But there are at present, besides these two, many other branches, who do no great honour to their order, as having intermarried with other families ; for which reason the two first branches do not marry with them.

their office.

THE office of nobles is to govern and defend the country against enemies : they are likewise to take care, that the *Brámins* be not in want. However, a great many of them are poor themselves : and as they cannot trade, their families often increase to such a degree, that the income of their lands will not maintain them : hence it is, that their children, being left poor, are obliged, for a livelihood, to serve the

^a ROGER, ubi sup. p. 3. & seq.
38. p. 64.

^c LORD, ch. 11.

^b TREVEN. ubi sup. ch.

richer

richer lords for soldiers^d; and these are they who are called *Râ-japûts* (and corruptly *Râspûts*); that is, *children of the Râjahs*. Hindûs
Râjahs.

THE *Hindûs* of this tribe eat the flesh of all sorts of animals, excepting the cow.

THE Shâster tells us, that the ill-government of the kings and rulers, having been the source of all the disorders which occasioned the destruction of the world in the second age (or the second time), therefore God quite rooted out the whole tribe of the *Kutteris*; and that it might be renewed from a more holy stock, appointed that the line of the *Râjahs* should be restored from that of the *Brâmmans*: which was performed in the person of *Râm*, youngest son of *Duserat*, chief of the *Brâmmans*, who was preserved from destruction^e. But this holy line proved no better than the other: for they grew so wicked, that they brought the third destruction on the world^f: and in the fourth age, which is the present, it seems the *Kutteris* some-how sprung up again, since they now exist.

As this tribe of kings has suffered many changes in course of time, it may therefore be considered in three different states; its flourishing, declining, and present condition.

DURING their flourishing state, the *Kuttereys* were the ancient sovereigns and rulers in *India*; especially that part called *Guzzerât*, and were stiled *Râjahs*, which signifies kings. These *Râjahs*, whose dominions were large, or small, according to their forces, had about them chiefly four persons of eminence. The first was a *Brâmmann*; who, by soothsaying and augury, predicted the times most proper for the king to begin any enterprise; which was to be attended with success. The second was the *Pârdon*; who managed affairs of state, and dispatched all matters of judicature under the *Râjah*. The third was the *Moldâr*; or *high chamberlain*; who was commonly present, and conversed with the king. The fourth officer was the *Disnâkke*, or general of his armies; who was sent upon all his military expeditions. flourish-
ing state:

THE *Râjahs* (or rather *Kuttereys*) were then divided into thirty-six subordinate tribes, or noble families; as the *Chawrah*, the *Solenkts*, the *Vaggela*, the *Dodepuchas*, the *Paramars*; and so forth.

TOUCHING the declining state of the *Râjah* tribe; their history relates, that a certain *Râjah*, named *Rarwifaldt*, dying, his son *Sideraysaldt*, to honour his father's memory, erected a costly temple, and monument, at a place called *Stithopolahpûr*; and, being desirous that it should last for ever, consulted his

^d ROGER, p. 5, & seq.

^e LORD'S BANIAN RELIG. c. 14.

^f Ibid.

Hindûs
Râjahs.

Brâhman, named *Madewnaugher*, upon that subject: the *Brâhman's* answer was, that one Soltân *Alao'ddin* (Q), a *Pâtan* king of *Dehli*, should deface the same, and also gain some considerable conquest in *Guzzerât*. To prevent this misfortune, the Râjah sends both his *Brâhman* and *Pâdon* to *Dehli*, in order to purchase peace with the Soltân, by a sum of money. When they got thither, they could hear of no *Alao'ddin* (for the king was not of that name), but the son of a shepherd, a boy, whom they found feeding a kid. However, concluding him to be the person mentioned in the prediction, they acquaint him with the good fortune which was to betide him, and offer him the money to spare their master's monument. *Alao'ddin* resolutely answered, that, if it was the will of heaven that he should destroy the monument, he could not avoid executing its decrees; and refused the present, till his parents, who were very poor, persuaded him to accept it. Hereupon he gave them a written instrument, importing, *that, although heaven had decreed that he should scatter some stones of that building, yet he would pick them out of its corners in such a manner as might fulfil the prediction, without breaking his promise to the Siderayaldî.*

ALAO'DDIN, with the money thus obtained, raised forces, and was so prosperous in arms, that he became king of *Dehli*: after which, he invaded *Guzzerât*, made great conquests from the Râjahs of that country, and fulfilled his engagement to *Sideraysaldî*, by sparing his monument. At length, being weary of the toil, he gave the government of his new acquisitions to *Futter Khân*, his cup-bearer; who, on the Soltân's return to *Dehli*, prosecuted the war in *Guzzerât*. The like did his *Mohammedân* successors; and thus was the power of the Râjahs in that province reduced very low.

their present state

FROM that period we may date their present state. Some of them yielded to the invaders: others, retiring to inaccessible places on the borders of the country, there fixed themselves, and remain to this day. From thence they make incursions into the neighbouring territories, rob the *kâffilas* on the high-roads; and sometimes advance to the skirts of the strongest, as well as most populous cities, attended with their resolute soldiers, called *Râshpûts* (or *Râjahpûts*), that is, *sons of Râjahs*. For, being of the *Kutterey* tribe, it is likely they are nobly descended; and the descendants of those who were

(Q) This must have been *Massud*, surnamed *Alao'ddin*, king of *Dehli*; or his nephew *Alao'ddin*, who reigned about the year

1250; during whose reigns great conquests were made in the southern provinces of *India* by the *Dehli* kings.

over-

over-run when *Guzzerât* was conquered^s. It was intirely *The Shud-*
 subdued in the time of the *Great Mogol Akber*, as other pro- *deri tribe.*
 vinces more northward, and to the east, had been before, and
 the rest by degrees since : yet still many of the *Rājahs* main-
 tain an independency in the heart of the empire. There were
 towards the beginning of *Aureng zib's* reign about one hun-
 dred dispersed over the whole ; of whom fifteen or sixteen
 were so rich, and powerful, that three of them only, *viz.*
Rāna (whose ancestors were emperors of the *Rājahs*) *Jesseyn,* *in Hindū-*
 and *Jessom Seyng,* were sufficient to cope with him, did they *stān.*
 but unite ; each having been able to bring into the field
 25,000 horse, better troops than the *Mogol's* : for they are all
Rājahpūts, hereditary warriors, to whom the *Rājahs* allot
 land, on condition to be always ready, at their command, to
 appear on horse-back. They can endure much hardship, and
 want nothing to make good soldiers, but order and discipline.

THE *Great Mogol* is obliged to keep these, and several other
Rājahs, in his service, for several reasons : first, because their
 militia is very good, and some of them very powerful ; 2. to
 bridle the other *Rājahs* by means of them ; 3. the better to
 sow differences among them ; which is often done to great
 effect ; 4. to employ them against his own rebellious govern-
 ors, as well as foreign enemies, especially the *Persians* ; not
 daring to trust his *omrās*, who are mostly of the same na-
 tion^h.

3. *The Shudderi, Weynjas, Vantias, or Baniyāns.*

THE *Shuddereys* derive their descent from *Shuddert*, the *The Shud-*
 third son of *Pourous*, the first man ; and commerce having *deri tribe.*
 been the business appointed for him ; for this reason all the
 people belonging to his tribe follow merchandize, or are
 brokers for the merchants. They are called *Baniyāns* ; which,
 in the *Brāmmāns* language, wherein their law is written, sig-
 nifies an innocent and harmless people ; as they really are : for
 they cannot bear to see a fly, worm, or any other living thing,
 hurt ; and if they receive a blow, take it patiently, without
 returning it.

THE number of families, or branches, in the *Shuddert*, or
Baniyān tribe, is equal to that of the *Brāmmān* families (R) ;

^s LORD's *Baniān Relig.* ch. 11.

^h BERNIER, vol. i, part

3. p. 20, 21, 27.

(R) Whose number is eighty- *Baniyān* casts, or sects, are reck-
 two : but *Ovington* says, the oned to be only twenty-four.

Weyz, or Sowdra. being in effect the self-same families: for they chuse to be under the discipline either of the *Visalnagra-naughers*, or *Vulnagra-naughers*; by whom they are directed in matters relating to religious worship: for their law having most resemblance to that of the *Brâmmans* (S), they more strictly follow their injunctions, than the two other tribes.

Form of bargaining.

THE form used by the *Baniyâns* in buying and selling is very singular, and different from that of other nations: for the broker, taking his Pamerling from about his waist, spreads it on his knee; then both he and the seller putting their hands underneath, with the ends of his fingers he intimates the price, in pounds, shillings, and pence, which the chapman is willing to give; and then the seller, by the same method, acquaints him how much he expects to have. This form of making bargains is, they say, enjoined them by their law¹. By the same law they ought to deal justly, without either cheating, or taking too much profit. They live much after the same manner as the *Brâmmans*; eating nothing which has had life.

OF this tribe there are some named *Komitis*; and others *Weapari*; each party affirming, that they are the true *Weinjas*, or *Baniyâns*^k.

4. Of the Wives, or Sowdras.

Tribe of Weyz,

THE tribe of *Wife* (or *Weyz*) took its name from the fourth son of *Pourous*, who was the master of the mechanics, or handicrafts. The word *Wife* implies a person who is *servile* and *instrumentary*: doubtless, because they *serve*, and are *helpful* to those of the other tribes, or professions. These people, at present, are most commonly called *Gentiles* (or *Gentews*), and are divided into two sorts; the *pure*, and the *impure*, or *unclean*, called *Visserawn*. This latter kind of *Gentiles*, of which are the husbandmen, or inferior sort of people, called *Kowlis* (or *Kûlis*), take great liberty in their diet; eating animal food, either fish, or flesh. On the contrary, the *purser Gentils* (who are the handicraftsmen) follow the rule of the *Baniyâns*, as to diet; abstaining both from flesh and wine, or using them but

¹ LORD, ubi sup. ch. 12.

^k ROGER, ubi sup. p. 7.

(S) This seems to refer to the eight commandments, given to the four tribes; whereof the first two relate more particularly to the *Brâmmans*, and the fifth

and sixth to the *Shuddereys*; as will be observed when we come to treat of the religion of the *Hindûs*.

seldom.

feldom. However, as in religious worship they agree most *Weyz*, or with the *Kuttereys*, so they do likewise in the number of their *Sowdra* families, or classes, which are thirty-six; according to the number of trades, or professions, to be found among them. With regard to their handicrafts, it is observable, that they employ as few tools as may be; and that their method of working is in every respect contrary to the *European* ¹.

As, besides the mechanics and manufacturers, this tribe comprises the husbandmen, labourers, porters, and those destined to the most servile offices, these seem to be such as bear the name of *Visserawn*, before-mentioned.

THIS tribe is the most numerous of the four. The *most numerous* principal families are those of the *Wellala* and *Ambria*; besides which are others of note, as the *Sitti*; who are merchants. The *Palli* are poulterers, painters, and other trades. The *Kay Kulle* is an inconsiderable people: most of their women are whores; which, however, is no disgrace among them. The men are dancers, weavers, sowers, and soldiers, as some of almost all the other families are. But the most contemptible, or mean, of all is the *Palla* family: being regarded little more than the *Perreas* (or *Parias*), who are not reckoned among the tribes; and of whom we shall speak presently. These several families have each their peculiar customs, of which they are very jealous: so that if, in their entertainments, or marriages, those of one family do any thing more than is usual with them, or which is appropriated by another family, it proves matter of very great contest, and often sets a whole city in an uproar ^m.

THE family of the *Korrewás* have no fixed places of dwelling; but wander about the country, with their wives and children (like our gypsies). They lodge in little huts, which they set up without the towns; and, when they remove, put them, with their few moveables, upon little asses, which they keep for the purpose. They live by making fans, or vans, for winnowing the rice; likewise covers for pots; and carry salt from the sea-side up the country, on their asses; which not being able to bear much at a time, they are exempt from all kinds of taxes, and never molested, on account of their poverty. The women of this family pretend to tell fortunes, and get more that way than any other. *The Korrewás*

5. Of the *Perreas*, or *Parias*.

THE *Perreas* (or *Parias*), before-mentioned, may be called *The Perrea* a fifth tribe, distinct from the other four: and as they are *as, or Parias*:

¹ LORD, ubi supr. ch. 13.

^m ROGER, p. 8, & seqq.

Pareas
tribe.

not thought worthy to be ranked among them, neither are they ever suffered to dwell among them: so that they live by themselves in the out-skirts of towns; and, in the country, build their houses apart from the villages; or rather have villages of their own, furnished with wells: for they dare not so much as fetch water from those which other families make use of; and, lest these latter should inadvertently go to one of theirs, they are obliged to scatter the bones of dead cattle about their wells, that they may be known.

an abject
people:

THESE *Perreas*, in like manner, dare not in cities pass thro' the streets where the *Brâmmans* live; nor set a foot in the villages where they dwell. They are likewise forbidden to enter a temple, either of their god *Wistnow*, or *Eswâra*; because, being held to be impure, they would be thought to pollute it. They get their bread by sowing, digging, and building the walls of mud houses: most of those inhabited by the common people being raised by these *Perreâs*; who also do such kinds of dirty work, as other people do not care to meddle with. Nor is their diet much more cleanly; for they do not scruple to eat cows, horses, fowl, or other carrion, which die of themselves, and even stink.

two
branches.

ONE would scarce imagine, that contentions for precedence should ever enter into the thoughts of a people, who have renounced all cleanliness, and, like swine, wallow in filth; and yet pride has divided the *Perreâs* into two classes. The first are simply called *Perreâs*, the other *Seriperes*. The employment of these latter is to go about selling leather, which they dress themselves; also to make bridles, and such kinds of things. Some of them likewise serve for soldiers. The *Perreâs*, who reckon themselves the better family, will not eat in the house of the *Seriperes*: but the *Seriperes* will readily eat with the *Perreâs*. For this reason they are obliged to pay them respect, by lifting their hands aloft, and standing upright before them. This a *Seripere* refusing to do at *Pahakâttâ*, in 1640, the *Perreâs* seized him, and cut off his hair: which is the greatest affront, or mark of contempt, that can be offered to them.

Seriperes,
or Halal-
chors:

THESE *Seriperes*, when they marry, cannot set up a *pandâl*, a kind of garland, before their doors, made with more than three stakes, or trees; should they exceed that number, it would be enough to put a whole city in motion. The *Seriperes* are likewise subject to some sort of slavery. For, when any person of credit, or authority, dies, in the families of the *Komitîs*, *Sittîs*, *Palîs*, farriers, or goldsmiths, and the friends

have a mind to be at the expence of some clothes to give the *Se-Hindû* *riperes*, these latter must suffer their beards to be shaven; and, *customs.* when the corps is carried out of town to be burned, or interred, they must do that office; for which each receives a *fanum*, or one piece and a half of silver, worth three sous and a half°. These are the same sort of people, who are called, at *Surât*, *Halalchor's* (T); that is, in the *Persian* language, *eat-alls*, or *'eaters at large*; for the reasons above-*soul feed-* mentioned. Nothing can offend an *Hindû* more, than to be called an *Halalchor*: yet these poor people take all in good part; cringe and bow to all they pass, and go through their drudgery without noise, or concern P.

III.

Manners and Customs of the Hindûs.

HAVING given our readers some account of the *Hindû* *Hindûs*: tribes, and families, we proceed to speak of their manners and customs; in which, regard will be chiefly had to those of the two inferior tribes; the *Shudderis*, or merchants, commonly called *Baniyâns*; and the *Wise*, comprising the mechanics, husbandmen, and other lower classes of people.

THE *Hindûs*, in general, are extremely sober; and never *their Cha-* commit any excess, either in eating, or drinking: they even *rafter*: seem to be born with a natural aversion to all intoxicating liquors (U). They are very reserved, with regard to women; at least outwardly: so that they never commit an indecent action in public. They are extremely charitable to the poor (X). It is an inviolable law, that all relations must assist one another; and share the little, which they possess, with those who are in want. They are of a very mild disposition; so that nothing shocks them so much as anger, and a hasty temper°. This is particularly remarkable in the *Baniyâns*; owing to the abhorrence which they have to shedding of blood; which, at the same time, renders them wholly unfit for being soldiers,

* ROGER, p. 14, & seqq. P OVINGTON'S Voy. to Surât, p. 382, & seq. 9 LE LANE ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. 10. p. 11.

(T) *Thevenot* writes *Halal-kour*, and says, they are also called *Der*; that they are the gold-finders of the *Indies*; that is, cleanse all the public and private houses of office, sweep the streets and houses.

(U) More of their temperance spoken of in the article relating to the *Mogols*.

(X) Their charity extends to birds and beasts; for which they build hospitals. In a pagod at *Surât*, *Thevenot* saw a man distributing flower among ants, leaving a handful where-ever he found any. *Trav. Ind.* part iii. ch. 14. p. 26.

Hindû
customs.

and gives them an aversion to war. Hence also it is, that they are not inclined to inflict any corporal punishments; but have a perfect detestation of those which are capital ^r.

not easily
offended:

As the *Baniyân* is formed of so very mild a temper, he is not easily offended. He will bear almost any thing, without emotion, excepting *slippering*; that is, a stroke with the sole of a slipper, after a person has taken it off his foot, and spit on it. This is dreaded above all affronts; and looked on to be no less ignominious, than spitting in the face, or throwing dirt, among us ^s.

greedy of
gain.

THE *Baniyâns* are extremely covetous, and greedy of gain. Our author knew some, who, though reputed to be worth an hundred thousand pounds, would run from one end of *Surât* to the other, for the prospect of gaining six pence. Their thoughts being thus continually bent on increasing their wealth, they generally secure a comfortable subsistence; and some of them amass a prodigious treasure ^t. Their riches consist solely in cash, and jewels; which they keep as secretly as they can from the knowledge of the *Mogol* officers. This curbs them in their expences, and obliges them to great secrecy in their commerce; so that they pay and receive their money in the night ^u.

Kindness
to ani-
mals.

INDIA is the only public theatre of justice and tenderness to brute animals: if a *Baniyân* happens to kill but a mite, or flea, the offence must be expiated by some considerable atonement. They condemn those of folly, as well as cruelty, who, for food, slay kids, lambs, chickens, or other young creatures; especially the calf, which is their darling animal, whose life they seldom fail to ransom ^x. Of this humanity to living things, the knavish *Mohammedan Fakîrs* often take advantage; threatening, in presence of a *Baniyân*, to kill some bird, or other creature, in order to extort money for its redemption. The *Portugueses*, and even the *English*, it seems, have practised this fraud upon those harmless *Indians*. Thus, the caterer of the factory at *Surât* buys a calf, as if for slaughter; but, in reality, to have it released by some *Baniyân*. Sometimes the young factors go out with a gun, pretending to shoot birds in the fields adjoining to the habitations of the *Baniyâns*; who immediately run, as for life; and with a *rûpi*, or two, bribe the fowler to desist, and not defile the ground with blood.

Hospitals
for cattle:

THEY are likewise at considerable expences annually, for supporting animals; as we are here for maintaining the poor.

^r OVINGTON'S Voy. *Surât*, p. 257. 277.

^t Ibid. p. 277, & seq.

^u Ibid. p. 296.

^v Ibid. p. 317.

^x Ibid. p. 357.

^y Ibid.

Within

Within a mile of *Surât*, they have a large hospital for cows, *Hindû* horses, goats, dogs, and other diseased, lame, or decayed creatures. When an ox, for instance, is, through age and toil, become unfit for farther service, lest this should tempt the mercilefs owner to kill him for his flesh, the *Baniyâns* either beg, or buy him; and then place him in the hospital to be taken care of, till he dies a natural death. Once a year they prepare a set banquet for all the flies which are in their houses, of sweet milk and sugar mixed, in large shallow dishes, set on the floor, or table, for the purpose. At other times, they walk with bags of rice under their arm, for two or three miles into the country, stopping at each ant-hill to leave a handful of that beloved grain. But the oddest fancy of all is their care for the preservation of fleas, bugs, and other vermin, which suck the blood of men: for in an hospital, near the former, built for their reception, a poor man is hired now-and-then to rest all night upon the *kot*, or bed, where the vermin are put; and, lest their stinging should force him to take his flight before morning, he is tied down to the place, and there lies, for them to glut themselves with human gore ^{and even vermin:}.

THEIR affection for animals is such, that they even adorn *snakes and* them; fastening, for instance, large rings of some metal about *rats:* the legs of a favourite cow, or goat. They shew the same regard for trees *. This great fondness for animals is nourished by their doctrine of the metempsychosis: in consequence of which, the scrivener, or secretary to the *English* brokers, for a long time fed a large snake, which came into his house, with bread and milk, on a supposition, that the soul of his deceased father was lodged in it. He was no less indulgent to some rats, which he likewise lodged in his house, and grew as familiar as cats, on the belief that they harboured the souls of some departed relations *.

THE *Hindûs*, in general, are of a low and timorous spirit; *timorous,* excepting the *Râjahpûts*, who are the military tribe: but their *but bonif.* other virtues make amends for that defect. The *Baniyâns*, who serve as factors, or brokers, whether to natives, or strangers, discharge their trust with great integrity: in like manner they of the fourth tribe, who hire themselves as servants, are so faithful, that, far from defrauding their masters on the road of a penny's-worth, they would die in defence both of them

* OVINGTON'S Voy. to *Surât*, p. 298, & seqq.
p. 321.

* Ibid.
* Ibid. p. 287, & seq.

Hindû
customs.

and their goods, if attacked by robbers (Y). Nor are they less diligent than faithful, being continually within call; nor are ever absent without leave. Thus, for five shillings a lunar month (which is their constant wages, provisions being cheap) they serve, and maintain themselves, with as much care, as if they had ten times the wages^b. These are better than the *Mohammedan* servants, who are more proud, and less to be depended on for their diligence, or honesty^c.

Shaving.

THE *Hindûs* wear little beards, and shave them, as they do their heads, all over. Their frequent shaving makes excellent barbers. The people of this profession seldom keep shop; but go about with a chequered apron thrown over their shoulder, and a mirror in their hand. Their implements consist of a razor, not an inch long; a brass basin, as big as a coffee-dish; and a piece of hard soap, which they dip in the basin; and, with no more water than it takes up, rub about the lips and head: in shaving which, few outdo them, for either ease, or expedition. They have an iron tool also; one end serves to pick and clear the ears, the other to pare the nails; both which they do dexterously: and all for a *goshik*; which is much under a farthing.

Washing.

THE *Hindûs* often wash their bodies, and keep their feet as clean as their hands. The better sort anoint themselves daily with sweet oils; which give them an agreeable scent. The poor also anoint with cocoa-nut oil; but that being rank, and themselves, both men and women, accustomed to eat *hing* and garlick, they smell so strong, that it is very offensive at first to strangers, in passing through places of resort^d.

Anointing.

ALL the different tribes of *Hindûs* are distinguished, from one another, by the cut of their beards, or different painting of their bodies and foreheads, as well as winding of their turbans. A *Brammân* paints himself on the forehead, with a *Pythagorean* Y between his eye-brows, descending to his nose; and gives to every tribe its peculiar mark^e.

How distinguished.

Shape.

THE male *Indians* are tall, and large-boned. Their colour varies according to the different parts they inhabit. The women are small, and for the most part plump; but short in respect

^b TERRY's Voy. to Ind. sect. 8. p. 396.
Ind. part iii. p. 72.

^c THEV. Trav.

^d TERRY, p. 376, sect. 5. FRYER's

Trav. p. 194.

^e FRYER, *ibid.* p. 194.

(Y) Our author *Terry*, on this occasion, thinks an *Indian* merchant, travelling in *England* with a guard of soldiers, would run

in imminent danger of being murdered by them, that they might plunder his goods.

of the men. They ate neat, and well-shaped ; they keep their breasts carefully bound up, which prevents their spreading. They are quick in labour, and affectionate to their children ; bearing them naked on their hips astraddle. They are cleanly, as well in their cookery as their bodies ; plucking up the hair by the roots in every part, excepting their heads ; where they let it grow in tresses ^f.

Hindû
customs.
Women.

THE garments, which the *Indians* wear, are generally made of white callico, fashioned into *kabas*, or out-coats, like our frocks, turning over the breast as far as the shoulders ; and from thence tied with strings down to the middle, on the left side, to distinguish them from the *Mohammedans*, who tie them on the right side. As their breeches reach to their heels, they wear no stockings ; nor have a name for them in their language ^g. All the garb of the women consists in a *lungbi*, or piece of callico tied loose over the shoulders, and tucked between their legs, in nature of short breeches : besides a short waistcoat, or ephod, to keep up their breasts.

Orna-
ments.

To make amends for this plainness of dress, or rather want of clothing, in the females, they set themselves off with variety of trinkets. The rich adorn the tresses of their hair with gold, and jewels ; the poor braid them with strings of jessamin-flowers ; whereof they likewise make necklaces. The rich have their arms and feet adorned with gold and silver ; the meaner sort with glass, brass, or *tuttinague* : besides rings at their noses, ears, fingers, and toes ; which obliges them to go bare-footed, shoes being only allowed their midwives ^h. The women have generally the lobes of their ears bored when young ; which become in time so large, by means of the things put into the holes to stretch them, as to hold rings as broad as saucers, with a chanel on the outer circumference, for the flesh to enter and support it ⁱ.

IN short, the main cost of the *Hindûs*, especially the *Bani-yâns*, is expended on their wives ; whose greatest joy consists in gaiety of dress, and the above-mentioned ornaments ; which the very women, who carry water about the streets, will not appear without. Widows, who survive their husbands, are the only females incapable of this happiness : for they are restrained from wearing jewels, as well as shaven, being distinguished from others by a red *lungbi* ^k.

THE women scruple no more than the men to do their occasions in the public streets, or highways : for which purpose,

Odd
custom.

^f TERRY, p. 197, & seq.

^g OVINGTON, ubi sup. p.

314.

^h FRYER, ubi sup. p. 197, & seq.

ⁱ TERRY,

sect. 19.

^k OVINGTON, p. 319, & seq.

*Hindû
customs.*

at sun-rise and sun-set, they go out in droves to some dead-wall, if in the city; and, in case any pass by in the interim, they turn their bare backsides on them, but hide their faces. When they have done their business, they wash the parts with the left hand, because they eat with the right. The men, who exonerate apart from the women, squat like them when they make water. The *Mohammedans* think hard of the *Hindû* females for this freedom; as they do of the *English*, when they see them saluted with a kiss, or walk with a man in a garden. Although their food is nothing but vegetables, concocted with fair water, yet they leave such a stink behind them, that it is but ill taking the air, either in the streets, or without their towns, near the rivers and ditches (Z). What is still more strange, the cows watch the usual times to go lick up their ordure; which they are very fond of. Although this custom may seem indecent to us, yet it cannot be said to be uncleanly: nor can the *Hindûs* be charged with either sluttishness, or sloth; for, besides their constant washings at their times of devotion, they never eat nor drink, before they have cleansed themselves, with water poured all over them from head to foot. Nor will they suffer any parts of their body to harbour nastiness, they using depilatories for breast, arm-pits, and groins; are always shaving their heads and beards, cutting their nails, washing their mouths, and rubbing their teeth, whereby they look like ivory¹.

*Cleanliness
and in-
dustry.*

THE life of the *Hindûs* is a continued series of industry. These are they who till the ground, plant, sow, and breed the cattle: these are they who make and sell those curious manufactures, with the cloth and stuffs, which this part of the world affords^m.

Diet.

For their diet, part of the *Hindûs*, as those of the tribes of *Kutteri* and *Wise* (that is, of the soldiers and common people, including the mechanics and all downwards), eat animal food; those of the *Bramans* and *Shudderi*, or merchants, never touch any flesh-meat; feeding upon vegetables, milk-meats, fruits, and sweet-meats.

THERE are two sorts of food very common among the *Hindûs*; *dye* and *kicheri*. The first is sweet-milk turned thick,

¹ TERRY, p. 200.

^m Ibid. p. 19.

(Z) On the contrary, *Ovington* says, p. 316, that, although the streets of *Surât* are, in many places, overspread with the excrements both of men and beasts; yet the passengers are

never molested with an unfavourable smell, because the strength of the vapours is diminished by the attenuation of the sun's heat.

mixed

mixed with boiled rice and fugar. This is very effectual to Hindû
restrain the violence of fevers and fluxes, the prevailing di- *arts.*
stempers of India. *Kicheri* is made of *dol*; that is, a small
round pea and rice boiled together: and is very strengthen-
ing, although not very savory.

THE constant drink of the *Baniyâns* is rain-water; which, *Drink.*
falling in the time of the *mussowns* (or *monsoons*), is preserved
in *tanks*, and cisterns, for the whole year: for they seldom
drink of well, or river-water^a. Although they never touch
strong liquors; yet they indulge themselves with tea and cof-
fee. This last, when rightly prepared, carries a kind of yel-
low oil at top; which gives it an agreeable relish, but it requires
much art to bring it to that perfection. Tea is universally
drank; and, although such hot liquor may not seem proper
for so hot an air, yet the *Europeans* themselves find it very
conducive to health^a.

As the *Hindûs* never drink out of the same cup with a *Way of*
Christian, or any person of a different tribe, nor will defile *drinking.*
their lips with water which has been touched by a stranger;
they have contrived to quench their thirst, like the antient
Thracians, by holding the spouted vessel at a certain distance,
and pouring it into their mouths, without either shutting them,
or drawing their breath^a. By this means, a mixed company
may drink out of the same cup, or phial; and some are so dex-
terous at it, as to lift a pretty large bowl above a span above
their mouths, and pour in a torrent of water, without wetting
themselves^a. However, for fear of the worst, they com-
monly carry with them jars of water, when they go abroad^a.

THEIR times of eating are about eight or nine in the morn- *Times of*
ing, and at four or five in the afternoon: the heat of the day *eating.*
is spent in rest and sleeping, either upon *kots*, or beds; or
bechanahs, which are thick quilts, spread the whole breadth
of a room and length of a man, with bolsters at the head,
where eight or nine may sleep together. They seldom take
their repose without a *wench* in their arms; that is, a small
pillow upon their stomach, to defend it from the ambient
vapours: and seldom use any other covering, but their shirts
and drawers; except it be a sheet, or slight callico, spread
over them^a.

THE *Indians* are in many things of matchless ingenuity, and *Mechanics*
admirable imitators of whatever they copy. The *Baniyân*, by *ingenuity*;
strength of his brain only, will sum up his account with no

^a OVINGTON, p. 310.^a Ibid. p. 305, & seq.^a Ibid.

p. 295.

^a DE LA VALLE's Voy. Ind. p. 43. fol. Engl.^a OVINGTON, ubi sup.^a Ibid. p. 313, & seq.

Hindû
arts.

less exactness, and quicker dispatch, than the readiest arithmetician can with his pen. The silk-weavers will exactly imitate the nicest and most beautiful patterns, which are brought from *Europe*; and the very ship-carpenters at *Surât* will take the model of an *English* vessel, in all the curiosity of its building, and most artificial instances of workmanship about it, whether proper for the conveniency of burthen, or of quick sailing, as exactly as if they had been the first contrivers. The taylor here shape the cloaths for *Europeans*, of either sex, according to the mode which prevails (A); and fit up the towering head-dresses for the women with as much skill, as if they had been an *Indian* fashion, or themselves had been bred apprentices at the *Royal Exchange*. In some things, the artists of *India* out-do all the ingenuity of *Europe*; as in painting *chites* (commonly called *chints*); which in *Europe* cannot be paralleled, either in brightness, or duration, of the colours (B). The gold stripes likewise in their *soofeys*, and gold flowers in their *at-lasses*, are imitated with us, but not to perfection. Likewise the cornelian rings, with double chains of gold about them, meeting at several distances, where sparks of diamonds, rubies, or sapphires, are set for ornament, surpass the skill of any other nation to perform.

great art-
ists:

their tools
and en-
gines

THIS is the account we have of the *Hindû* mechanics and manufacturers, from *Surât*; and, if we go to the extremity of the *Indies* eastward, we shall find it the same. The artificers of *Bengâl*, says a certain missionary, are surprisingly skilful. Their linen cloth is so fine, that pieces of a great breadth may be drawn through a ring. They will fine-draw a piece of torn muslin so curiously, that it is impossible to find the seam; and put together pieces of broken glass, or china, so artfully, that no eye can discover, that they were ever severed. Their goldsmiths are extremely curious in filagree works; and imitate, to great perfection, those of *Europe*; although their forge and other implements do not cost above a *French* crown. The weavers, with looms of no greater price, sitting in their own yards, or by the way-side, weave the fine linens, which are so much sought after in all parts of the world. A

very
simple:

* OVINGTON, p. 279, & 321.

(A) *Terry* says, they are very dexterous in making shoes and boots, cloths and linen, after the *European* fashion. *Voy. to Ind.* sect. v. p. 378.

(B) We know not how far

this judgment may hold good at present; especially since the printing of linen hath been brought to such perfection in *England*.

hand-mill, which does not cost ten pence, is used for breaking *Hindû* the sugar-canes. A mason will lay the floor of the largest hall, *sciences.* with a kind of mortar composed of brick-dust and lime, in such a manner, that the whole shall appear as a single stone; much harder than sandy stone. Our author saw a kind of pent-house, forty feet long, eight broad, and four or five inches thick, raised in his presence, and fixed to the wall by one side, without any other support. Their chemists pulverise all kinds of metal with great ease; and make use of the first vessel they meet with, to extract quicksilver out of cinnabar, and for other mercurial preparations; which they do in the most simple manner ^u.

To the foregoing remarks, in praise of the *Indian* mechanics, let us add a few more from other authors. *Terry* assures us, that they are excellent painters, and copy any picture so exactly, that it will be difficult to distinguish it from the original: however, painting is not encouraged in the *Mogol's* country ^{excellent painters}. *Bernier* saw guns, and pieces of goldsmiths work, so well done, that he doubted if, in *Europe*, they could be executed better: but the workmen being despised, and ill-treated by the great men, few good ones are to be found ^v. They have the art of working in gold upon agate, crystal, and other brittle matters; which the *European* goldsmiths and lapidaries have not. They fit gold rings to the brims, or middle, of drinking vessels. This work, though very nice, is performed ^{and goldsmiths.} by poor people, and sometimes by little boys; who do it with skill and dispatch. What helps much to perfect the manufacturers and mechanics in their several professions, is, that among the *Mohammedans*, as well as Pagans, every one breeds his children up to his own trade and occupation; and not to any other ^z.

GREAT praise, doubtless, is due to the industry and genius *Brâmmân* of the *Indian* mechanics: let us now take a view of learning; *learning:* and see if the *Brâmmans*, who treat them with such contempt, have acquitted themselves as well, with regard to the sciences, the care of which they claim wholly to themselves ^a.

As poetry is generally the first science, which any nation *their poet-* cultivates, the *Hindûs* have not neglected it; and to this day *try:* abound with poets. But, we are told, the unity of action is not so strictly observed in their *Purân*, and other poems, as in *Homer* and *Virgil*; although that rule is followed in some. The *Indian* fables, which the *Arabs* and *Persians* have so often

^a P. PAPIN. Lett. Ediff. tom. ix. p. 420, & seqq. ^z TERRY. p. 378. sect. v. ^v BERNIER, part iii. p. 30, 35, & seq. ^u Ibid. ^a LA LANE ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. x. p. 400.

Hindû
sciences.

translated, are a collection of five small poems, perfectly regular, composed for the education of the princes of *Pâtna* (C). It is true, eloquence never was much in use among the *Brâmmans*, much less has the art of discoursing well on subjects been cultivated by them: but they have a great number of books, containing rules with relation to the purity, beauty, and ornaments, of diction; which makes a particular science by itself ^b.

history:

Of all parts of literature, history seems to be that which has been least regarded by the *Hindûs*, who are excessively fond of the marvellous; to which vicious taste, the *Bramâns*, for sake of interest, have conformed themselves. However, the princes, without doubt, have regular histories of their ancestors; especially in *Hindûstân*, where they are more powerful, and *Râjapûts* by tribe (D). There are likewise in the north, books called *Nâtak*; which the *Brâmmans* affirm contain many antient histories, without any mixture of fable. There are likewise in their poems many precious remains of antiquity, relating to the antediluvian world, as well as the *Affyrian* and *Macedonian* empires: but they are to be acquired only at a vast expence, and by a perfect knowlege of the *Samskret* language ^c.

mathema-
tics:

THE *Brâmmans* have cultivated almost all the parts of mathematics; nor is algebra unknown to them: but astronomy, or rather astrology, was always the principal object of their mathematical studies; because the superstition, as well of the grandees as the people, made it turn most to their profit. They have several treatises of astronomy: with regard to which, there is room to believe, that some learned *Greek*, as *Pythagoras*, travelling formerly into the *Indies*, learned the *Brâmmans* sciences; and, in return, left them his method of astronomy, with the *Greek* names of the planets, twelve signs, and other terms. This our author discovered at *Dehli*, and shewed to the astronomers, who are very numerous in the famous observatory, built lately in that capital by *Râjah Jaesing*; who may be stiled the restorer of the *Indian* astronomy.

philosophy.

THAT which rendered the name of gymnosophists most famous in antiquity, was their philosophy; which, by way of

^b P. PONS ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 228.
229, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p.

(C) Or the *Pâtan* princes, so often mentioned in the history of the *Indies*, who reigned in *Hindûstân* before the *Mohammadans*.

(D) This seems to imply that the *Râjahs* in the southern parts, or peninsula of *India*, are of the *Brâmmans* tribe.

excellence,

excellence, they call *śāstram*, that is, *science*; which consists Hindū of logic, metaphysics, and a little physiology (E). The sole *sciences* end, to which all the philosophic enquiries of the *Brāhmins* tend, is the *Moukti*, or deliverance of the soul from the captivity and miseries of this life, by a perfect felicity; which essentially is, either the deliverance of the soul, or its immediate effect ^d.

As the *Greeks* had several schools of philosophy, so among *Six sects*. the antient *Brāhmins* there were six principal schools, or sects (F); named *Niyāyam*, *Vedāntam*, *Sankiam*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Pāñjalām*, and *Bhāṣām*. These are what are simply termed the sciences; each of which is distinguished from the rest by some peculiar sentiment on felicity, and the means of obtaining it ^e. The first of these schools is famous for logic, *Logic*. the second for metaphysics. With regard to the former, their rules for syllogism are exact, and differ chiefly from ours in this; that, according to the *Brāhmins*, a perfect syllogism ought to have four terms (G). The school of *Niyāyam*; that is, *reason*, or *judgment*, is most famous for this art, which, however, at present, is employed about infinite questions, more subtle than useful; and is, in short, a medley of trifles; such as was the logic of *Europe* about two centuries ago ^f. *Metaphysics*.

BESIDES the six sects, there are several others; which, in matters of religion, are so many heresies. Amongst these, the most remarkable are the *Agama-śāstram*, and the *Bauddha-mattham*. The followers of the *Agamam* would have no difference of conditions amongst men (H), nor legal ceremonies; and are accused of magic. The *Bauddhists*, whose notion of the *Other* transmigration of souls is universally received, are accused of *sects*. atheism; and admit of no principles of knowledge but our senses.

^d P. PONS ap. Lett. Ediff. p. 235.

^e Ibid. p. 239.

^f Ibid. p. 246.

(E) The *Danish* missionaries at *Tranquebar* say, that the *Mahabars* have their course of philosophical sciences, and treat them in as regular a manner as the schools in *Europe*. *Propag. Gosp. in the East*, part ii. p. 19.

(F) It is doubtless of these sects that *Bernier* speaks, part iii. p. 160, when he says, that among the *Hindū* philosophers, six have been very famous; who make so many different sects, which divide the *Pendets*, or doctors;

each pretending his doctrine to be better than that of the rest, and more conformable to their sacred books; which, they say, contain the grounds of their sciences, as well as religion.

(G) For instance; where there is smoke there is fire: there is smoke on that mountain; therefore there is fire there.

(H) Possibly this ought to be understood only with regard to the distinction of tribes among the *Hindūs*.

Bauddha

Hindû
sciences.

Baouda (I), (or *Boudda*) is the *Fo-to* among the *Chineſes*; and the *Baoudiſts*, the ſect of the *Bonzas* and *Lamas*; as the *Agamiſts* are the ſect of the people of *Mâha Sin*, or the *grand Sin*; which comprehends all the kingdoms weſt of *Persia*^z. From the ſchool of *Niyâyam* formerly iſſued the moſt famous adverſaries of the *Baoudiſts*; who, by their inſtigations, underwent a moſt horrible maſſacre, in ſeveral kingdoms. *Batta*, one of the two, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in this diſpute, to purify himſelf from ſo much blood, which he had been the cauſe of ſhedding, burned himſelf, with great ſolemnity, at *Jagannat*, on the coaſt of *Oriſſa*^h, commonly written *Orixa*.

First prin-
ciples of
things,

ALL theſe ſects ſpeak of the firſt principles of things; but very differently. Some ſay, that all is compoſed of bodies indiviſible; not by their ſolidity and hardneſs, but their minuteness. Others ſay, all is made up of *matter* and *form*: but none of them explains himſelf clearly about the matter, much leſs about the form. Some hold, that all conſiſts of four elements and a *nothing*: but do not explain themſelves concerning mixtion and tranſmutation. And as for their *nothing*, which comes near to our *privation*, they admit many ſorts, which they ſeem to underſtand no better than other things. According to ſome, *light* and *darkneſs* are the firſt principles; about which they utter a great deal of idle and conſuſed ſtuff. Nor do thoſe explain themſelves better, who for the firſt principle admit *privation*, or rather *privations*; which they diſtinguiſh from *nothing* in a very uncouth manner. Laſtly, ſome affirm, that all is compoſed of *accidents*; of which likewiſe they make odd and tedious enumerations (K). Touching theſe principles in general, they all agree that they are *eternal*: our production out of nothing not having come into their thoughts^l.

from all
eternity.

Morality.

WITH regard to morality, or moral philoſophy, they have a very fine ſyſtem, contained in many works of the *Niti Shâſtram*, or *Moral Science*; which is uſually comprized in ſententious verſes, like thoſe of *Cato*. In this branch of philoſophy, which is communicated by the *Brâmmans* to the other tribes, ſeveral authors among the *Shoutres*, and even the *Pârias*, have acquired a great reputation^k.

^z P. PONS, ubi ſupr. p. 239, & ſeqq.

^h Ibid. p. 246.

^l BERNIER, part. iv. p. 163.

^k PONS, ubi ſupr. p. 234.

(I) By *Bernier* called *Batta*; being hated and deſpiſed, as irreligious and atheiſtical people.
(K) We muſt ſuſpend our judgment, till we ſee their books.

MANY of the *Brámmans* study physic; of which they have *Hindús* many little books: but they are rather collections of recipes *sciences.* than any thing else: the most antient and chief whereof are in verse. Their practice is very different from what, in our *Physic.* author *Bernier's* time, was observed in *France*: for they ground themselves on these principles, that one who is sick of a fever needs no great nourishment: that the main remedy in all kinds of sickness is abstinence: that there is nothing worse for a sick body than flesh-broth; nor which corrupts sooner in the stomach of a feverish patient: that no blood should ever be taken away, except in the greatest and most evident necessity; as when a delirium is apprehended, or some considerable part, as the chest, liver, or kidneys, is inflamed. This practice, which is attended with success in the *Indies*, is followed also by the *Mohammedan* physicians, especially as to meat broths^k.

A PHYSICIAN is not allowed to visit a patient in *Bengál*, *Physi-* unless he can point out his distemper, and discover the state *cians.* of his constitution; which he does easily by feeling the pulse: a sure method (K), as our author has experienced. Most of them throw a drop of water into the patient's urine (L): if it spreads, they say he is very hot inwardly; but if it does not, it betokens want of heat^l.

FOR all this, the *Hindús* understand nothing at all of ana- *Anatomy.* tomy. Nor is it to be wondered at, when they never open the body of man or beast; nor can bear the sight of such an operation. Yet they affirm, that there are 5000 veins in man, neither more nor less; as if they had actually counted them all.

TOUCHING astronomy, they have their tables, according *Astronomy,* to which they calculate eclipses, pretty nearly as exact as the *Europeans*: yet account for them very absurdly; affirm- *or astro-* *logy.* ing, that both the solar and lunar are occasioned by *Rah*, a black *Deuta*, or demon; who, seizing those luminaries; blackens them as it were with ink, and so darkens their light. They hold also, that the moon is above 50,000 leagues higher than the sun: that she is lucid of herself; and from her we receive a certain vital water, which, gathering in the brain, descends thence into all the members, and gives them their

^k BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 165.
426.

^l PAPIN, ubi sup. p.

(K) Perhaps they had this method from the *Chineses*, who have formed the doctrine of the pulse into a science.

(L) *Ovington* mentions this practice, p. 351, used by a *Brámmán* at *Surat*.

Hindû
sciences. } respective functions. More than this, they believe, that the sun, moon, and all the stars, are *Deutas*: that it is night, when the sun is behind the imaginary mountain *Someyra* (M), and day, when he gets out from its shade. This mountain they say is in the middle of the earth, in form of an inverted cone, and many thousand miles high^m.

Hindû su-
perstition, } ON this occasion we cannot forbear to divert our readers with an account of the behaviour of the *Hindûs*, during the time of an eclipse, which happened at *Dehli* in the year 1666. *Bernier*, from the terrace of his house, which was situated on the side of the *Jemna*, saw both sides of the river, for near a league in length, covered with *Hindûs*; who stood in the water, up to the girdle, demurely looking unto the sky, watching when the eclipse should begin, in order to perform their ceremony. The little boys and girls were stark-naked; the men had only a scarf about their waist; and the married women, with young maidens of six or seven, were covered with a single cloth. Their *Râjahs*, or sovereign princes, bankers, jewellers, and other great merchants, who were mostly beyond the river, in tents, had set up *kanâtes*, or screens, in the water, to wash themselves, with their wives, and not be seen by others.

about
eclipses. } THE moment the eclipse commenced, those idolaters raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves into the stream, for several times successively: then standing up again, with lifted eyes and hands, muttered their prayers with great devotion; and, from time to time, threw up water towards the sun, bowing their heads very low, and turning their arms and hands sometimes one way, sometimes another. All these ceremonies they continued to repeat till the end of the eclipse; and then every one retired, casting some pieces of silver a good way into the water, and giving alms to the *Brâmmans*, who failed not to attend. Our author took notice, that, at their going out of the water, they all took new cloaths, which were laid ready for them on the sand; and that many of the devouter sort left their old garments for the *Brâmmans*. It must be observed, that this eclipse was celebrated after the same manner not only in the *Indus*, *Ganges*, and all other rivers, but also in the reservatories of water, throughout the *Indies*ⁿ.

French
panic. } HOWEVER, *Europeans* have no reason to laugh at this folly and superstition of the *Hindûs*: they were formerly as deeply immersed in it as they. And the same author, speaking of a solar eclipse, which happened but twelve years before in

^m BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 166, & seqq.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 105, & seqq.

(M) Their best astronomers hold the sun to be in the center.

France,

France, tells us, that he was surpris'd at the childish credulity of the common people in France, who were seized with such a panic on the occasion, that some bought drugs against the eclipse; others retired to dark caves and chambers: while multitudes fled for shelter into the churches; believing that the last day was come; and that the eclipse would not only shake, but overturn the foundations of nature: in spite of any thing which the *Gassendis*, *Robervals*, and many other philosophers, had written to demonstrate, that the said eclipse was of the same nature with preceding eclipses, and would be attended with no worse effects than those had been °.

Hindus
sciences.



In geography the *Brāhmans* are no better skilled than in astronomy. They hold the earth to be flat and triangular; and that it hath seven stories, all differing in beauty and perfection, as well as inhabitants; and that each is encompassed with its respective sea, one of milk, another of sugar, the third of butter, the fourth of wine, and so forth: that the mountain *Someyra* passing through the middle of these stories (which consist interchangeably of an earth and a sea), the first story begins at the foot thereof: that all these earths are inhabited by *Deutas*, lessening in perfection, till you come to the seventh, which is ours, peopled by men far less perfect than any of the *Deutas*: lastly, that this whole mass is sustained upon the heads of many elephants; which, when they stir, are the cause of earthquakes °.

Geography
absurd.

BERNIER, reflecting on these absurdities, makes this just observation, that if those famous sciences of the antient Brahmins of the Indies were such as above set forth, and which their being written in the *Hanskrit* language seems to prove, great numbers have been deceived in the high opinion which they have entertained of them. An air of mystery, in things of this nature, ought always to be considered as a cloak to conceal the absurdities or imperfections which lie underneath. In short, we are told, the *Brāhmans* affect this obscurity to such a degree, that, not content with having terms unknown to the vulgar, they have wrapped up the most common things in mysterious language °.

Remark.

THE city of *Bernāres*, or *Waranāsi*, called also *Kāsi*, or *Benāres* *Kāsi*, situated in *Bengāl*, in a rich country upon the river *Ganges*, is the general school, and, as it were, the *Athens* (N).

Benāres
university.

° *BERNIER*, ubi sup. p. 104.

° Ibid. p. 168, & seq.

° *PONS*, ubi sup. p. 227.

(N) They have universities in several other parts of *Hindustān*, as well as the peninsula of *India*; but that of *Benāres*, or *Kāsi*, is acknowledged to be the principal.

Hindû marriages. of the gentry of the *Indies*. Here the *Brâmmans*, and religious, who addict themselves to study, assemble together. They have no colleges, nor classes, as in *Europe*; but the masters (more after the school of the antient *Greeks*) are dispersed over the town in their houses, and especially in the gardens of the suburbs, where the great merchants permit them to teach.

Studies. These masters have four, six, or seven disciples, and the most famous twelve or fifteen, who spend ten or a dozen years with them: for they are of a slow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the country contributes much; nor have they the hopes of some good place to excite them to study. Their first study is the *Hanskrit* (rather *Sanškrit*, but more properly *Samskrtam*, or *Samskroutam*); that is, a pure language; which is quite different from the common *Indian*, and known only to the *pendets*, or doctors. As their *beths* (*vedam*), or sacred books, which are of great antiquity, are written in this language, they call it *holy* and *divine*. They have many other books in this tongue: of which our author saw a great hall quite full at *Banares*. Among them were several in philosophy and physick, both in verse and prose, with many poems.

Books. AFTER they have learned this language, which is very difficult (O), they commonly apply themselves to read the *purân*, which is the interpretation and sum of the *beths*; which are very large. After the *purân*, some study philosophy; wherein, says *Bernier*, they have made no great progress.

Hindû wedding. THE *Hindûs* never marry out of the tribe to which they belong. Thus a *Brâmmân* is married to the daughter of a *Brâmmân*: a merchant's son marries a merchant's daughter; and the son of a *Kûli*, who tills the ground, takes to wife the daughter of a *Kûli*. In like manner, the children are bred to the father's trade or business: so that although this is the way for them to become great proficient in every art, yet they have no opportunity of ever rising higher than they were at first. No man has more than one wife at a time: they marry at six or seven years of age, and bed by fifteen at farthest, often at thirteen. Their marriages are solemnized like the *Mohammedan*, with much company and noise: but with this difference; that the young people ride openly on horseback; bedecked with flowers fastened to their garments.

† BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 158, & seqq.
Ind. sect. 19.

• TERRY Voy.

(O) *Bernier* ascribes the difficulty of it to their having no grammar worth any thing: whereas the late missionaries say they have the most perfect grammars imaginable. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, tom. xxvi. p. 222.

As

As the *Hindûs* reckon marriage one of the most happy actions of a man's life, and to die unmarried one of the greatest misfortunes, they therefore marry their children about seven years of age, that they may procure the one, and prevent the other¹. The match being made between the parents, messengers and presents are sent to those of the maiden, accompanied with drums and trumpets, as well as songs in praise of her accomplishments. In return for this, presents are sent back to the bridegroom, in token of their acceptance of the nuptial proffer. Then, on the day appointed by the *Brâmmans* for the ceremony², the bridegroom, attended by the sons of all the persons of the same trade in the town, some on horseback, others in palankins and coaches, dressed in a shewy manner, proceed through the chief streets, accompanied with music and gilded pageants. The bridegroom is distinguished from the rest by a crown on his head, richly decked with jewels.

Hindû
marriages.
Form of
courtship.

NEXT day the bride takes her turn, attended by all the maidens of the same family, in the same pompous way; and, towards evening, returns home to be joined in wedlock³, that being the time of performing the ceremony among the *Hindûs*⁴. It begins by kindling a fire, and placing it between the parties to be married, to intimate the ardency which ought to be in their affections: then both are inclosed with a silken string, to denote the insoluble bond of matrimony. After this, a cloth is put between them, to signify, that before marriage there ought to be no intimacy between them. This done, the *Brâmmans* pronounce a certain form of words, enjoining the man to allow the woman all things convenient for her, and charging the woman to be faithful to her husband: then pronouncing a blessing upon them, that they may be fruitful, the cloth is taken away, and the silken string unloosed; which puts an end to the ceremony. There is no dowry given, excepting the jewels which are worn on the bridal day: and to the feast none repair, but those who are of the same family⁵.

Marriage
ceremony.

IN marriage they have certain legal injunctions, by which the tribes are differenced: first, that no woman marry a second time, unless she be of the tribe of *Wise* (or *Weyz*), who are the handicraftsmen. Secondly, that second marriage is permitted to the men of all the tribes, excepting that of the *Brâmmans*. Thirdly, that all marry within their own tribe;

Marriage
rules.

¹ Oving. 322.

² Ibid. 328.

³ Lord, 319.

⁴ Oving. 32.

⁵ Lord's Banian relig. ch. 9. See also

Oving. p. 322, 328, & seqq.

Hindû marriages. *Brâmmans* with *Brâmmans*, *Kutteris* with *Kutteris*, and *Shud-deris* with *Shudderis* : but the *Wises* are obliged to marry not only with those of their own tribe, but with persons of their own trade (P); as the son of a barber to the daughter of a barber, and so of the rest ^a.

Baptism. THE ceremony of baptism, or naming their children, is different among the *Brâmmans* from that used by the other tribes. The latter are only washed in water : after which, one of the relations, holding the point of a pen towards the child's forehead, prays, that *God would write good things therein* : then those present say *amen*, and give the infant its name (Q). Lastly, the *Brâmmans* makes a mark in his forehead with a red ointment, in token of admission into their church, and the ceremony is ended. The children of *Brâmmans* are not only washed with water, but anointed with oil : the priest, by way of consecration, saying, *O Lord, we present unto thee this child, born of an holy tribe, anointed with oil, and cleansed with water*. Then, having performed the former ceremonies, they all pray, that he may live a righteous observer of the law of the *Brâmmans*. After this they calculate the child's nativity, from the position of the twelve signs at the time of his birth ; which they conceal till the day of his marriage, reckoned one of the happiest in his life ; then publish the dangers past, and evils to come, as resulting from that scheme ^b.

Childbed. THE mother, till ten days after childbed, is touched by none but a dry nurse : nor is allowed to have a hand in dressing victuals till the forty days of purification be over. The cradles for children are hung in the air, to a beam or post, by strings tied to each end, and so swing to and fro by the slightest touch, with a much gentler motion than ours, which are placed on the ground ^c.

Last sickness. WHEN a person is past hopes of recovery, they enjoin him to invoke *Narrawne*, which is the name of God, importing mercy to sinners : then, as his spirits languish, they stretch out his hand, and, pouring water into it, pray to *Kistneruppon*, God of water, to present him pure to the Sovereign

^a LORD'S Banian relig. ch. 9. p. 336, & seq.

^b LORD, *ibid.*

^c Oving.

(P) Ovington says, p. 283, that the different sects (or families) of *Baniyâns* refrain both from intermarrying and eating in common : but this seems to be a mistake.

(Q) Ovington, who, p. 235, says, this giving a name is performed ten days after the birth, describes the ceremony after another manner ; which shews it differs on certain occasions.

Being,

Being, with that offering of his hand. As soon as his life is *Hindû* departed, they wash his body, in token of his cleanness and *funerals*. purity^d.

If a *Râjah* dies, his subjects and dependants cut off their *Mourning*. beards, and shave their heads, as tokens of the deepest mourning; which is never shewn but for a prince, a parent, or some nearest relation.

ON the death of any friend the *Baniyâns* make costly feasts, for the two or three days following: then they observe the twelfth, twentieth, thirtieth, and fortieth, days after, besides one day every quarter till the annual solemnity returns^e.

THE generality of the *Hindûs*, instead of burying, burn *Dead* their dead. The corpse being carried to the side of some *bodies*, river, appropriated to such purpose, and laid on the ground, the *Brâmman* who officiates, pronounceth these words: *O earth! we commend unto thee this our brother. Whilst he lived, thou hadst an interest in him. Of the earth he was made: by the blessing of the earth he was nourished; and now he is dead we surrender him up to thee.* After this, combustible matter is put to the body, and kindled by help of sweet oil: then aromatic odours are strewed thereon, and the *Brâmman* saith, *O fire! whilst he lived, thou hadst a claim in him, by whose natural heat he subsisted: we return therefore his body to thee, that thou mayst purge it.* This done, the son of the deceased setteth a pot of water on the ground, with a pot of milk upon it; and, throwing a stone at the lower pot, breaks it to pieces, which brings the other down. This gives him an occasion to moralize thus: that as the stone, by its violent motion, caused both the vessels to shed their liquors; so did the assault made by sickness destroy his father's body, and bring it to dissolution, like milk and water spilt on the ground, never to be retrieved.

WHEN the corpse is consumed, they scatter the ashes in the *commonly* air, while the *Brâmman* repeats these words: *O air! whilst burned*. *through thee he lived, he breathed: and now, having breathed his last, we yield him up to thee.* Lastly, when the ashes are fallen into the water, the priest uttereth; *O water! whilst he lived, thy moisture did sustain him: and, now his body is dispersed, take thy part in him.* Thus they give to every element its own: for as they affirm every man's life to be continued by the four elements, so, they say, he ought to be divided among them at his death. This funeral solemnity being over, the *Brâmman* presents the son, or nearest akin, a register of the times when his ancestors died; and, at the

^d LORD, ubi supr. ch. 9.

^e OVIINGT. p. 340.

Hindû funerals. same time reads to him the law of mourners; importing, that for ten days he must neither chew *betel*, oil his head, nor put on clean cloaths. Also, that for a whole year, every month, on the day of his father's decease, he must make a feast, and pay a visit to the river which received his parent's ashes ^f.

Some broiled only. ALTHOUGH burning in this manner is the common usage, yet it is not strictly followed by the *Hindûs*: for some do no more than broil the corpse, with a little straw, on the river-side, and then cast them from a steep rock into the water; as *Bernier* had often seen upon the *Ganges*. Some likewise, when they perceive a sick person near death, carry him to the side of a river, and first putting his feet into the water, afterwards let him slip down as high as his throat. When they think he is ready to expire, they sink him quite under water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their hands. The same author was once present at this inhuman kind of burial. The reason for which, alleged by the learned, as well as vulgar, is, *that the soul, leaving the body, may be washed from all the impurities she might have contracted during her abode in it* ^g.

Burnt before dead. In like manner the body is burnt sometimes before it is quite dead, when they think it past recovery. A *Baniyan*, who was broker to the *English* at *Surat*, was thus hurried away to the burning-place as he was just expiring: but, being happily met by the *English* surgeon, who felt his pulse, and gave some hopes of recovery, some kinder friend among the rest dissuaded the company from proceeding; and, in a little time, he was restored to health ^h.

Widows frequently burn themselves. SINCE the time when the laws for burning the bodies of the dead were made, it hath become a fashion for widows to accompany the corpse of their husbands in the funeral flames. They who cohabited with the deceased (R), marry not a second time: but, as they are obliged to cut their hair, and spend the remainder of their lives as creatures quite neglected; some, as well to avoid this reproachful state, as out of love to their husbands, choose to burn themselves. For the general, there is no compulsion in the case; except, when some great

^f LORD, ubi supr. ch. 9.
^g Ovingt. p. 341.

^h BERNIER, part iii. p. 129, &

(R) According to *Owington*, p. 324, those who do not cohabit are doomed to this severe kind of restraint; nor must ever marry again, though widows

at six or seven years of age. But this law does not extend to the tribe of mechanics, and others, as before remarked.

man dies, they oblige one or more of his wives to burn herself, Hindû to honour his funeral. Sometimes the wife engages of her own accord to bear her husband company at the pile. Sometimes he, loth to leave her behind (S), or for fear any other man should enjoy her after him, prevails on her to make him a promise to burn herself with his corpse, in case he dies before her. We are told also, that in those parts where the *Râjahs*, or *Indian* princes, have all the power, the *Brâmmans*, to keep up this antient but horrid custom, frequently constrain women, especially of their own tribe, to undergo this fiery trial. In like manner, we are told, that the *Mohammedans*, where-ever their dominion is established, have endeavoured to abolish this custom: on the other hand, we are informed, that some *Mogol* lords, for grandeur-sake, have imitated the *Hindû* fashion; and ordered at their deaths that some of their *Hindû* wives should burn themselves¹.

THE manner of performing that dreadful ceremony is this: on the day appointed for burning the corpse, the wife sets out, dressed with her best ornaments, as if going to her wedding, and attended by her friends. To declare her joy, she proceeds dancing; and sings songs in praise of the deceased, and expressing a desire to be with him in the next world. Being arrived at the place, where the funeral pile is erected, sometimes in a little hut, but generally in a square pit, about two feet deep, she renews her rejoicing, with the company, singing and dancing about the pit. At length, having taken leave of her relations, and disposed of her jewels amongst them (T), they pour oil over her head, and set fire to the wood, on the top of which the body is placed: then, taking a pot of oil in her hand, she throws herself at once into the flames; or else, taking a few turns more about the pit, on a sudden, leaps into it; the company at the same time throw in faggots and pots of oil, as much to dispatch her with the blows, as by the fierceness of the fire; while drums are beaten, trumpets sounded, and a noise is made to stifle the hideous

Manner of performing

this dreadful ceremony.

¹ See TERRY, sect. 19, OVINGTON. p. 344, & DE LA VALLE, p. 136.

(S) *Ovington* says, p. 342, that sometimes the husband, unable to bear the loss of his beloved wife, burnt himself with her, in expectation of a future enjoyment of her.

(T) *Ovington* says, p. 343, that this burning was encou-

raged by the *Bramins*, who were always gainers thereby; as all the jewels the women put on were made their property: because they alone have power to touch the ashes, and rake for gold and silver.

shrieks,

Hindû
funerals.

shrieks, which are generally sent forth by the wretched victim. Sometimes the wife mounts the pile before it is kindled, and seats herself by her husband's corpse, holding his head in her lap, and thus heroically parts with her life^k.

Instances
of

BERNIER was often present when women burned themselves, with such resolution as was not to be described, more than the dreadful spectacle which that tragedy represented. One time he came to a place, where he saw four or five *Brâmmans* putting fire to the pile, whereon sat the woman by her husband's corpse; and five women, of a middle age, singing and dancing, hand-in-hand, about the pit, while a great croud of people looked on. Presently all was in a flame about the woman; who yet seemed not at all disturbed: but what still was more surprising, of a sudden, one of the dancers threw herself headlong into the fire, and then the rest, one after another, without any apparent fear. These were five slaves, who, having heard their mistress promise her husband in his sickness not to survive him, out of affection and pity, engaged to burn themselves with her.

female in-
trepidity.

OUR author saw another burnt at *Surat*, who was of a middle age, and tolerably handsome. It was not possible to express the undaunted cheerfulness which appeared in her countenance; the resolution with which she marched, washed herself, and spoke to the people; the unconcernedness with which she looked on those who came to see her tragedy, viewed her little cabin; and went into it, sat down upon the pile, and placed her husband's head in her lap; took the lighted torch in her hand, and set fire to the hut within, while many *Brâmmans* were busy in kindling the fuel about her.

Some are
terrified,

BERNIER saw some indeed, who, on sight of the fire, discovered some apprehension, and would perhaps have gone back, had they been left to themselves; but it is often too late: for those demons the *Brâmmans*, who are there with their great sticks, astonish them; and, if they cannot hearten them up, even thrust them in. This he saw done to a young woman, who retreated five or six paces from the pile; and to another, who was much startled when she saw the flames take hold of her cloaths, those executioners thrusting her in with their long poles. On the other hand, he knew a handsome young woman who escaped out of their clutches, by falling into the hands of the *Gadouts*; who sometimes meet there in great numbers, when they know that the woman who is to be burnt is young and fair, hath no great kindred, nor much company with her. For the women who are afraid of the

and escape.

^k LORD, ubi suprà. p. 9.

pile,

pile, and fly from this kind of execution, knowing that they Parsis cannot be received again to live among the Gentiles, because ^{origin.} reputed infamous, are usually the prey of those Gadouts; who are also accounted infamous, and have nothing to lose. A Mogol durst neither rescue nor receive any, for fear of bringing himself into great trouble.

ONCE, at *Lahûr*, the same author saw a very pretty young Bram-creature, not over twelve years of age, who appeared rather dead than alive, when she came to the pile. She shook, and ^{mans} wept bitterly. Mean time three or four *Brâmmans*, and an old hag, who held her under the arm, thrust her on, and made her sit down upon the wood: where, lest she should run away, they tied her hands and legs, and so burnt her alive. This piece of barbarity, among others, so enraged *Bernier* against the *Brâmmans*, that he could have strangled them, if he durst. But what they do in some other places of the *Indies* is still more cruel: for, instead of burning those women who are willing to die, upon the death of their husbands, they bury them alive in the ground, up to the very throat, and then two or three of them fall on at once and wring their necks about. Having thus choked them, they cover them hastily with earth, and then march backwards and forwards over their heads, to dispatch them outright!

We shall postpone our account of the religion of the *Hindûs*, till we come to treat of the peninsula on this side *Ganges*, where it appears in most lustre, and proceed to speak of the *Parsis*.

IV.

Of the Parsis.

THE *Parsis*, which name implies a people come from *They leave* *Pârs*, or *Persia*, are a colony which retired from thence, Persia; soon after the *Arabs* had conquered that country, on the death of its last king *Yezdegerd*, in the 31st year of the *Hejrah*, and of *Christ* 651. For not caring to renounce their religion, and to avoid the persecution which the *Mohammedans* raised against them on that account, a number of them embarked at *Jask*, or *Jaske*, in seven junks, as merchants; designing to trade to the *Indies*. Being safely arrived at *Swalley*, the port of *Surât*, the *Parsis* on board five of the junks were hospitably received by the *Rajah* of *Nunsterri*, on condition of paying tribute, and submitting to the government. Those of another junk were admitted, in like sort, by the *Rajah* who

¹ BERNIER, ubi supr. part i. p. 119, & seqq.

resided

**Parsis
customs.**

resided at *Bariyaw*, near *Surât* : but, soon after, being overcome by another Râjah, with whom he was at war, the *Parsis*, as his subjects, were all put to the sword. The seventh junk, passing northwards, met with the same kind of reception at *Kambaya* : and from one of these three places, those who are to be found in any other part of the *Indies*, have dispersed themselves.

**settle in
India.**

IN this state they continued for a long time, applying themselves to husbandry ; and, with their religious books, lost the tradition of their original : till, at length, their name making them known to their brethren in *Persia*, these latter furnished them with copies of their law, and persons to instruct them in it^m. As these *Persis* then are the same, as to religion, with those who in *Persia* are called *Gawrs*, or *Infidels*, and *Ateshpereft*, or *Fire-worshippers*, of whom an account hath been given elsewhere, we shall in this place only mention certain customs concerning this *Indian* colony.

**Their
dress.**

THE *Parsis* go dressed like the other people of *India* ; only they suffer their beards to grow long. Their profession is chiefly agriculture, sowing, planting, and dressing of vines ; in short, all sorts of trees, particularly the palmito or toddy-tree. They are extremely industriousⁿ, and careful to train up their children in arts and labour. They are the principal weavers in all the country about *Surât*, where most of the silks and stuffs are made by their hands.

Their diet.

IT is customary with them to eat alone, and for every one to drink out of his own cup : nor will they drink in the same vessel after strangers. By this means they think to keep themselves more pure ; imagining, that if they eat or drink with others, they should contract some uncleanness. In these respects however they take more liberty than the *Baniyâns* ; nor are quite so abstemious. However, to avoid giving offence to either the *Mohammedans* or *Hindûs*, among whom they live, they forbear eating either pork or beef^o.

**Cock
esteemed.**

THE cock is no less esteemed by them than the cow by the *Hindûs* ; for this reason, that their junks being surprised by a storm, in their passage to *India*, as above-mentioned, they despaired of ever reaching the shore, till, hearing a cock crow, their hopes revived ; and, discovering fire soon after, they by that signal reached land. This was still a more lucky omen, as fire is the principal object of their worship on earth, and which they keep continually burning in their *Eggarsis*,

^m LORD relig. *Parsis*, ch. 1, and TERRY voy. Ind. sect. 21.

ⁿ TERRY, sect. 21. OVIINGT. p. 375. ^o TERRY, *ibid*. OVIINGT. *ibid*,

or temples^p. They say, it was first brought from heaven by *Parsis* their great law-giver *Zertúst*, or *Zerdúst*, the *Zoroastres* of ^{customs.} the *Greeks*; and that it hath been preserved unextinguished ever since: for that it would be a sin unpardonable were ^{Holy fire} their *Darás* (U), or priests, to let it go out. Yet, in case it should go out, they are by their *Zundevastá*, or book of the law, brought by *Zertúst* from heaven also, allowed to compose a fire of several mixtures, which they call their *Antif-beherawn*, or religious fire. The fire, however, kindled and fed with fuel in this manner, they consider as a part of God; who, they say, is of the same substance; and therefore are ^{continual-} commanded to worship it. *Lord* says, the fire in their temple at *Nunserri*, near *Surát*, has been kindled in this manner^q; but does not mention the form in which it appears there. *Herbert* affirms, that it is not composed of common combustibles, as wood, straw, coals, or the like, nor blown by bellows, but is compounded of sparks flying from red-hot steel, and kindled either by lightening or a burning glass^r. This crude account seems to be taken from *Lord's*, which is not much more intelligible. *Terry* says, they keep fires continually burning in their temples, in lamps fed with oil, which are perpetually attended by their priests^s.

IN regard to this holy fire, the *Parsis* have a great veneration ^{Veneration for fire,} for that which they use in the necessary services of life; and look on it as a sin to spill water on the fire, or spit in it unawares, or nourish it with unclean fuel: so fearful they are, lest they should either defile it or put it out^t. So that, if their houses were on fire, they would sooner be persuaded to pour on oil, to increase, than water, to assuage, the flame. If a candle is once lighted, they would judge the breath of him more than pestilential, who durst attempt to blow it out: and a *Parst* servant, who is commanded to bring a hot poker to warm any liquor, will desire to be excused from that office; alleging, that he dare not hasten the extinction of the heat by such violent means. In short, they must not, on any account, quench fire; but must leave it to go out gradually of itself^u.

THE *Parsts* have great veneration for marriage; and think ^{and marriage.} it conducive to eternal happiness: for which reason, if a rich

^p Ovingt. p. 371. ^q LORD, ubi sup. ch. 8. ^r HERBERT trav. Persia, p. 52. ^s TERRY, sect. 21. ^t LORD, ubi sup. ^u Ovingt. p. 372.

(U) They are called also priest or archbishop, who is *Harbúds*; over whom is a high-called *Disfúr*.

man's

Parsis
customs.

The cere-
mony.

Corpse ex-
posed

so birds
of prey.

Place of
sepulchre

man's son or daughter happens to die before wedlock, he hires some person to marry the deceased. The matrimonial ceremony is never performed in their churches, but at home. The parties, being met at midnight, are placed together on a bed, with each a *Darú*, or *Herbád*, attending, with rice in his hands. Then the *Darú*, or priest, for the bridegroom, laying his fore-finger on the bride's forehead, asks, *If she will have that man for her wedded husband?* The bride's priest puts the same question to the bridegroom; and, the parties having answered in the affirmative, the priests join their hands, and scatter the rice over them; praying God, that they may be fruitful as the harvest, live in unity, and continue many years together. The ceremony being thus over, the parents of the woman give the dowry; for the man gives none: and the marriage-feast continues for eight days*.

THE manner of burying used among the *Parsis* is very singular, as it is described by Mr. *Ovington*, who had seen the ceremony. The noblest sepulchre which they think they can bestow on their deceased friends, is that of exposing them to be devoured by the fowls of the air. After the body has lain dead for some time, the *Halalchors*, a kind of sordid *Hindús*, carry it out upon a bier (X) into the open fields, near the place of burial, about a mile from *Surát*. There, having laid it down, some friend of the dead person hunts about in the neighbouring villages till he finds a dog, whom, with a cake, he intices, drawing as near the corpse as he can: for the nearer the cur approaches, the better hopes they have of the defunct's future happiness; and if he can be allured to take a bit out of the dead man's mouth, it is an infallible sign of his going to heaven: but in case the dog, not being hungry, or, loathing the object, refuses the morsel, they then consider their friend's state as truly miserable. This happened to be the case of the *Parsi*, whose corpse our author saw interred; for the sturdy cur could not by any means be induced to come near it.

WHEN the dog has finished his part of the ceremony, two *Darús*, at a furlong's distance from the bier, stand up, and, with joined hands, loudly repeat a form of prayer; which, although they utter it with all the hurry imaginable, lasts for half an hour. All this while, a piece of white paper, fastened

* *Lord*, ubi *supr*.

(X) This bier, *Lord* says, touch wood; because it is a must be of iron: for that the law fuel to the fire, which they ac- forbids that the corpse should count holy.

to

to each ear across the face, hung down two or three inches *Parsis* below the chin; and, as soon as they finished their prayer, *customs.* the bearers conveyed the corpse to the place of sepulture, which was round, inclosed with a wall, twelve feet high and one hundred in circumference. In the middle was a door of stone (Y), six feet from the ground, which was opened to admit the corpse. The ground with the (Z) walls is raised above four feet, and made shelving towards the center, where there is a sink for receiving the moisture, which continually drains from the carcases. The body being left here, the company betake themselves to a neighbouring rivulet, to wash; after which they return home: but, a day or two after, some of the nearest relations come hither again, to observe another prognostic of the defunct's state in the next world. For if they find that the vultures have first plucked out his right eye, they take it for an undoubted sign of his soul's felicity; if the left, they then conclude that his lot is miserable.

THE *Parsis* are very careful to preserve their hair, and *horrible* whatever is cut off their heads or beards; that, once a year, *prospect.* those relics may be decently interred in their burying place; which affords a horrid prospect, and is much more shocking than a field of slaughtered men. It contains a number of carcases of very different disagreeable colours and aspects. Some are seen there bleeding fresh; but so torn by the vultures, which croud upon the walls, that they may truly be called raw heads and bloody bones, with the eye-balls out, and all the flesh on the cheeks picked off. The muscular parts of the body are full of great holes, and the skin on every part is mangled with the beaks of those ravenous birds. Here was a leg, there an arm: here lay half, and there the quarter, of a man. In this place one body appeared picked as *Deadly* clean as a skeleton; and near it another with the skin of *flesh.* several putrified colours. Some looked as if they were turned to jelly; others were hardened like tanned leather, by the various operations of the sun and air. Nor is the stench less intolerable than the prospect terrible; being sufficient to strike any man dead, who was to endure it but a little while. Yet the vultures sit on the wall, enjoying those loathsome vapours: some were so gorged with human flesh, that they

Y OVIINGT. p. 376, & seqq.

(Y) Doubtless for the same *within* the wall. In *Herbert's* reason that the bier was not of draught the ground or floor seems raised within a foot of the wood.

(Z) Perhaps it should be top of the wall.

General remarks. seemed scarce able to take wing; and the feathers of others were much moulted away, by such kind of rank feeding ^a.

V.

Particulars relating to the Hindûstâns in general.

Their exercises, **T**HE diversions used in *Hindûstân* are hawking and hunting; in which they employ leopards, as well as dogs. They likewise practise shooting, both with the bow and gun; and are excellent marksmen. Riding and managing their horses is also an exercise. For their domestic recreations they have pleasant gardens, accommodated with shady walks, and cooling *tanks*, or fountains; while variety of fruits and flowers regale both their smell and taste. In those *tanks*, which are small and round, they bathe themselves; and, in their garden-houses, which are very near, spend the heat of the day, sitting, or lying on carpets: where, if persons of quality, their servants give them air, and drive away the flies, with fans. This is commonly the place where they are attended by the barber; who shaves and rubs them all over; after which they usually go to sleep a while. The people here are fond of mountebanks (A), and jugglers; who are very dexterous in their professions. One of their methods to amuse the multitude, is to suffer themselves to be bitten by snakes, which they have in baskets for the purpose; and, when they are swelled considerably by the venom of the reptile, cure themselves by means of oils and powders; which they sell to the standers-by. Within-doors, they pass the time often in playing cards; which differ from ours, both as to the figures and greater variety of suits ^a.

and diversions. **Musick.** **T**HE *Hindûstâns* delight much in musick, and have many sorts of instruments; most of them blown: some few are strung. They have the use also of the timbrel; but their tunes were unpleasant to our author, favouring more of discord than harmony ^b.

Diseases. **Fevers.** **T**HE common diseases found in *Hindûstân* are fluxes, hot fevers, and calentures; which seize the head and brain more than other parts. But they are free from agues, as well as

^a OVINGTON, p. 379. & seq. sect. 9.

^b Ibid. sect. 12.

^a TERRY, Voy. Ind.

(A) Their tumblers far exceeded ours in suppleness and feats of agility. *They* evenot relates some actions of a young

Indian girl, which appear surprisingly difficult. *Traw. Ind.* part iii. cap. 45. p. 77.

those two torments, rather than diseases, the gout and stone (B), *Their diseases.* so common in *Europe*. However, they are sometimes visited with an inflammation, or extreme burning (C), or rather a grievous pestilence; which, on a sudden, sweeps away thousands, when it gets into populous cities. The bodies of those, *pestilential.* who are seized with it, are set on fire, as it were, all over at once: it kills the party in twenty hours at most; tho' many of the *English* died in twelve. Just before their death, broad black and blue spots appeared on their breasts; and their flesh was so hot with the violence of the distemper, that one could scarce bear to lay his hand on it. Great blisters, filled with a thick yellow watery substance, rose on the bodies of those who survived it; which, on their breaking, issuing out, did scald and corrode their skin. Almost all the *English*, who arrive in the *Indies*, are seized with some violent sickness; but if they escape, and live temperately, are very healthy afterwards.

IN these hot diseases, the natives, as our author could observe, made very little use of physicians, although there are many of them; unless it be to breathe a vein sometimes: after which they starve out the distemper, by fasting, or a very low diet.

AMONG other distempers is that called by the *Portugueses* *The mortuordechins*; which is a violent vomiting and looseness, caused most commonly by excess in eating; particularly of fish and flesh together. It has been cured by a red-hot iron clapped to the heel of the patient, till he feels the smart; but some die of it. Another distemper, which afflicts the *Europeans*, is the *barbeers*, or a deprivation of the use of their limbs; where- *The barbeers.* by they are rendered unable to move either hand or foot. This arises sometimes from the neglect of guarding the limbs from the cold vapours of the night, and moisture of those nocturnal mists, which now-and-then are felt in those parts. The most effectual remedy for this, is to frequent the hot baths^d.

BESIDES the *mortudchin* (or *mordechin*) the *sonipat*, and *Lethargy*. *pillhay*, are most common in *Bengál*. The *sonipat*, or lethargy,

^c TERRY, sect. 13.

^d OVINGTON'S Voy. Surât, p. 350.

(B) To these *Bernier* adds aches of the kidneys and rheumatisms; which he attributes to the people's abstaining from wine, and great sobriety, joined to the constant evacuations by sweat; so that those, who bring

those distempers thither, as he did, are at length freed from them. Neither is the pox so pernicious as in *Europe*. *Bernier's Mem. part iii. p. 28.*

(C) Such as is spoken of, *Dout. xxviii. 20.*

Their dis-eases. is cured by putting *chenopodium* (D), pounded with vinegar, into the eyes. For the *pillhay*, or obstruction of the spleen, the *Joghts* (or *Hindst* penitents), whose specific remedy this is, make a small incision over the spleen; then, drawing a long needle between the skin and flesh, apply a piece of horn to the wound; from whence they draw out a viscous matter like corruption.

Cholic.

THE common people use very simple remedies. To cure the cholic, arising from wind and phlegm, they give the party four spoonfuls of water, in which anise and a little ginger are boiled, till the water is half consumed. They likewise pound a raw onion, with ginger, and apply them cold to the part where the pain is felt. A stoppage of urine is cured by drink-

Strangury.

ing a spoonful of olive-oil, well mixed with an equal quantity of water. Our author has seen fevers cured, by giving the patient, before the fit comes on, three large pills, composed of ginger, black cummin, and long-pepper. Tertian agues are removed by administering three spoonfuls of tencrimum-juice, or germander, mixed with a little salt and ginger, for three days together.

Longevity.

THE inhabitants of *India* not only live up to the greatest ages of the *Europeans*: but have more old people among them; which is owing to their temperance, both in eating and drinking. They are generally more healthy, but then not so full of vigour, as those who inhabit the cold climates; which feebleness and languor of body is a perpetual malady, very troublesome to all, in the great heats of summer; especially to *Europeans*, who are not inured to heat.

Computation of time.

THE *Hindst* begin their year with the first day of *March*; the *Mohammedans*, on the tenth; when, as their astrologers compute, the sun enters into *Aries*. Their year is divided into twelve months, or rather thirteen moons; and their time distinguished in a different manner from that used in *Europe*. They divide the day into four parts, and the night into the same number; which they call *pores*: each *pore* is again subdivided into eight parts; which they name *grts*. These parts of time are measured according to the antient method, by water dropping out of one vessel into another (E); and when the vessel is emptied, a man, who attends, fills it again, and then strikes the number of the *pores* and *grts* which have passed, with a hammer on a concave piece of metal, hanging

^c PAPIN ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. ix. p. 426. ^f TERRY, sect. 13.

(D) A plant of the *Chenopit*, or goose-foot, kind.

(E) A sort of *clepsydra*, or hour-glass.

by the brim on a wire : it has a deep sound, and may be *Houses and* heard very far. But these time-measurers are not common *furniture.* among them ; neither have they the use of clocks, or *dials &c.*

THE people of *India* are not infected with that plague of *Buildings.* building, as the *Italians* call it. The poor cannot afford to erect sumptuous piles, and the grandees do not care to do it : partly, because, from the middle of *September* to the middle of *April*, they live in tents, removing from place to place, as often as they think fit, for change of air ; and partly, because they have no inheritances, but subsist wholly on pensions from the emperor ; whose favour is precarious. However, they have excellent materials for building ; as timber, bricks, stone, and marble of various kinds and colours ; with which their mosques and tombs are often raised.

OF the houses to be found in cities and towns, some may *Houses :* be said to be handsome ; others well to pass, such as are inhabited by merchants ; and none very despicable. They are built low, not above two storeys, and many flat at top ; which flat roofs, being made thick, and laid over with a plaister, like that of *Paris*, keeps both the sun and rains from penetrating. The upper rooms, in the houses of two storeys, are often very large, and furnished on the sides with folding doors, to let in fresh air ; which is also introduced by the windows, always lying open, without glass, or any other shuttings, to keep it out. Neither have they any chimneys in their buildings ; because they never use fire, but to dress their *their* food, and that they do out of their houses, or tents, against *farm :* a wall, or a bank of earth, to avoid the heat. In many places, they plant tall spreading trees about their houses ; which are kept cool by their shade : so that in approaching some places, as *Ahmed abad*, in *Guzerat*, one seems to be entering a wood, rather than a city. Most of the houses there are of brick, and many with ridged roofs, covered with tiles : but the houses in their villages are generally very poor and mean. They are all contiguous ; for our author never saw one standing by itself. The walls of some are of earth mixed with straw. They raise them immediately after the rainy season is over ; so that, having time to dry thoroughly, they stand firm afterwards, and suffer little by the weather. But, for the generality, the cottages in those country villages are miserably small and poor ; being raised at a very little charge, as sticks, rather than timber, are employed in building them ^h.

^s TERRY, sect. 13.

^h Ibid. sect. 9.

Houses and furniture. **MANY** houses, even in *Dehli* itself, the capital of the empire, are not much better than these. There is in that city a great mixture of the good, passable, and mean. These last, of which there is a prodigious number, are made up only of mud and straw. They are inhabited by the common soldiers of the emperor's cavalry, and their servants, with the sutlers who follow the court and the army. These thatched houses make *Dehli* very subject to fires. In one year, while our author was there, above 40,000 were consumed, at two or three times that they took fire, when the winds happened to be stormy; in which many horses and women were burnt.

several sorts. On account of these pitiful houses, *Bernier* looked upon this metropolis almost no otherwise than as many villages joined together; and as a camp of an army, a little better and more commodiously placed than in the field. The houses of the second fort are inhabited by the *Mansebdârs*, or little *Omrâs*, the men of the law, many of the great merchants, and other private men. Yet there are but few of them all built of brick, or stone; while no small number consist only of earth, and are covered with thatch. For all this, they are generally airy, and furnished with courts and gardens: the walls within are neatly plastered, and apartments provided with fine moveables.

Middling houses:

the best sort: As to the houses of the first class, where dwell the *Omrâs*, it must be observed, that in those hot countries, to entitle a house to the name of good and fair, it ought to be situated commodiously for receiving the air from all quarters, and principally from the north. It should have courts, gardens, trees, reservoirs, and little jets of water, in the halls, or at least at the entrance. It should be accommodated likewise with good cellars, and great flaps to keep the air in motion, during the time of reposing; which is from twelve a clock till four or five, when the air under-ground begins to grow hot and stuffing. In lieu of cellarage there should be little *kas kbanays*, that is, little houses of straw, or rather of odoriferous roots; which are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midst of a grass-plot, near some reservoir (or *tank*), for sake of watering them easily. It is required also for the beauty of a house, that it be seated in the midst of some large *parterre*; that it have four great *divâns*, or raised-ways, about six feet high, exposed to all winds. Lastly, a good house ought to have raised-terraces to sleep on in the night, on the same floor with some great chamber, for the conveniency of drawing in one's bedstead, in case of being surprised by storms of dust,

or

or rain; or forced by the day-break breezes, or piercing dew, to seek for shelter ¹. *Manufactures and trade.*

THESE are the qualifications for the exterior part of a polite habitation, and the inside must be furnished answerably to it. The whole floor must be covered with a cotton mattress, four inches thick, and that with a fine linen sheet during the summer; and with a piece of silk-tapestry in winter. In the most conspicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, there must be one or two cotton quilts, set about with fine silk embroidery, wrought with gold and silver; with fine flowered coverings over them, for the master of the house, or visitors of quality, to sit on. Every quilt must have its cross-board purfled with gold, to lean upon; and several other such boards must be set round the chamber along the walls, covered with velvet, or flowered sattin, for standers-by to lean on. The walls, five or six feet from the floor, must be almost wholly taken up with niches, or little windows, cut in an hundred different figures, very fine, and well proportioned among themselves, with some china vessels and flower-pots in them. Lastly, the ceiling must be painted and gilded; but without any figure of man, or animals; their religion not allowing it. Thus there are houses in *Hindûstân*, which are truly handsome, although they be not like those in *Europe* ². *born furnished.*

THE manufactures of *India* are chiefly silks and callicoës; of which there is great variety. Of the former you find velvets, sattins, taffetas, both plain and striped. Of the latter, callicoës, white, dyed, and painted; which last are called chints, being often very rich and beautiful. They likewise make curious silk, or cotton, carpets; with a silver or gold ground; cabinets, standishes, boxes, and the like; which are nicely inlaid, or varnished ¹. *Manufactures.*

THE merchants of *Hindûstân* trade to several countries, according as the parts which they inhabit are situated. Those in the western parts of the empire send their commodities to *Mekka*, in the *Red Sea*; whither the merchants of *Egypt* and *Habâsh*, or *Abissinia*, repair to traffick. The goods exported are chiefly cotton and callicoës of several kinds. They are carried in ships called *junks*, some of fourteen or fifteen hundred tons; built so large for the conveniency of pilgrims who go to *Mekka*. They are mounted with ordnance, but very sluggish, being broad and short like a lighter; so that, although the voyage is but short, they are a long time making *Commerce.*

¹ BERN. Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 13, & seqq. ² Ibid. p. 17, & seqq. ¹ TERRY, sect. 3. 5. TAVERNIER, part iii. p. 126. THEVENOT, part iii. ch. 21.

*Manufac-
tures and
trade.*

Coin.

*Travel-
ling.*

it. One of these will carry 1700 passengers; and, at her return, her cargo may be worth 200,000 pounds, most of it in gold and silver. Besides the commodities before-mentioned, *Hindustân* affords diamonds, indigo, lak, musk, and many others; with which foreign countries are supplied^m.

THE money current through the *Mogol's* empire are *rupys* of gold and silver. The latter is in value about half-a-crown *English*, and of the purest bullion; all silver which comes into the country being refined to the highest perfection, before it is sent to the mint. The gold *rûpi* is equal in value to fourteen *rûpis* of silver. These pieces are divided into half and quarter pieces. Their copper money varies in value from time to time: of it there are three sorts; the first worth about two pence, the second one penny, and the third six deniers. This last is called *pesba*, which may be changed into shell-money (or *kori*); fifty or sixty of which make a *pesba*. There is other money; as *mahmûdi*, half *mahmûdi*, and *almonds*: but it is current only in the province of *Guzerât*. Five *mahmûdi* make about a crown. They have also the copper *pesba*, twenty of which go to a *mahmûdi*; and forty *almonds* for a *pesba*. As these *almonds* are extremely bitter, there is no danger, that the children should eat their moneyⁿ.

THEY have several conveniencies for travelling in *Hindustân*; such as coaches and chariots, oxen, horses, mules, camels, and dromedaries; on which the women ride astride like the men. Of these several voitures an account hath been already given occasionally. The roads are for the general very good in this country, and much frequented on the score of trade; the *karawâns* consisting sometimes of 1000 oxen. But, besides wanting inns to lodge passengers, who find them for the general only in great towns, they are infested much with robbers; who lurk in some woods, or desarts, not far distant from the highways, and often attack whole *karawâns*, if they be not strong enough. They commonly kill those they overcome, before they fall to plundering; which obliges the merchants to hire soldiers, and go well armed^o.

^m TERRY, sect. 5. ⁿ TAVERN. part ii. p. 2. ^o TER.
sect. 6. 8, & 9. THEVENOT, part iii. p. 53; 54; 73.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Great Mogol's Court, his Forces, Revenues, and Government.

S E C T. I.

Of his Court, Women, and Eunuchs.

THE fortress of *Dehli*, in which is the *Mâhl*, or *Harâm*, Court and palace. and the other royal apartments, is built round on the river: yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long sandy space, where commonly elephants are exercised, and often the militia of the *Omrâs* and *Râjahs* is mustered, in the emperor's presence; who beholds them from the windows of one of his apartments. The walls are built partly of brick, and partly of a red sort of marble (or jasper), with round towers like those of the city: but these walls are much higher, stronger, and broader, so as to bear some field pieces, which are pointed towards the town; and, though sufficient to keep the *Indians* in awe, would make but small defence against *European* cannon. The fortress is encompassed on all sides: but, towards the river, with a fair ditch full of water and fish; and the ditch by a pretty large garden, at all times full of flowers, and green apricots; which, viewed at some distance, with the red walls, make a very agreeable prospect.

BETWEEN this garden and the city is a vast street, or rather place royal, to which the two principal gates of the fortress royal do answer; and to these two great gates, the two chief streets of the town. In this spacious place are set up the tents of the *Râjahs*, who are in the *Great Mogol's* pay, to keep there, each in his turn, their weekly guard; whereas the *Omrâs* and *Mansebdârs* do duty within the fortress. In the same place the king's horses are exercised, and others in his service viewed. Here also a kind of market is kept, and players, jugglers, and astrologers, resort to tell people their fortunes; sitting in the sun, and all covered with dust, on a piece of tapestry, with some old mathematical instruments, and a book of figures, lying before them.

THERE is nothing remarkable at the entrance of the fortress, except two great stone elephants, with the *Râjah* of *Chitor* on one, and his brother on the other. These are on

* BERNIER. Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 6, & seq.

Court and
palace.

the sides of one of the gates : which having passed through, you find a long and broad street, divided by a canal of running water, and having on both sides a wall five or six feet high, and four broad ; and further-off some arches shut, which follow one another in form of gates. It is upon this long raised place, that the inferior officers of the court sit to dispatch their business, without being incommoded by the horses and people who pass beneath. There also the Mansebdârs keep guard at night. The water of the canal is brought from the river five or six leagues distant ; and, having divided itself through the whole *mâhl*, falls into the ditches ; which are thus supplied.

Fair
streets.

If you enter by the other gate, you also find a long street, having its risings on the sides like the former ; but with shops upon them, instead of arches. This street is properly a *bazâr*, or exchange, very commodious in summer, and the rainy season ; as being covered above, arch-wise, with great openings by intervals to let in the light. Besides these two streets, there are many other lesser ones on each side ; which lead to the stately guard-rooms of the Omras, raised pretty high, with parterres and fountains before them. Here they keep watch for twenty-four hours, and are supplied with meat from the emperor's table. In divers places also, one meets with raised walks and tents ; which are the offices of so many officers. There are besides many great halls, called *kar khânays*, where embroiderers, painters, goldsmiths, silk-weavers, and other artificers of all kinds, repair daily to work ^b.

The am-
kas,

HAVING passed all these apartments, you come to the *amkas*, or *place of audience* ; which is a great square court with arches along the sides, separated by walls, with doors to pass from one to the other. Over the great gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides, there is a large raised-place, open towards the court, and called the *nâgar khânay* ; for there the hautboys and cymbals play at certain hours of the day and night : which noisy musick, though disagreeable at first to an *European*, has something in it that is very majestic and melodious, when heard at a distance. Having passed through this gate, you enter into another court : where, on the opposite side, stands a large and stately salon, or hall, open on three sides toward the court ; and supported by rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are painted and gilded. The back-wall of this salon joins the *mâhl* ; and has in the middle of it an opening, like a huge window, the bottom of which is seven or eight feet from the ground. It is here that the em-

or audi-
ence-hall,

^b BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 31, & seqq.

peror

peror appears seated on his throne, with his sons beside him, *Court and* and several eunuchs attending to fan him, to drive away the *palace.* flies with peacocks tails, and do other offices. From hence he beholds beneath him all the Omràs, Ràjahs, and ambassadors; and a little behind them the Mansebdàrs, or lesser Omràs, all standing upon a raised floor, inclosed with silver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands across their breasts. At a small distance from the rails, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the court, the people stand in crouds: for there, every day, about noon, the *Great Mogol* gives a general audience to his subjects of all degrees^c.

THIS assembly lasts about an hour and half; during which *Emperor's* time that monarch is diverted with seeing his horses, elephants, *affiduity* and leopards, besides other sorts of wild beasts, and birds of the game, pass before him. Sometimes he reviews the cavalry of one or two Omràs: at other times, he orders the young Omràs, Mansebdàrs, and Gûrzberdûrs, or mace-bearers, to try their strength and skill, with cutlasses, on embowelled carcases of sheep; by cutting through the body, and the four legs joined together, at one blow. They, who come thither to seek for justice, hold up their petitions; which the emperor observing, causes to be brought to him, and read: then, ordering the parties to approach, he examines them, and often causes justice to be executed on the spot. This is the more remarkable, because he is usually present once a week at the *adalet khânay*, to administer *chamber of justice*, attended by his two prime Khâdis, or *chief justices*; and another time in the week spends two hours in private, hearing the complaints of the common people. All this is truly great and royal: the worst is the abject flattery one hears in the *amkas*, from even the principal Omràs; who, at every word almost which drops from the emperor's lips, lift up their hands, and cry, *karamat! karamat! wonder! wonder!* This kind of flattery passeth even to the common people; who, in applying to a physician, or painter, load him with fulsome praises, preferring him to the greatest master of the profession^d.

FROM the hall of audience, one enters into the court of *The ghuzl the ghuzl khâneh*; that is, *the hall to wash in*; which is very *khâneh*. spacious and handsome, Being painted and gilded, and its door raised four or five feet high. There at night the emperor, seated in a chair, with his Omràs standing round him, gives audience to his officers, receives their accounts, and examines

^c BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 36, & seqq.
& seqq.

^d Ibid. p. 40,

*Court
queens.*

the most important affairs of state. His majesty never fails to be at these two assemblies, unless hindered by sickness, or some extraordinary business. In this second also, the same things pass before him in review; except the cavalry, which could not be seen at night. But, in place thereof, all the Mansobdars who are on guard, salute the emperor, the *Kours* marching at their head. These are silver figures of diverse animals, carried on the tops of poles of the same metal, which make a pompous shew.

*The mâhl
impene-
trable.*

No lord of the empire can enter farther than the *ghuzl khâneh* into the *mâhl* (A); and though *Bernier* was several times admitted to the apartment of a great lady, who was sick, to attend her as a physician, yet his head was always covered, so that he could see nothing, as he was led by eunuchs. From these he learned, in general, that in the *mâhl* there are very handsome apartments, more or less large and stately, according to the quality of the women who resided in them: that there is scarce a chamber, but has at its door plenty of running water: that it is full of parterres, pleasant walks, shady places, rivulets, fountains, cascades, grottos, and great caves, to retire from the heat of the day. There are likewise large terraces, raised very high, for sleeping in the cool air. In a word, you know not there what it is to be hot. They chiefly boast of a little tower facing the river; which they say is covered with plates of gold, like two others which are at *Agra*: all the inside is ornamented with gold and azure, as well as hung with costly pictures, and looking-glasses*.

*Classes of
women.*

If you will believe the editor of *Manuchi*, this physician had access into the most inner apartments; which he describes. According to him, the *mâhl* contains more than 2000 women, which may be divided into six orders, or classes. 1. The queens, or women of the first rank; 2. the concubines, or his women of the second rank; 3. the princes and princesses; 4. the ladies of the palace, who watch the conduct of the queens, and the governesses of the princes; 5. the musicians of the court; 6. the women slaves and eunuchs.

The queens.

WITH regard to the queens, or women of the first order, the *Great Mogol* has sometimes to the number of six; whom he marries according to ceremony. These usually are the daughters of *Râjahs*; though he sometimes raises to that dig-

* BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 46, & seqq.

(A) *Mâhl* (or *mâbal*, as commonly written) signifies a place; but particularly that where the women are kept; and answers to the *Haram*, or *Saray*, of *Persia* and *Turkey*.

city his favourite concubines, and even his female musicians *Courtesans* and dancers, to whom on that occasion he gives new names. *princesses*. They are the sons only of these queens, who are looked on as legitimate, who bear the title of Soltán, and have a right of succeeding their father : but what our author says, that we never hear of the sons of concubines, or ever of more than four legitimate ones, is not fact.

THE women of the second rank are distinguished from those of the first in several respects. Their apartments are not so fine, nor their pensions so great. Their cloaths are not so rich, nor their female slaves so numerous. They are likewise at the expence of their own victuals ; the queens and princesses only being furnished out of the *Imperial* kitchen : and hence it is, that these latter are intitled *Begüm* ; that is, *without care or trouble* ^{*The other ladies.*}.

THE princes and princesses of the blood are treated with the same magnificence as the queens. As soon as the Soltáns are born, they are assigned a pension ; which is always more considerable than that of the greatest Omrás. This revenue is kept for the young prince in a particular treasury, and he is put in possession of it on the day of his marriage ; at which time also he quits the palace. When these Soltáns have attained the age of thirteen or fourteen years, they have separate palaces assigned them, and their court is scarce inferior to that of the emperor himself. He only, who is nominated to the succession, remains at court. All the rest are sent in quality of viceroys into the remotest provinces. The eldest son of *Aureng Zib* had for his maintenance twenty millions of *rupts* ; which amount to about 1,500,000 *l. English*. While these princes remain in the palace under the eyes of the father, an eunuch has the care of their education. They are taught to read, and sometimes to write, both in *Persian* and *Arabic* : their bodies are inured to military exercises, and their minds formed to principles of justice ; being set to give their judgment upon the causes which daily happen, or on cases proposed for the purpose. Lastly, they are instructed in the *Mohammedan* religion, and the interests of the nation ; which it may be their fortune one day to govern. ^{*The princesses.*}

As to the young Soltáns, their sisters, they are bred up with the greatest delicacy. Being the principal amusement of the emperor their father, all their study is to please him ; and by this means they often obtain more liberty than is becoming the condition of princesses : for his indulgence goes so far as ^{*The princesses.*}

[†] MANOUCHI Hist. Gen. Emp. Mog. par Catrou, p. 334. & seqq.

Court
princes.

to permit revelling ; which spreads afterwards through the palace. However, the women live in great harmony. There are but few disputes among them ; and, if any arise, they are soon suppressed by the governesses. The same dress is common to the queens, the ladies of the second rank, and the princesses of the blood. Their hair is made up in tresses, and perfumed, interlaced with pearls ; some strings of which hang down the forehead, having a rich jewel in the middle. Some are permitted to wear turbans, adorned with heron's feathers and jewels ; or else scarfs, in form of pyramids, and hanging behind down to the ground. About their necks they have collars of pearls, intermixed with jewels. Their habit is of silk, so fine, that the whole weighs not more than an ounce. They sleep in these gowns, which they never wear but one day. For the rest, they are loaded with precious stones. Two bands of diamonds, set with two rows of pearls in the middle, go round the neck of their robes, and cross over the stomach. Their ear-rings and bracelets are surprisingly splendid. Both their fingers and toes, which are uncovered, as they only wear sandals, are adorned with rich jewels. All the wives of the *Great Mogol*, as well as his daughters, wear on the right thumb a little mirror, set round with pearls, in which they are perpetually viewing themselves. But the ornament, which they most set-by, is a gold girdle, two inches broad, garnished with precious stones ; from whence hang narrow plates of the same metal, set with diamonds, and terminating at the points with bunches of pearls. What is most surprising, each of these ladies has six or eight changes of such jewels. But this is no wonder, when one considers the immense riches of this court ; which has been gathering since the time of *Bâbr*. It is incredible what expence is made in perfumes, which are burned both night and day in all the apartments &c.

their rich
dress :

their go-
vernesses.

THE ladies who are governesses to the young princesses, and spies upon the conduct of the queens, have indeed less share in the luxury and magnificence of the *Harâm* ; but then they have a great deal more in the government of the empire. It is by them that all intrigues are carried on ; that peace and war is made ; and that viceroyships and governments are obtained. These ladies, venerable for their age and wisdom, have each an office and name, correspondent to the employments and titles of the principal officers of the crown. One has the function of prime minister, another that of secretary of state, a third that of viceroy. Thus, she, who is stiled *first minister*, keeps a correspondence with the first mini-

• MANOUCHI, ubi suprà. p. 336, & seqq.

ster,

ster, by means of eunuchs, who are continually carrying let-
 ters between them. It is by the intervention of the ladies of *Court*
 the palace, that matters, which were but slightly touched-on *women.*
 in the halls of audience, are instilled into the mind of the *Great*
Mogol; so that they are, properly speaking, his privy-council.
 He learns from those, who bear the title of viceroys, all the
 news which come from the frontiers; whither they are per-
 mitted to send their couriers. From what has been said, it is
 easy to apprehend, that the chief care of all the great officers
 of the empire is to cultivate a good intelligence with each his
 lady of the palace, whose smallest displeasure may be the ruin
 of his fortune.

THE female musicians and dancers are divided into bands; *Singers*
 each of which has its mistress to teach them to sing, play on the *and dan-*
 lute, and dance. She is likewise the governess of those young *cers.*
 creatures, who are chosen indifferently from among the *Mo-*
hammedans and Pagans. The pension of the intendants of
 the musick is equal to that of the ladies of the palace, for
 whom they provide new airs and fancies. In short, all the
Great Mogol's wives and daughters have each her band of mu-
 sicks (B); from whom they chuse their confidants: but all these
 bands unite on certain feast days, either to sing hymns to the
 deity, or celebrate the praises of the emperor. Their chief
 merit is to invent diversions to please their respective mistresses,
 especially comic scenes; one of which, well acted before the
 emperor, has often gained the actresses a place among the wo-
 men of the first or second order ^b.

THE women slaves of the palace do all the servile work *Women*
 belonging to the Harâm. They are divided into companies of *slaves.*
 ten or twelve, under the direction of a mistress. The em-
 peror gives these names, as he does the other women; and
 distributes them among the rest at pleasure. He himself is
 served by none but women; and, what is not usual in other
 courts, is always guarded in the palace by a company of one
 hundred *Tatar* females, armed each with a bow, a poniard,
 and a simetar. Their conductress has the rank and pay of an
 Omrah of war. This guard is a necessary defence to the *Great*

^b MANOUCHI, ubi sup. p. 341, & seqq.

(B) *Bernier* does not speak of
 any women singers, or dancers,
 who reside in the palace. He
 says, there were some of the bet-
 ter sort, who were sometimes
 admitted into the palace, to di-

vert the emperors; but that
Aureng Zib would never suffer
 them to stay a night there, as
 his father used to do. Tom. iii.
 p. 60, & seq.

Mogol

Emperor's forces. *Mogol* against the fury and plots of so many rivals, which compose his court.

The eunuchs: As to the eunuchs, who are very numerous in the inner apartments of the palace, some serve for porters: a very nice and slippery post, it being equally dangerous to guard the entrances of the palace, with too much or too little care. By too much rigour, they draw on themselves the aversion of the queens and princesses; while, by too much complaisance to them, they run a risque of losing their lives. Other eunuchs are the superintendants of the Harâm. He especially, who is called *the Nâder*, that is, *Chief of the Harâm*, is one of the principal officers of the crown. His business is to keep good order in the palace, which he effects by his severity. He regulates the expences of the emperor's women and daughters, is keeper of the imperial treasure, and grand master of the wardrobe. He is answerable for all the precious stones and jewels of the emperor: the providing of victuals, cloaths, linen, and perfumes; in short, the whole expence of the palace is trusted to his management. The inferior eunuchs have all their offices under him. Some take care of the essences and perfumed oils; others, of the stuffs; a third party, of the furniture.

their employments. THE eunuchs, most in favour with the princesses, are they who make and distribute the liquors which are drank in the palace: for, by their means, the ladies sometimes come at wine, and other intoxicating liquors; which they are the fonder of, as they are forbidden. The eunuchs of the lowest class are employed solely to run of errands for the ladies of the court; and it is incredible what a number of them are seen running about the streets on their occasions. Thus, every thing which is done in the city is known in the palace; and none are better acquainted with the news and intrigues of the town than these ladies, who are so closely confined. The expences of the inner palace do not amount to less than fifteen millions of livres (C) every year¹.

SECTION II.

The Forces and Armies of the Great Mogol.

Mogol soldiers. IT is commonly said in *Europe*, that the armies of the *Great Mogol* are more to be feared on account of the multitude, than valour, of their soldiers: but, in truth, they do not want courage, so much as the art of war, and skill to manage

¹ MANOUCHI, ubi sup. p. 343, & seqq.

(C) That is about 750,000 pounds *English*.

their arms. Although on this score they are much inferior to *Emperor's* European troops, yet the subjects of this empire surpass in va-
forces.
 lour all the nations beyond the *Indus*. Military discipline, as well as the art of making war, are likewise better known to them than any of their neighbours; and it is owing to these advantages, that the predecessors of the present emperor so greatly extended the bounds of their dominions.

ALL the forces of this great empire may be reduced to three classes. The first is the army; which the *Great Mogol* keeps always in his capital, and which mount the guard every day before his palace. The second consists of the soldiers; who are distributed through the several provinces of the empire. The third class comprises the *Indian* auxiliaries; which the *Rajahs*, who are the emperor's vassals, are obliged to furnish.

THE army, which daily encamp at the gates of the palace, *Army at* whether the court be at *Dehli*, or *Agra*, amount at least to *Dehli*. 50,000 horse; without reckoning that infinite number of infantry, which both capitals are full of. So that when the emperor takes the field, those cities look like two desert camps; which a great army had abandoned. Every body follows the court; and, excepting the quarter of the *Banyáns*, or traders, all the rest of the cities become unpeopled. A prodigious number of victuallers, link-men, slaves, and pedlars, follow the army, to serve them in the same respects that they do in the cities. For the rest, this militia of the guard is not all upon the same footing. The most considerable among the *Mogol* troops are those called the 4000 slaves, to denote their attachment to the person of the emperor. Their commander, named *Deroga*, is an officer of such consideration, that he is often entrusted with the command of armies. All the soldiers belonging to this troop are marked in the forehead, by way of distinction; and out of them are taken the *Mansebdárs*, or subaltern officers; who by degrees rise to be *Omrás* (D) of war, a title answering to that of generals.

THE guards of the gold, silver, and iron mace, also com-*The* pose three different companies; whose soldiers, marked dif-
guards.
 ferently in the forehead, are chosen for their valour, and have more or less pay, according to the metal with which their maces are covered. It is necessary for a person to serve, and

(D) According to *Gemelli*, sides such as are dispersed thro' the provinces. See *Church. Col. Trav.* vol. iv. l. 2. ch. 7. p. 235.

distinguish

Emperor's forces. distinguish himself in one of these troops, in order to arrive at the dignities of the state. As in the armies of the *Great Mogol*, not birth, but merit only gives precedence, the son of a principal *Omrâ* is often seen in the lowest posts of the militia : nor is there any nobility among the *Mohammedans* in *India*, excepting those who pass for the descendants of *Mohammed*^k.

Garrisons in cities.

WHEN the court resides at either *Dehli*, or *Agra*, he keeps there in pay no fewer than 200,000 soldiers (E). But when the emperor is absent, there are commonly left in garrison 15,000 horse, and double the number of infantry. This proportion is observed in all the other provinces, which, though reckoned fifty-four, may be reduced to about twenty large ones ; whose garrisons are as follow. In *Labor*, 12,000 horse : *Azmîr*, 6,000 : *Guzerât*, 10,000 : *Mâlva*, 7,000 : *Pâtan*, 7,000 : *Moltân*, 6,000 : *Kâbûl* has always 60,000 to defend it, as being a frontier against the *Persians*, *Tatars*, and *Pâtans* : *Tâtta*, 4,000 : *Bâkar*, 4,000 : *Uresba*, 4,000 : *Kasbmîr*, 4,000 : *Dekan*, 8,000 : *Bara*, 7,000 : *Brâmpor*, 6,000 : *Baglâna*, 5,000 : *Rajemâhl*, 4,000 : *Nânda*, 6,000 : *Ben-gâl*, being another frontier province on the east-side, has 40,000 horse : *Ugen* (or *Eujen*) surrounded by the most powerful *Rājahs*, 15,000 : *Visapor* was the theatre of war against *Sevoji*, when our author wrote ; therefore the garrison troops are not mentioned. Lastly, their number in *Golkonda*, which had been newly conquered, was 20,000.

Hindû troops.

THE auxiliary troops, which the *Rājahs*, who are the *Great Mogol's* vassals, are obliged to furnish, still add to his forces ; although they are entertained more for grandeur than necessity, and to secure thereby the fidelity of those tributary princes. They reckon eighty-four of those *Indian* royalests, who still preserve a kind of sovereignty in their antient country. They have lands in property, which their children inherit : which is an advantage they have above the *Omrâs*, who have none, and yet treat them with much contempt. However, some of these pagan *Rājahs* still maintain a shadow of grandeur, even in the presence of the emperor himself ; especially three of them, whose territories are well-peopled, rich, and inaccessible^l.

^k MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 345, & seqq. 349, & seqq.

^l Ibid. p.

(E) *Gemelli* says, the *Great Mogol* has dispersed through his empire 30,000 horse, and 400,000 foot ; who have all great pay. *Church. Collect. Trav.* vol. iv. l. 2. c. 6. p. 234.

THE first, who pretends to derive his original from *Porus Emperor's* (F), and is called *the son of him who escaped from the deluge*, is *forces.* sovereign of the kingdom of *Seduffia*, whose capital is *Usepûr*. All the princes of this great state bear the name of *Râna*; *commanded by* which signifies *the man with a good aspect*. He keeps always on foot 50,000 horse, and 200,000 foot. He is the only *Indian* prince, who retains the privilege of marching, covered with an umbrella; an honour reserved solely for the monarch of *Hindûstân*. The *Râjah* of *Rator* is sovereign of nine provinces, and equals him of *Seduffia*, both in riches and power. He who lived in the time of *Manuchi* was named *Jakont Sing*; that is, *the master-lion*. The third sovereign prince, whose territory is named *Chagha*, and his capital *Amber*, is able to bring into the field 40,000 horse. The prince, who reigned there in the time of *Aureng Zib*, was called *Ja Sing*; often mentioned in his wars.

BESIDES these principal *Râjahs*, there are thirty others, *their own* whose forces are not contemptible. Among the rest, four of *Râjahs.* them have each in pay 25,000 horse. All these princes, when they join the emperor's forces, command their own troops; give the *Râjahpûts* the same pay which is given to the soldiers of the empire, and receive appointments themselves equal to those of the first *Mohammedan* general. Such numerous forces spread through the empire procure security to the frontiers, as well as peace in the heart of the state. The smallest country-town has at least two horsemen and four foot-soldiers to guard it, who are the spies of the court; which by that means is informed of all that passes throughout the empire.

THE emperor's stables are filled with horses and elephants. *Emperor's* The former, it is said, amount to 12,000; whereof, how- *horses:* ever, only twenty or thirty are set apart for the emperor's use; the rest being kept either for pomp-sake, or to bestow in presents: it being the custom with him to give a habit and a horse to all those, from whom he receives the slightest service. All these horses come from *Persia*, *Arabia*, and especially *Tartary*; for those bred in the *Indies*, besides being restive and apt to start, are sluggish and without vigour. For this reason above 100,000 are brought yearly from *Bâlk*, *Bokhâra*, and *Kâbâl*; which, at their passage of the *Indus*, pay twenty-five *per cent.* to the *Great Mogol*: for whose service the best

(F) This must not be understood of king *Porus*, who lived in the time of *Alexander*; but of *Perun*, the first man, or *Ad-* *am* of the *Indians*, according to the *Shâster*, or explanation of their *Vedâm*.

Emperor's forces. are reserved, and the rest sold to those whose business it is to remount the cavalry. In these countries, where the forage is burned-up with the sun's heat, they feed the horses with paste. In the morning, they give them bread mixed-up with butter and fugar; in the evening, they have rice-milk, seasoned with pepper and aniseed ^m.

his elephants: As to the elephants, the *Great Mogol* has 500; which are kept in great porches, built for the purpose. The harness of these animals are surprisingly magnificent. That especially, which the emperor rides on, has on its back a throne, glittering all over with gold and precious stones. The rest are covered with plates of gold and silver, housings embroidered with gold, and with gold tufts and fringes. The throne-elephant is called *the captain of the elephants*: for to them the emperor gives names, as well as to his horses; and is always attended with a great train, and a considerable number of officers. When-
their equipage: ever he walks abroad, he is preceded by drums and trumpets, and banners are carried before him. He is allowed three times the maintenance of other elephants; each of which has twenty-five rupees a day, and ten servants to attend him. Two, called *Kornakas*, are to exercise and govern him: two others put on the chains: two supply him with the wine and water which he drinks: two carry the lance before him, and clear the way: two more are employed to accustom him to artificial fire: the ninth litters him; and the business of the tenth is to drive away the flies, and throw water on his body to cool him. These elephants are trained to slaughter, by attacking lions and tigers. They are taught also to break open gates; the method of which has something in it that is very military.

his arsenal and arms: THERE are no public arsenals in the *Indies*, but every commander of a troop is obliged to furnish his soldiers with arms; among whom one sees a mixture of muskets, bows, swords, simeters, and lances, in the same corps: which disorder *Aureng Zib* in some measure rectified. As for the emperor's arsenal, nothing can be more magnificent. His javelins, bows, carquoises, and sabres, are ranged in order, all glittering with precious stones. Every *Friday* morning his majesty prays in the arsenal; where he intreats God, that, with his sabres, he may obtain victories, and make his enemies reverence the divine being.

his artillery. THE *Great Mogol's* artillery are very numerous; and, for the most part, more antient than any to be found in

^m MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 352, & seqq.

Europe: it being certain (says our author) that cannon and Mogol's powder were known in the *Indies* long before the conquest of *revenues*, *Timûr Bek*. The tradition is, that the *Chineses*, who they say invented these instruments of death, were once masters of *Dekli*, and founded some pieces there. Each piece has its name, as well as the other arms. Formerly the cannonneers of the empire were *Europeans*; but *Aureng Zib* ordered, that *Mohammedans* only should be employed in that service. At present no *Franks* are seen at court, excepting physicians or goldsmiths: the rest have left the country, where liberty of conscience is not as freely allowed, nor their service so much regarded, as heretofore^a.

S E C T. III.

The Great Mogol's Revenues.

TO give our readers a just idea of the riches of this monarch, it will be necessary to consider, 1st. The fertility of *Hindûstân*. 2d. The wealth brought in by commerce from *Europe*, *Africa*, and the rest of *Asia*. 3d. The tributes which the emperor exacts of his subjects.

THE lands of *Hindûstân* produce abundance of grain, fruits, from the cotton, silk, cattle, diamonds, and other valuable commodities: but then of those lands many large tracts are incapable of culture; and the inhabitants of other parts neglect to till them. Besides, as the emperor is sole proprietor of those lands, in which the people have no share, no great care is taken to improve them. To remedy, in some measure, this inconvenience, *Akber*, who was the reformer of the finances of his empire, instead of paying the pensions of the viceroy and governors in money, as formerly, assigned them lands in their respective departments, to cultivate for their own advantage; obliging them to pay for the rest of their province a certain sum, in proportion to the fertility of the soil. These governors, who are properly no more than the farmers of the empire, farm it again in their turn. But as the husbandmen have nothing for their labour but their subsistence, it is difficult, without force, to get the peasants to work. This occasions them to fly into the territories of the *Râjahs*, who treat them with a little more humanity: and thus the dominions of the *Great Mogol* become dispeopled insensibly, and remain uncultivated.

HOWEVER, the gold and silver, which commerce brings from countries into *Hindûstân*, effectually repairs this defect, and extremely

^a MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 356, & seqq.

Mogol's
revenues.

Vortex of
silver:

yet money
not plenty.

enriches the sovereign°. According to *Bernier*, all the silver of *Mexico*, and gold of *Peru*, after circulating for some time in *Europe* and *Asia*, passes at last into the *Great Mogol's* empire, never to go out any more. One part of that wealth is transported to *Turkey*, to pay for the merchandizes brought from thence. From *Turkey* the money passes into *Persia*, by way of *Smyrna*, for the silks of that country. From *Persia* it enters *Hindûstân*, by the commerce of *Mokka*, *Bâb al Mandel*, *Bâsrah*, and *Bander Abbâsi* (or *Gomrîn*). Besides, it passes immediately from *Europe* to the *Indies*; particularly by the trade of the *Dutch* and *Portuguese*. Almost all the silver which the first of them bring from *Japan*, goes into the dominions of the *Great Mogol*, in exchange for commodities. It is true, that *Hindûstân*, for all its fertility, is obliged for some things to other countries; as, to *Japan* for copper, to *England* for lead; to *Seylân* for cinnamon, nutmegs, and elephants; to *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Tartary*, for horses. But commonly the traders are paid in merchandizes: so that the greater part of the gold and silver of the world finds a thousand ways into *Hindûstân*, and has none to come out again.

WHAT is most astonishing, continues our author, for all this prodigious influx of gold and silver into *India*, one meets with no more plenty of it there, in the hands of private people, than elsewhere. It is true, that much gold and silver is consumed there in the manufactures; and that the *Indians* bury a great deal of it, in a belief, that they may stand in need of it in the other world: but, after all, that which contributes most to the scarcity of money is the conduct of the emperors, who amass vast treasures, and reposit them in caverns under-ground, to prevent money being plenty; which they consider as pernicious. Thus all the treasure brought in by commerce falls at last into the coffers of the emperor^p. This being the case, no wonder this monarch should be immensely rich. In short, the whole revenue which he receives only from the produce of the provinces of his empire, farmed out, as aforesaid, amounts to no less than three hundred and eighty-seven millions one hundred and ninety-four thousand rupees (G).

BESIDES

° MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 364, & seqq.
mem. Mog. emp. vol. i. part 3. p. 1. & seqq.

^p BERNIER

(G) 387,194,000 rupees, at two shillings and sixpence each, amount to 48,399,250 pounds sterling; which differs only about 2,674,635 pounds from Mr. *Frazer's* account. Hist. *Nadir Shâh*, p. 35. *Gemell* censures *Thevenot* for reducing the Great

BESIDES these fixed revenues, the casual revenues of the Government empire are another vast fund of wealth, being equal to, if not surpassing, the other. These arise from, 1. the annual poll-tax, which the *Hindûs* pay. 2. The duty of five per cent. on all commodities belonging to the *Hindû* merchants; from which *Aureng Zib* exempted the *Mohammedan*. 3. The duty laid on bleaching cloth. 4. The diamond mines; of which the most fair and perfect stones belong to him. 5. The vast customs from the ports of the *Indian* sea, and bay of *Bengâl*. 6. The estates and effects of his *Mohammedan* subjects in his pay; of which he is the heir. 7. The tributes received from the *Râjahs*. Taxes and mines.

GREAT part, however, of these casual revenues enter the emperor's treasury, only to pass out again among his subjects, half of whom subsist by his bounty, or at least receive wages from him. Besides that vast number of officers and soldiers, who subsist solely on his pay, all the peasants who cultivate the lands only for the sovereign are maintained at his expence; and all the mechanics of the cities, who work for him, are paid out of the imperial treasury.

S E C T. IV.

The Government and Police of the Great Mogol.

WE have but little to say concerning the kind of government and police which the *Mogols* have established in the *Indies*. Nothing is more simple than the means which set this great empire in motion. The affairs of state are all at court in the hands of three or four *Omrâs*, of the first rank, who manage them under the authority of the sovereign. The *Itemâdo'ddowlet* is the first minister; a post like that of grand vizir in *Turkey*. But, as often a person of no experience, as a prince of the blood, or some favourite, is exalted to this dignity, the office is in effect vacant: in which case the burden of affairs falls upon the two secretaries of state. Officers of state.

1 MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 370, & seqq.

Great Mogol's revenue to thirty millions; and *De Last*, for making it infinite: yet says, he was told it amounted to eighty krors of rupees, and every kror being ten millions, the whole comes to one hundred millions sterling. He adds, that the

daily expence at court, to maintain the eunuchs, musicians, dancers, elephants, and other beasts, is not less than 50,000 rupees, or 6,250 pounds. See *Church. collect.* vol. iv. l. 2. c. 6. p. 234.

Govern-
ment.

One collects the treasures of the empire ; the other pays them out to the officers of the crown, the troops, and the husbandman. There is a third officer of the finances, whose business it is to get in the effects of those who die in the emperor's service ; a gainful but hateful employment. There is no arriving at these eminent posts but by the way of arms. The ministers who govern the state, and the generals who conduct the troops, are equally taken from among the officers of the army. Such as want them to speak to the emperor, in their behalf, must never approach them without a present ; which the Omrâs expect, not out of avarice, but as it is looked on to be a mark of respect.

Command-
ers and
soldiers

THE command of the armies, when the emperor himself is not at the head of his troops, is often conferred on a prince of the blood : and, when no such prince is present, two generals are appointed by his majesty, one a *Mohammedan* Omrâ, the other an *Indian* Râjah, who command their respective troops : for the *Râjapûts* will obey none but a Râjah. It was the emperor *Akber* who regulated the state of his armies, and their pay. When a *Mansebdâr's* pension amounts to 50,000 rupees a year, he is accounted an Omrâ : who is out of it to maintain an elephant, and 250 horse, for the service ; furnishing each with two horses. As the expence of each man is computed at ten rupees a day, the Omrâ's pay is not sufficient to maintain so large a company : but then the lands assigned those lords, to cultivate, produce much more than what will answer the expence of his cavalry.

how paid.

THE Omrâs do not all receive the same pay of 50,000 rupees, which is called *azari* : that of some amounts to two, three, four, and five times as much. In short, those of the first rank receive even to six *azari* ; that is, three millions of rupees *per annum* : so that their train is magnificent, and the cavalry which they maintain equal our little armies. By this means the Omrâs have sometimes become formidable to the prince himself. There are usually six Omrâs who enjoy his great pension ; the *Itemâdo'ddawlet*, the two secretaries of state, the viceroy of *Kâbul*, he of *Bengâl*, and the third of *Ujen* (or *Eujen*). The pay of the soldiers is at the discretion of the Omrâs who raise them. By the law, they are to be paid every day ; but they put them off to once a month ; and then oblige them often to take in part the old furniture of the Omrâ's palaces, and cast-off cloaths of their wives. It is by such oppressions as these that the first officers of the em-

pire accumulate great treasures ; which, at their death, re- turn into the coffers of the sovereign. Govern- ment.

NOTHING is more uniform than the exercise of justice in the *Great Mogol's* dominions. The viceroys, governors of provinces, as well as those of cities and towns, do, in their respective jurisdictions, just what the emperor himself does at *Agrà* or *Dehli*. They alone administer justice, and give judgment with regard both to the effects and lives of the people. It is true, that in all cities a Kotwâl, and a Kâzi, have been established to determine certain matters : but then the parties are at liberty, whether they will bring their affairs before their tribunals or not : for every body has a right to have recourse immediately, either to the *Great Mogol* himself, in the place where-ever he resides, or to the viceroys, and governors, in their respective cities. Justice well administered.

THE Kotwâl discharges the function both of civil and criminal judge. The chief duty of this magistrate, as judge of the police, is to prevent drunkenness ; to punish all those who distil arrak, to suppress taverns, and, in general, all places of debauchery. As he is obliged to give the emperor an account of all dissensions in private families, as well as nocturnal assemblies ; he therefore has in all parts of the city a vast number of spies, whose business it is to sweep the houses every morning, and set the moveables in order. They at the same time pry into the secrets of the family, put questions to the slaves, and then make their report to the Kotwâl ; who, in quality of grand provost (or judge criminal) is answerable for all the robberies committed within his district : for this reason he has always soldiers in the country, and men disguised in the city, to keep things in good order. With regard to the Kâzi, his jurisdiction is confined to matters of religion, divorces, and the like. For the rest, neither of these two judges is permitted to pronounce sentence of death upon any person whomsoever, without making a report to the emperor ; who must confirm the sentence on three different days, before it can be put in execution. The same rule is observed in the province, where only the viceroys, or governors, can condemn to death. Police in cities.

THERE is no delay in administering justice in the *Mogol's* dominions. Without any of those formalities and rules which protract causes in our courts, every one opens his own case, or gets one of the Omràs to do it for him. Immediately, the witnesses being called and examined, judgment is pronounced on the spot, almost always as equitable as it is speedy. It is not to be denied, that the bribery of judges, and subornation of witnesses, is to be found in *Hindustân* as well as other countries. Care of life.

1. *Soltân*
Bâbr.

in law
suits.

countries : but then both false witnesses and corrupt judges are punished there with death ; which is a great check upon both. Iniquitous judgments seem to be an universal disorder, which the length of proceedings is not likely to remedy. For the rest, this small number of judicial officers, who are never more than three in the great cities, as well as the small, have not so much business on their hands as the least of our judges in *Europe* ; who yet are so very numerous. Although the customs observed in this great empire may not all be free from exception, yet we have remarked a mixture of barbarity and uprightness ; which, taken altogether, renders the government of the *Great Mogol* not inferior to that of many other of the best nations '.

C H A P. V.

The History of the Descendants of Timûr Bek, who have reigned in Hindûstân, under the names of Jagatays and Mogols.

Historians
of India.

THE history of this branch of *Timûr's* family has been written by a great number of *Asiatic* historians ; of which as yet only a few extracts have been transmitted to us, by those skilled in the eastern languages. The best of these is that *short history of the Moghol emperors*, inserted by Mr. *Frazer*, by way of introduction, in his history of *Nâdir Shâh*. A piece very valuable in its kind, but too concise to give the reader a satisfactory information concerning the first princes who founded the empire ; or indeed of any who preceded the present monarch. It is true, we meet with some account of them all in the several travellers who have visited *India*, from time to time : but the memoirs, which, during their short residence, they have collected, chiefly from the report of *Europeans* residing in that part of the world ; are so imperfect and uncertain, and, for the most part, relate to such trivial matters, that they contribute very little to form a good history of the *Hindûstân* emperors.

Manou-
chi cen-
jured.

As for the *general history of the Mogol empire from its foundation*, by *Catrou*, the Jesuit, said to be composed from the *Portuguese* memoirs of *Manouchi*, a *Venetian* physician, written about the year 1695, and taken from the registers of the empire, it is a mere romance ; at least, with regard to the first *Mogol* monarchs : wherein the few hints, to be gathered from *Texeira* and *D'Herbelot*, are worked-up with the

* MANOUCHI, ubi sup. p. 376, & seqq.

copious product of invention, to supply the deficiencies. Nor are the reigns of the latter monarchs free from fiction, altho' the travellers, such as *Tavernier* and *Bernier*, have afforded the author pretty large supplies of facts. Yet, as they carry their history no lower than the end of the reign of *Shâh Jehân*, *Manouchi's* memoirs, it seems, end there too; altho', when he left *India*, *Aureng Zib* had sat on the throne above thirty years. But the contriver of the history, whoever he was, was in the right not to run the risk too far of being detected, by entering upon a history so near his own time, since he had no good guides to conduct him, and might be reproached with imposture by many persons who had really been in *India*; where, in all probability, he never was. If there be any thing in the whole, which may be depended on, it seems to be the remarks relating to the court of the *Great Mogol*: in which, however, it is easy to perceive a great mixture of matters taken from the above-mentioned authors, if they be not his principal funds.

I.

*The reign of Soltân Bâbr, surnamed Zehîro'ddîn Moham-
med (A).*

THIS prince, as hath been already observed ^a, was the son of Omar, or Aumar, *Sheykh*, fourth son of *Abusaïd Mirza*, son Bâbr, of *Mohammed*, sixth son of *Mirân Shâh*, third son of *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan*. He was born the 12th of February, 1483; Hej. 899. and, by the death of his father, on the 8th of June, 1494, became sovereign of the country of *Andekhân*, or *Andjân*, in *Mâwara'n-nâhr*, or *Great Bukhâria*: at which time he was eleven lunar years, seven months, and twenty-nine days old. On the death of *Soltân Ahmed*, son of *Abusaïd Mirza*, which happened in '899 of the *Hejrah*, he ascended the throne in *Samarkant*, the capital of all that region. But five years after, viz. in 904, *Shaybeg Soltân*, invading *Great Bukhâria*, with an army of *Uzbeks*, from beyond the river *Sihân*, or *Sir*, drove him out of his kingdom, and took possession of it himself.

B A B R, or *Bâbor*, being thus driven out, retired to *Gâz-nâgh*, or *Gâzna*; from whence he began his expeditions into *Hindû-India*. Thus some writers give an account ^b: but, according

^a See before, vol. v. p. 408. ^b D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 38, and 163. art. *Abusaïd Mirza*, and *Miran Shâh*.

(A) *Soltân Bâbr* assumed the title of *Zehîro'ddîn*, which signifies the supporter of religion; and the name of *Mohammed*, which signifies

1. Soltân
Bâbr.



ing to others, after his expulsion from *Mawara'nahr*, he conquered *Gosnavi* (or *Gazna*), with the other provinces of *Kâbul*, *Kandahâr*, *Biddukhsân*, and the places dependant on them: after which he invaded *Hindustân* five times. In the first four, he was unsuccessful; but in the fifth, on the 1st of *May*, 1526, he gave battle, near the village of *Maltia*, to Soltân *Ibrâhîm Lawdi*, who had with him 100,000 *Afghâns* (B), besides 1000 armed elephants. And, although he had scarcely 12,000 effective men in his army, yet he intirely defeated those numerous forces.

Great con-
quests
there.

ELATED with this great success, *Bâbr*, pursuing his good fortune, in a short time subdued all that empire, excepting the kingdoms of *Dekkân*, *Guzerât*, and *Bengâl*. Eleven months and five days after the above-mentioned battle, he came to an engagement with *Râna Sânga*, the most powerful of the *Indian* princes; and, although the army of the latter was incredibly numerous, as well as strengthened with many armed elephants, yet he at length obtained the victory.

His death.

BÂBR died on the 25th of *December*, 1530, in *Charbâghi*, near *Agrâ*, on the banks of the river *Chun* (C): from whence his body was carried to be interred at *Kâbul*; after he had lived forty-nine lunar years, four months, and one day. Of this time he reigned in all thirty-seven years, eight months, and two days; thirty-two years, ten months, and three days before the conquest of *India*; and four years, nine months, and twenty-nine days after the conquest. The best history of his actions are the commentaries written by himself, called *Vakeat Bâbri*; that is, *Bâbr's Occurrences*.*

His good
fortune.

THE *Indians* relate, that *Bâbr*, before his expeditions into *India*, to discover the condition which it was in, as to strength, entered that country, accompanied with thirty of his lords, in the disguise of pilgrims. But that, at *Dehli*, they were

* FRASER Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 6, & seqq.

signifies *praised*, is prefixed (or supposed to be so) to every *Mussulman's* name. *Frazer*.

(B) *Afghans* are the several tribes of *Mohammedans* who inhabit the northern parts of *India*; over the whole of which some of them are spread. They are known often by the name of *Pattans*, and are esteemed the best foldiers in the country. *Frazer*.—The *Afghans* are called

by some authors *Angans*, *Angwans*, and *Ougans*. Some travellers, as *Bernier* and *Thevenot*, make the *Patâns*, or *Pataus*, natives of the country about *Patna*, to the east of the *Ganges*; and to have reigned in *India* before the *Mohammedans* conquered it.

(C) The *Chun* is often called *Jumna*. *Frazer*.—*Jemna*, and *Jemini*; written also *Geminy*.

discovered by *Sekânder*, the *Potan* (or *Pâtan*) king, and arrested: but, on *Bâbr*'s taking an oath, not to attempt the conquest of *Hindûstân*, during either of their lives, *Sekânder* pardoned them. This story is painted at *Labâr*. The oath was inviolably kept: but, when both were dead, *Homayûn*, invading the country, dispossessed *Ibrâhîm*, and *Shâh Selîm*, *Sekânder*'s son, of their dominions^d.

II.

The reign of Hemayûn.

B A B R being dead, his son *Hemayûn*, by some called *Homaïun*, and *Hemayon*, surnamed *Nefîro'ddîn* (D) *Mohammed*, succeeded him. This prince was born in the castle of *Kâbul*, on the 4th of *March*, 1508; and, on the 26th of *December*, 1530, sat on the throne at *Agrâ*. In *November*, 1534, he set out to conquer *Mâlva*, and *Guzerât*, then possessed by *Soltân Babâdr* (E); who prepared to meet him. The two armies met; and the *Soltân*, having been defeated, fled to *Mandow*; whither being pursued by the victor, he retired to *Chanpanîr* (F): from this place to *Kambâët*, (or *Kambaya*), and from thence to *Diu* (or *Dîv*). *Hemayûn* followed him as far as *Kambâët*; where he stopped a while*, with a design to attack *Diu*: but the *Soltân* having in the mean time made a peace with the *Portugueses*, and obtained their assistance, by granting them leave to build a fort there, *Hemayûn*, despairing to take the place, returned to his own dominions^f. However, this prince, the next year, entering *Mâlva* and *Guzerât* a second time, made an intire conquest of those provinces^g, excepting *Diu*, and a few other places.

HEMAYUN, encouraged by this success, in 1538, turned his arms against *Bengâl*; which he subdued: but, in 1540, being forsaken by his good fortune, he was driven out of his dominions by *Shîr Khân*, the *Afghân*, and obliged to fly into *Persia*; where he remained five years, five months, and fifteen days. The particulars of this transaction, with his reception by *Shâh Tahmasp*, son of *Shâh Ismaël Sûfi*, is related at large in several histories (G). At length (by the assistance

^d D'HERBELOT Bibl. orient. p. 58, art. *Bâbr*; and De LAET de Imper. Mag. p. 166. * FRASER Hist. Nadir Shah, p. 6.

^f De FARIA Asia Port. † FRASER, ibid.

(D) *Nefîro'ddîn*, or *Nafîro'd-dîn*, signifies the *assister*, or *helper*, of religion.

(E) Called *Badur* in the European histories,

(F) Called *Chanpanel* by De Faria y Sousa, in his *Asia Portuguesa*. According to whom it was *Badur*'s capital.

(G) As *Akber Namâ*, *Pâdshâh Namâ*,

2 *Sokān* assistance of that monarch) on the 1st of September, 1545, he took *Kandabār* from *Mirza Askeri*, who governed it as deputy to *Mirza Kamrān*; and, on the 16th of November, 1545, took *Kābul* from *Mirza Kamrān* himself. *Humayūn*, pursuing his good fortune, in the spring, 1546, marched into *Biddukhshān*, and recovered that province from *Mirza Soleymān*, who had revolted, and usurped the government of it.

AFTER so many prosperous enterprises, *Hemayūn* for some time laid aside the toils of war, to take a little repose, and settle the reconquered provinces. At length, in December 1554, he began his march from *Kābul* to *Hindūstān*; and, on the 22d of February, 1555, arrived at *Lahūr*; in May, he came to *Serhend*, and, on the 20th of June, encountered and defeated *Sekānder Sowr*, son-in-law to the usurper *Shīr Khān*. His first name was *Ahmed*, and he governed *Panjāb*, or *Labār*, under *Seltm Khān*: after whose death he assumed the government of that state, which extended from the river *Send*, or *Indus*, to the *Ganges*, and called himself *Sekānder*^b.

THIS in brief is the history of the reign of *Hemayūn*, or *Homayūn*, as given by Mr. *Frazer*: the conciseness of which we shall supply from a curious fragment, communicated by *De Laet* (H); and beginning with that prince's first expedition into *Bengāl*, which was in 1558, as before remarked. *Hamayon* (or *Hemayūn*), departing from *Agra* with an army, entered that country; and, having defeated the *Pātan* forces, soon conquered it, and changed the name to *Senetabād*. But the fruits of his victory did not last long: for *Ferried* (I) *Khān*, who assumed the name of *Shīr Khān*, one of the *Pātan* kings, departing from *Naw* with 65,000 troops; quickly recovered the province of *Babar* (K), with the castle of *Rajah Rotas*, and

^b FRASER, *ibid.* p. 9.

Namā, Tebkat Akber Shābi, Tarikh alum Aray, and Montikbeb al Twarikh Bedawuni: they all give treat of the Mogol emperors, excepting the fourth, which contains the history of the Shāhs of Persia. *Frazer*.

(H) In his tract, *De imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India vera, commentarius*, inserted in the *Respublicæ*, printed by *Eliever*, 1631. This fragment, supposed by *De Laet* to be extracted from the historians of *Hindūstān*, was given to him by the famous Pe-

ter *Vanden Broecke*, who founded *Batavia* in *Jawa*. It agrees almost in every thing with Mr. *Frazer*'s abstract; which serves to supply the date of actions, omitted in the fragment. *Herbert*, who has made use of it, passes but slightly over the reign of *Hemayūn*: nor are his extracts, relating to *Akber* and *Jehān Gbīr*, made with due care.

(I) Perhaps *Ferbad Khān*.

(K) Perhaps rather *Berar*, in which the castle of *Rotas* is,

com-

compelled *Hemayûn* to fly hastily out of *Bengâl* into *Pâtân*. 2. *Shîr Khân* followed him, and, overtaking him at *Tzioka*, *Hemayûn* obliged him to retreat back to *Agrâ*; where, having gathered his scattered troops, and augmented them with supplies from several provinces, he marched a second time towards the *Ganges*. As soon as *Shîr Khân* had notice of his coming, he set forward, sending before 20,000 horse, to prevent his passage of the river.

THE *Mogols* were there incamped; but, relying perhaps and depending on their own strength, spent the night in revelling, and took no care to keep a guard. This being made known to *Shîr Khân* by his spies, he sent *Ghâwas Khân*, with 10,000 light horse; who, having but fifteen miles to ride, early in the morning, rushed upon the enemy, buried in sleep and wine, and made a great slaughter. *Hemayûn*, awakened with the cries and confusion which were in his camp, and seeing his foldiers already flying on every side, made haste and fled himself. When he came to the river, with only a few followers, he, by the assistance of a water-carrier, swam over to the other side. There he luckily found a horse, belonging to some soldier, who had been drowned in passing the stream, and, mounting him, escaped to *Agrâ*. All his elephants and horses, with a considerable treasure, fell into the hands of the *Pâtans*. The women likewise and daughters of him, as well as his *Omrâs*, became a prey to *Shîr Khân*¹.

THIS prince, having obtained so unexpected a victory, used it with the greatest moderation; neither offering any indemnity to the captive females himself, nor suffering his officers to commit any. To improve the opportunity to the utmost, and give the enemy no time to breathe, he immediately advances towards *Agrâ*; taking many cities in his way. Mean time *Hemayûn*, quite destitute of troops, taking with him *Jemla Begûm*, one of his wives, who was big with child, retired to *Azmâr* (or *Ajmîr*), and thence to the province of *Shermel*; where, in the castle of *Ammer*, she brought him a son, named afterwards *Akber*. Not thinking himself yet secure, he fled to *Lahûr*, where *Mîrza Kamrân*, his half-brother, commanded. This prince, vexed to see his brother's want of courage, asked him leave to go fight the *Pâtans*, who were already arrived at *Sherhind*, since he was so afraid to face them. The king, beyond measure offended with his brother's speech, left *Lahûr*, and went towards *Kasbmîr*, expecting shelter from one of his *Omrâs*, who governed there: but, that commander being lately dead, the inhabitants had

¹ DE LAST de Imp. Mag. Mogol, p. 172, & seqq.

2. *Soltân Hema-yûn.* taken different measures, and not only fortified the capital, but shut up the straits of the mountains called *Kothel*; so that there was no entering the country without great difficulty.

by his brothers; *HEMAYUN*, finding himself excluded there also, directed his course towards *Kâbûl*: but his brother *Kamrân*, having been obliged to quit *Lahôr* (which *Shîr Khân* had now taken, as well as *Multân*); and, being greatly incensed against the king on that account, by great marches, got to *Trinlebeg*; and thus cut off his retreat to *Kâbûl*. In this distress he applied to *Mîrza Askeri* (L), who resided at *Kandahâr*, desiring that he might put his castle in a state of defence: but he would not so much as let him into it. Nor did he meet with more obedience from *Khân Housseyn*, governor of *Tâtta*: for the king having sent to desire leave to pass through his province, he returned for answer, that if his majesty intended for *Persia*, his best way was to go by *Kandahâr*. Accordingly he took that road, seeing himself deserted by all his people; and, leaving his wife, and son, then but one year old, with his baggage, domestics, and harâm, in the town of *Shanwan* (M), entered *Persia*, and came to *Sebisgân*, accompanied only by *Beyrâm Khân*; who a little while before had joined him with a few choice soldiers ^k.

flies into Persia;

As soon as *Askeri* knew of his brother's flight, he seized on every thing which he had left behind, with his treasure, and confined his wife with her young son in the fortrefs. But *Hemayûn* received more friendly treatment from *Shâh Tâhmâsp* (N); who, on the first news of his misfortune and flight, sent orders to the governor of *Herât*, to receive him with all imaginable honour, in case he should repair to that city. The governor accordingly, on the king's approach, went out, with the principal inhabitants, twelve miles to meet him; furnished him with all necessaries while he staid at *Herât*, and wrote to the governors on the road to court, to receive him with honour in his passage. When *Hemayûn* drew near *Kazbân*, where the *Shâh* then resided, the *Persian* monarch sent his brother *Mîrza Bayrâm*, accompanied by all the great lords, to receive, and introduce him to his presence.

narrow escape;

TAHMASP, having embraced and comforted the refugee prince, ordered his brother *Beyrâm* to wait on him at table.

^k DE LAET de Imp. Magn. Mogol, p. 174, & seqq.

(L) In *De Lact, Affari.*

(N) In *De Lact, Thomas*; af-

(M) In the original, *Txan-* towards *Tamas.*

urban.

The

The king, observing with what assiduity the prince performed that office, said, *the Shâh did rightly, so to teach his brother to be obedient; for that he, who had heaped honours and riches on his brothers, found them the worst enemies in his distress.* Bayrâm, enraged at this offensive speech, put his brother in mind, that, in the reign of Shâh Ismâil, Babr, the father of Hemayûn, was no more than a gardener; and so far incensed him, that he brought him to a resolution to make his guest away. This resolution had undoubtedly been executed, if Begüm Soltâna, the Shâh's sister, had not in pity to the exiled prince, by her eloquence, diverted her brother from his purpose: putting him in mind, that he was descended from Tîmûr, to whom their ancestors owed numberless favours, even their empire; and that therefore he could not, without ingratitude, desert the Mogol prince.

TAHMASP, moved by what his sister had urged, gave orders that Hemayûn should be furnished with troops, and all things necessary for his return to Hindûstân. At the same time he commanded Dein and Khân Tramma, Babadr Khân, Khân Kûli Khân, Narenjin (a kinsman of Hassan Kûli Khân), Ismâil Kûli Khân Wattedel, and other great officers, to accompany him thither. Hemayûn immediately leaves Kazbîn, and, hastening to Kandahâr, surrounds it with his forces. On Askeri's refusing to deliver up the fortress, he ordered the walls to be battered: but when he beheld his son, then two years old (O), exposed on the walls, he gave over the attack; after which he, upon oath, granted his brother's life, and liberty to depart the place. Askeri went to his brother Kamrân, who then resided at Kâbûl: but the king following him, with very little trouble, took Kâbûl, and Kamrân in it. Then, having ordered his eyes to be put out, banished him to Mekka; where soon after he died¹.

IN the year of the Hejrah 960, and of Christ 1552 (P), Shîr Khân, or Tiekmeke (Q), king of the Pâtans, breathed his last in the castle of Gwaleor; leaving behind him a son, named stân; Fer Khân, no more than twelve years old: but while the principal ministers prepared to set him in the throne, his uncle

¹ DE LAET de Imp. Magn. Mogol, p. 175. & seqq.

(O) This supposes Hemayûn to have been in Persia no more than one year; whereas he was there five years and half.

(P) De Laet puts 1550. De Faria, who gives the history of him, says, he was killed at Ka-

lijar (or Gwalijâr), which he took from the Rajaputs, by the bursting of a cannon which he fired. Port. Asia, vol. i. ch. 9. p. 422.

(Q) Before he is called Ferriad Khân.

2. *Soltân*
Hemayûn.

Adel Khân (R), blinded with a lust of reigning, made him away, and usurped the kingdom. The nobles, in detestation of this atrocious action, revolted in almost every province.

Adel Khân, however, hoping to divert the storm, set out from *Gwaleyâr*, with a great army; and, with little or no difficulty, took *Chilnâr* (S), a large and wealthy city. The death of *Shîr Khân*, and the troubles which ensued thereon, soon reached the ears of *Hemayûn*, still residing at *Kâbâl*; who, judging this a proper juncture to recover his loss, immediately, with an army, enters *India*. There, none daring to resist him, all the towns and provinces submitted, till he came to *Serhind*, which was governed by *Rekander Khân Affega* (T), a faithful minister of the late king. This lord, with ten thousand horse, had the courage to take the field against the *Mogols*: but, being overpowered, after a sharp dispute, with one thousand only of his troops, fled to the mountains of *Kangera*.

enters
Dehli.

AFTER this victory, *Hemayûn* intrusted *Beyrâm Khân Kâna* with the education of his son *Abdol Fetta Jelâlo'ddîn Moham-med*; and withal, giving the whole command of the army to that lord, sent him in pursuit of *Rekander*, who had retired to *Dehli*. At the same time *Allan Kulî*, *Semaran Khân*, and *Bahâdr Khân*, were dispatched to recover the province of *Do-ab* (U), which lies between the rivers *Ganges* and *Jamna*, or *Semena*. Success attended both expeditions; for *Rekander* was slain, and that province reduced. Hereupon *Hemayûn* entered triumphantly into *Dehli*; where he laid the foundation of a magnificent palace: but he had scarce been settled in his capital three months, when, by an accident, he was snatched out of the world. For, descending the palace stairs, on hearing the cryer call to afternoon prayers, he sat down, leaning on his staff; and, having taken too large a dose of opium, fell asleep: when suddenly, the staff slipping, he pitched headlong down forty steps, and was so bruised with the fall, that he died in three days^m. The prince departed this life on the

His death.

^m DE LAET de Imp. Magn. Mogol, p. 178, & seqq.

(R) He is in the next reign called *Abdol Khân*.

(S) In the original, *Txibil-nâr*. The names are Dutch spelling, and inaccurate.

(T) Perhaps for *Sekander Khân Affghân*. If so, the *Affghâns* seem to differ from the *Patânis*, or to be a particular

branch of them: or, instead of *Affghân*, it may be *Afkan*; which signifies an overthrower.

(U) Or *Dow-ab*; which, our author observes elsewhere, signifies *Mesopotamia*, or *Interamnia*; as lying between the *Ganges* and *Jemni*. It is called also *Sanbal*, or *Sambel*.

24th of January, 1556 (X), and was buried in a monument erected on the banks of the river *Chun*, or *Jemni*, at the age of forty-nine lunar years, four months, and ten days; of which he reigned twenty-five years, ten months, and five daysⁿ.

S E C T. III.

The reign of Akbar, or Akber, surnamed Jalâlo'ddîn Mohammed.

AKBAR, son of *Hemayûn*, was born in the fort of *Amr-kowt*, on the 12th of October, 1542; and, on the 12th of February, 1556, being then thirteen solar years and four months old, was proclaimed emperor, at *Kalanôr*, in the province of *Lahûr*. He was reckoned a great and good prince, and was very fortunate in war; having in his reign made several conquests, and reduced almost all *India* to his obedience. This in general is all which our author relates concerning this *Mogol* monarch; excepting, that, as he was fixed to no religion himself, so he persecuted none; and that, in 1582, he wrote to the king of *Portugal*, desiring to send him a translation of the scriptures into *Arabic* or *Persian*; and, at the same time, some learned person, to explain the Christian religion (Y)^o. It were to be wished, that, instead of *Akbar's* letter, Mr. *Fraser* had given some account of his actions from the authors to which he refers his readers (Z). For want of such a supply, we must have recourse again to *Vanden Broecke's* fragment, published by *De Laët*; which gives the best history of this and the following reign to be met with in any *European* author.

WHEN *Abdol Khân* heard, at *Shilnari*, where he had lain close all this while, of the sudden death of *Hemayûn*, he sent

3. *Soltân*
Akber
proclaimed
emperor.

ⁿ FRASER, ubi sup. p. 10.
Shâh, p. 10, & seqq.

^o FRASER's hist. of Nadir

(X) According to the Fragment of *De Laët*, *Hameyûn* died in the year of the *Hjrah* 962, or of *Christ* 1554; and not 1552, as that author puts it.

(Y) Of this affair an account is given at the end of this king's reign.

(Z) As the *Akbar Nâma*, *Tebkat Akbar Shâbi*, and *Montekbeb Twarikk Bedawni*, three histories mentioned before. The first was composed by his secretary and wazir, named *Abûlfazl*;

which signifies *the father of excellence*: the most learned and best writer then in the east. He was murdered by order of *Soltân Selim*, on suspicion that he had created a misunderstanding which subsisted between him and his father. He left several works unfinished, and had carried down that of the *Mogol* emperors, to the 38th year of the reign of *Akbar*; who, among others, greatly lamented his death. *Fraser*.

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Y

his

3. *Soltân Akber.* his chief general *Kuli Khân Hemow*, an *Indian*, of no great birth, but very valiant, with 100,000 horse, 500 elephants, and a great military chest, towards the city of *Dehli*, to make war on the *Mogols*. Mean time *Akbar*, who, with *Beyrâm Khân*, *Khân Kânnâ*, and the greater part of his army, went in pursuit of his father's enemies, in the mountains of *Khoestân*, as before mentioned, so soon as he received tidings of his death, marched to *Kalanôr*; and, being there proclaimed king by his governor, made what haste he could to *Dehli*. In the way he met *Turdi Khân*; who, venturing out of the city, to fight *Hemow*, was defeated, and fled. This commander was received by *Akbar* in a friendly manner; but, after treating him at a banquet, he was stabbed by a slave, set on by *Beyrâm Khân*. At this time *Alla Kâli Khân* and *Bahâdr Khân* were in *Do-ab*, or the interamnian province: but, being sent for, they were dispatched before to *Panipatam*, with an army, to stop the carrier of *Hemow*; who had already taken *Dehli*, while *Akbar* followed with rest of his forces P.

The Pâtans overthrown. THE two generals, meeting *Hemow* at *Tilleputli*, between *Panipatam* and *Dehli*, immediately resolved to give him battle: but his soldiers mutinying for want of pay, forsook their leader, and dispersed. So that the *Mogols* took all their baggage, with the elephants; and *Hemow* himself, being shot in the eye with an arrow, fighting, was obliged to fly likewise. But, being overtaken by *Kâli Khân Mâhrem*, was brought to *Akbar*, now come up with the army; who, calling for a sword, smote off his head, and ordered it to be fixed on the gate of *Dehli*. After this, *Alla Kâli Khân* and *Bahâdr Khân* are sent back into the province of *Do-ab*, to pursue the remains of the *Pâtans*: who, collecting all their forces, are met at *Sambel* by those generals, and vanquished, with great slaughter. The routed enemy fled to *Laknow*; and, making a stand there, were again defeated. After this they received a still greater overthrow at *Jounpûr*, on the banks of the river *Tsatfa* (A): so that all *Hindûstân*, between this river and the *Ganges*, was recovered in a short space of time.

Akbar enthroned. MEAN while *Akbar* spent his time at *Agra* in hunting and other diversions: yet was inwardly grieved to see that his tutor *Beyrâm Khân* took the whole administration of affairs on himself, and had the army all at his devotion. This jealousy, it is likely, was in a good measure owing to the whispers of

P DE LAET India Vera. p. 180. & seqq.

(A) So *Herbert* writes. *De Txiatsom*; which is *Chatsom*, or *Laet*, variously, *Thatsan*, and *Jatsom*.

parasites,

parasites, and chiefly to the insinuations of his nurse *Maghem*, ^{3. Soltân} who devised the following stratagem to free him from his governor's power. One day, not unknown to *Beyrâm Khân*, ^{Akber.} passing the *Semmena* (or *Jemni*), accompanied by a large retinue, under pretence of hunting, he proceeded to *Koheb*; from whence his nurse, who followed him by easy journies, conducted him to *Dehli*; where, for a long time, the kings of *Hindûstân* used to be inaugurated. There, the lords of the neighbouring provinces being called together, the prince was enthroned, and acknowledged king by the whole assembly. As soon as *Beyrâm Khân* heard this news, he, without delay, sent all the *Omrâs* and *Mansebdârs* who were about *Agrâ* to the king, with a letter, importing, that, as he had never made use of the power which *Hemayûn* had intrusted him with, but for the good of the state, and what he thought the benefit of him the prince, so, now he found that he was able to manage affairs by himself, he wished him all happiness and success; only desiring, that, as he was quite broken with age and ministerial fatigue, his majesty would give him leave to go to *Mekka*, there to spend the remainder of his days¹.

His request having been readily granted, the good old man *Beyrâm* left *Agrâ* with all his family, and took his way through *Meuwat Khân* (or *Mevat*) towards *Guzerât*; where he intended to embark: *slain*. but when he came to the town of *Patang*, he there received a mortal stab by one of his *Pâtan* slaves, whose father formerly the *Khân* had slain. Hereupon his domestics returned to *Agrâ*, with *Mîrza Abdol Kakiem*, son of the deceased lord, then but twelve years of age, whom *Akbar* caused to be educated according to his quality.

THE mud wall, with which the castle of *Agra* had been long before inclosed by the *Pâtan* kings, being in many places fallen to ruin, *Akbar* ordered it to be built with stone. *Kassem Khân Mierbar*, an excellent architect, who had the direction of this work, took his materials from *Shikeri* (now called *Fettipûr*) and assembled masons from all parts, that it might be finished as soon as possible.

MEAN¹ time *Zimet Pâta* (B), a certain *Râspût* (or *Râjah-Chitor pûts*), having revolted from *Râjah Râna*, the most potent of all the *Hindû* princes, and seized the strong castle of *Chitôr*, of which he was governor, with many other towns, made several incursions into the *Mogol* provinces. Hereupon *Akbar*, no way discouraged by the difficulty of the enterprize, march-

¹ DE LAET India Vera, p. 181, & seq.

(B) *Zimet* is afterwards written *Zimel*.

3. *Soitân*
Akber.



ed with a great army, and besieged that fortress. After battering it for several months to no purpose, and receiving much damage from the defendants, he ordered the principal bulwark of the castle to be undermined; which being intirely blown up, made a wide breach for the besiegers to enter. *Zimet Pâta*, perceiving all to be lost, first set fire to a house wherein he had assembled his wives and children; and then, rushing desperately upon the enemy, perished himself, with all who were about him. In remembrance of this great victory, *Akbar* caused the statues of *Zimet*, and one of his chief commanders, mounted on elephants, to be placed on each side of the gate of his palace at *Agrâ*. This fortress formerly had been besieged by *Alao'ddîn* twelve years in vain.

Rebellions
suppressed.

HOWEVER, to allay his joy for this victory, he presently after received advice from *Saffer Khân*, and *Râjah Bagwander*, viceroy of *Lahûr*, that his brother *Mirza Mehemmet Hâkem*, with 30,000 horse, from *Kâbûl*, had invaded that province: but *Akbar* came upon him, at *Sherhinda*, so unexpectedly with his forces, that *Mohammed* fled, leaving his camp and followers at the mercy of the vanquisher. The *Mogol* monarch hereupon put all the advantageous posts in a better posture of defence, and gave the command of them to trusty officers: but while with this view he was surveying *Panjâb*, he received advice from his mother, at *Agra*, that *Bahâdr Khân* and *Ali Kûli Khân Zemaen* (who had been left at *Laknawn* against the *Pâtans*, as before related) had rebelled, spoiled all the neighbouring provinces, and threatened even *Agrâ* itself: but *Akbar* by swift marches arrived so suddenly at the river *Jemni*, that the revolvers, seized with fear, took to flight. The king's troops pursued them, and, after a great slaughter of their men, between *Fettipûr* and *Karammekpûr*, the chiefs themselves met their fate. *Ali Kûli Khân* was trodden to death under the horses feet, and *Bahâdr Khân* strangled on the spot by command of *Akbar*^t.

Akbar's
pilgrim-
age.

THIS rebellion being thus nipped in the bud, *Khân Kâna* and *Munim Khân* are sent to *Jûnpûr* (C), to govern that province, and watch the *Pâtans*, who were with *Mirza Soleymán Lodi* (or *Lawdî*), at *Choutsa*, not far from that city. Mean while the king returned with the rest of his forces. Some time after, he resolves to make a pilgrimage, on barefoot, to *Azmîr* (or *Ajmîr*) 150 kos, or 200 miles, distant, to visit the tomb of *Haji Mondî*, by that saint's intercession to obtain children. In this walk he ordered a stone to be placed

^t DE LAET India Vera, p. 184, & seq.

(C) *Herbert* writes, *Joonpore*, and *De Laet*, *Ziaupor*.

at the end of every kos; and, in his return, at *Shikeri*, or *Sikeri*, eighteen miles short of *Agrá*, visits *Sheykh Selm*, to whom he relates the occasion of his pilgrimage. Hereupon the *Sheykh* foretels him, that he should have three sons, and that one of his concubines was then with child. For this reason *Akbar* called the first of them *Selm* (D), from the *Sheykh*: the other two were named *Morád* (E), and *Dhaen*, or *Daniel*. This prediction was so pleasing to *Akbar*, that he inclosed the town with a wall, and called it *Fettipúr* (F). He likewise erected a magnificent mosk, with a palace of great beauty; and had made it his capital, if the river had been wholesome: but the badness of the water obliged him to quit that situation; which presently fell to ruin.

DURING *Akbar's* abode at *Fettipúr*, advice arrived from *Guzerát* *Khán Azem*, that a rebellion was broken out in *Guzerát*, by *subdued*. *Ibráhm Housseyn* (joined by *Mirza Khán*, *Mirza Mohammed Housseyn*, and *Jehan Khán*), who had ravaged the country as far as *Baroch*, and was marching with his troops of thieves and *Kúlis* to attack *Ahmed abad*. *Akbar*, on this news, mounting dromedaries with his most trusty commanders and dependants, posts with incredible haste from *Shikeri* into *Guzerát*, riding 400 kos in seven days, and fixed his tents near that city. This unexpected arrival of *Akbar* so astonished the rebels, ignorant of his strength, that they immediately raised the siege and fled. Hereupon *Khán Azem*, and the other *Mogol* commanders, who had dispersed to different places for fear of the enemy, marched to meet the king; who, being by these reinforcements become pretty strong, sent *Khán Goga*, with 12,000 horse, to pursue the fugitives. This general coming up with them, a fierce battle ensued; till the *Khán* being slain, his troops began to give way. *Akbar*, provoked at this, rushed into the middle of the battle with such fury, that the enemy, unable to withstand the shock, took themselves to a shameful flight. *Mirza Ibráhm* and *Mirza Khán* were slain in the fight: but *Mohammed Housseyn*, being taken prisoner, was beheaded. After this, the castle of *Surát* was reduced, without any difficulty, and the whole province of *Guzerát* subdued. To secure which, *Akbar* fortified *Ahmed abad*, and then returned to *Hindústán*.

* DE LAET, ubi sup. p. 187, & seqq. and HERBERT'S Travels, p. 61.

(D) Which signifies *peaceful, safe, secure*. The feminine, *Selim*, is a proper name for women. *Frazer*.

(E) *Morád* signifies *wished for, desired*. *Frazer*.

(F) Or *Fatehpúr*; that is, the place of *victory*; not the place of *pleasure*, as *Herbert* says.

3. *Soltân*
Akber.

Castle of
Agra.

Sumptuous
sepulchres.

Bengâl
conquered.

Rotas
castle
surprised.

THE same year the castle of *Agrâ* was finished : which magnificent edifice, built with stones of a vast size, was twelve years erecting, although sometimes 1,200 hands were employed about it ; and cost him 50,000 krors of taks, or two millions five hundred thousands rupees, of two shillings and three pence each. At the same time he expended in the walls and palace of *Fettipûr* one million and half of rupees. At *Se-kânder*, or *Skânder*, three kos, or five miles, from *Agrâ*, in the road to *Lahûr*, he likewise began the sepulchres of his family (G). While these vast buildings were going forwards, *Khân Kânnâ*, and *Monim Khân*, who governed at *Faunpûr*, prosecuted the war in *Bengâl* against *Saleymân Kaherani* ; who dying suddenly, his son *Skânder* succeeded. But, two years after, he was slain by conspirators, and *Douwet*, son of *Barat Khân*, advanced in his room. As this was an indolent prince, and immoderately given to drinking, without minding either military or state affairs, *Akbar* judged this a proper season to subdue the *Pâtans*, and conquer *Bengâl*. Accordingly, marching thither (with an army of 50,000 horse and 600 elephants) he passed both the *Ganges* and *Jotfa* (H), and advanced towards *Pâtan*. *Shâh Dâuwet*, on the news of his arrival, sent 12,000 horse to obstruct his passage, under the command of *Râjah Beka*, who met the *Mogols* between *Jotfa* and *Moheb ali pûr* ; but after a brave attack, of three hours continuance, was obliged to retreat, while the enemy pursued them to the city of *Pâtan*, where *Douwet* shut himself up. *Akbar* lay before the walls six months ; nor in all that time could bring the *Pâtans* to a battle ; but in the seventh month he takes the city by force. On this occasion a great number of *Pâtans* fell by the sword ; many commanders likewise, with their wives and children, were made prisoners ; a great deal of treasure also taken. *Shâh Dâuwet*, at this time so drunk that he knew nothing of what had happened, was carried down the river in a boat by his domestics, the distance of three days journey. There, at length, detesting him for his slothful disposition, which had brought that calamity on them, they cut off his head, and sent it to *Akbar* ; who, having thus become master of all *Bengâl*, returned to *Fettipûr*.

WHILE he there oversaw his building going forward, he sent *Rustan Khân* and *Zadok Khân* at the head of an army,

(G) *Herbert* says, that it was augmented by *Jehân Gîr* ; and though scarce finished in his time, yet it had already con-

sumed fourteen millions of rupees.

(H) Or *Chotfa* ; in *De Laet*, *Tziotfa*.

who

who in two months time took *Rantipûr* (I), a very strong castle (in *Mâlva*) from its Râjah. His next design was against the castle of *Rotâs*, in the province of *Bahâr* (K); reckoned the strongest, both by nature and art, in all *Asia*. After he had in vain thought of the means of reducing it, *Mobeb Ali Khân*, an enterprising officer, obtained leave to try his skill, and, without imparting his intentions to any body, set out with some chosen troops. When he drew near the castle, he first, by making presents on all hands, cultivated a friendship with the Râjah; and then, pretending to be upon business in *Bengâl*, which required the greatest expedition, desired leave that his harâm, or women, might be lodged, for security, in the castle, till his return. The Râjah, not apprehending any fraud, too readily consents; and *Mobeb Ali Khân* fills the 200 litters, which carried his women, with men, putting two in each. These being admitted into the castle, slew the guards at the principal gate; while *Ali Khân*, who followed them, entering the place, killed the Râjah, and seized the castle, with an immense treasure.

3. *Soltân Akber.*

AFTER this, the invincible castle of *Jelûr*, or *Jalûr*, is betrayed to *Akbar* by *Jedney Khân*, to his own brother's confusion. The news of these losses greatly alarming the Râjahs, each did his best to secure himself against an attack; and some, to prevent one, took the field. Among these was *Rûp Mathi*, a beautiful princess, at *Sarangpûr*; who, having assumed the name of *Bahâdr* (or valiant), entered the *Mogol* dominions, with her *Pâtans*, and began to ravage them: but being met in the midst of her career by *Adam Khân*, he with his troops assaulted her so furiously, that, after most of her people were slain, she was taken prisoner; but, to prevent farther disgrace, took poison and died.

ABOUT the same time the king's brother, *Mirza Mohamed Hakim*, who commanded at *Kâbûl*, dying, *Akbar* sent Râjah *Manzing*, with 5000 horse, who reduced that kingdom into a province. The wives, children, and chief ministers, being sent to court, the king treated them with great respect; and put his two nephews (one ten and the other seven years old) into the hands of trusty persons to be educated. To the ladies he gave pensions; and to the commanders, troops, or governments.

* DE LAET, p. 190. HERBERT, p. 62.

(I) So named by *Herbert*; by *Berar*, a province of *Bengâl*.
De Laet, *Rban Tambor*. It lies on the west side of the

(K) *Herbert* says, the castle of *Rotâs*, or *Roughtax*, is in *Ganges*. *Rotâs* is called *Rodas* by *Tavernier*.

3. *Soltân*
Akber.

Rebellions
quashed.

MEAN while (L), *Mozaffer Khân* rebels in *Guzerât*, having first strangled *Gotâbdas Mohammed Khân*, the viceroi, and some other Omrâs. Hereupon, *Abdol Rakim*, son of *Khân Kânnâ*, and *Beyrâm Khân* (M), were sent with numerous forces against the enemy, accompanied by *Norân Khân* and *Goufer Khân*, sons of *Gotâbdas* : but, as soon as they arrived on the borders of the province, the army of *Mozaffer*, consisting of no more than 12,000 horse, was immediately put to flight, and himself taken : but, to prevent an ignominious death, he laid violent hands on himself. *Abdol Rakim* hereupon obtained the name of *Khân Kânnâ*, and the command of 5000 horse. These advantages did not however establish peace in *Akbar's* empire ; for *Mazenow Khân*, *Gabiet Khân*, *Bama Khân*, and *Mohammed Masbûm Khân*, some of the *Kâbul* lords, began a new rebellion in *Bengâl*. Against them are sent *Râjah Thormiel*, *Wazîr Khân*, and *Znebbhar Khân*, with a strong army ; who are twice or thrice defeated, and the general taken prisoner : but, at length, being vanquished, they were all slain in battle, excepting *Masbûm Khân*, who fled ; and, by the troops he carried with him, enabled that rebel to attack the *Mogol* provinces more vigorously than ever. *Znebbhar Khân* (late president of *Kâbul*) for this service was made viceroy of *Bengâl*, and *Râjah Thormiel* returned to *Fettipûr*.

Râjahs
compliable.

AT the same time *Râjah Râmjend*, lord of *Bândo* (a province adjoining to that of *Agrâ*, but abounding only with sand and stones), at the persuasion of *Râjah Birmuel*, went to wait on the king at *Fettipûr* ; and, never having given any umbrage to *Akbar*, was received with honour. His example was followed by the rest of the *Râjahs*, or petty kings : who in this manner began to win the *Mogol* monarch's friendship, and send him their daughters for concubines ; which laid the foundation of mutual peace and confederacy. At the same time, *Akbar*, making a progress towards the *Ganges*, and, being greatly delighted with the place, where the *Ziotja*, *Beak*, and *Jemni*, meet in that river, ordered a castle to be built there with stone, by skilful architects ; which was five years in erecting, and cost one million two hundred thousand

(L) *Herbert* places this in the year 968 of the *Hejrab*, and 1568 of Christ : which of these years he accommodated to the other, we know not ; but the

year of Christ 1560 answers to 968 of the *Hejrab*.

(L) *Herbert* calls him *Abdal Râjab*, *Bayram Khân's* son. It should be rather *Abdol Rakim*, son of *Byran Khân*.

rupees,

rupees¹. This place, before named *Praya*, he called *El-abâs*, or *Halabâs*². 3. *Soltân Akber.*

AKBAR, having thus subdued all his opponents, and being quite at ease, resolves to go to *Lahûr*, there to meet *Abdo'llah Khân*, son of *Iskânder Khân* (N), the *Uzbek* king of *Mawara'nâhr*, who was come into *India* to pay him a visit. Mean time, *Mirza Tjarof*, having received many injuries from the *Uzbeks*, came from *Badakhsân* to *Fettipûr*, where the court had now continued fifteen years. With this, prince *Akbar* went to *Lahûr*, intending to proceed to *Kâbul*: but, calling to mind that the *Ganges* was still in the power of the *Pâtans*, he turned off towards *Attek*; from whence he sent *Jehân Khân* and *Râjah Birmuel* to make war on those people. But the *Pâtans*, who were subject to *Jelâlia Afridi*, and *Turkoft Ji*, seizing the passages of the mountains, made a great slaughter among the *Mogol* forces, killing *Birmuel*, and many other *Om-râs*; so that *Chengan Goga*, with difficulty, escaped. However, a more numerous army being sent against them, all those provinces, which belonged to *Jelâlia* and *Turkoft*, were entirely reduced. The *Pâtans* overthrown.

SOME time after this, news arrived that *Mirza Mozaffer Kanda-Hosseyn* and *Mirza Rûstân*, sons of *Mirza Bayrâm*, who commanded at *Kandahâr*, being offended with *Shâh Abbâs*, son of *Khodabandeh*, on account of injuries done them, were determined to submit to *Akbar*: this prince, finding so fair an opportunity offered him of adding that fortress to his empire, sent *Kabik Khân*, with 5000 horse; to whom the two brothers immediately delivered up the city, and repaired themselves to *Lahûr*; where they were kindly received. *Akbar's* ambition being increased by these successes, he sends *Tzedder Khân* and *Hakim Khân* to *Bokhâra*, under pretence of condoling *Abdallah Khân* for the loss of his father *Iskânder Khân*; but in reality to pry into the state of *Mawara'nâhr*, which their master longed to unite to his empire. These ambassadors, or rather spies, after a whole year's stay in that country, returned laden with presents, and a full account of the strength of the cities, as well as forces, of the *Uzbeks*. hâr betrayed.

AKBAR was well pleased with this information; but, before he undertook an expedition of such consequence, he Kashmîr invaded:

¹ DE LAET, p. 193. HERBERT, p. 64. ² DE LAET, p. 71.

(N) In *De Laet* we read *Abdullach Ghan*, son of *Tsecander Ghan*; afterwards *Abdul Ghan*, and *Tsander Ghan*: the *Elziver* copy being extremely incorrect, with regard to the proper and local names; which we cannot always rectify.

3. *Soltân Akber.* judged it proper to reduce *Kashmîr*. To this end he sends *Kassim Khân Merbar*, and *Mîrza Ali Chîli*, with all his forces towards that country; charging them at the same time with letters to *Yûsuf Khân*, the king thereof, wherein he promised not in the least to diminish his authority, provided he submitted, without obliging him to make use of hostilities. *Yûsuf Khân*, upon the receipt of this summons, immediately repairs to *Lahûr*: but, as he left his son *Yakûb* behind, *Akbar* suspected his sincerity, and looked on it as no more than a precarious submission. Nor did he judge amiss; for as soon as *Yusuf's* back was turned, those who had the administration of affairs, disapproving of that measure, prevailed on *Yakûb* not to bend so tamely to a foreign yoke. The young prince, following their advice, put his little kingdom in a posture of defence, and shut up all the passages into it. This vigorous resolution of the *Kashmîrians* for some time embarrassed *Akbar*; who considered how difficult it would be to force the *kotlen*, or straits, of the mountain *Bimber*, by which only that country was to be entered. However, at length, he detached the above-mentioned generals, with an army of 30,000 horse, accompanied by some *Omrâs* of *Kashmîr*, to whom all the passages were known. As soon as *Yakûb* received advice of their coming, he sent several of his *Omrâs*, with considerable forces, to defend those straits: but they, being corrupted by the bribes and promises of the *Mogols*, deserted their posts, and gave the enemy an easy admittance into the kingdom. *Akbar's* troops hastened to the capital, *Kashmîr*; which being unwallèd, they entered at the first attack, and took the young king prisoner; to whom and his father the victor allowed a yearly pension[†].

won by
treachery.

Sindi conquered. AFTER this success, *Akbar* turned his arms against the kingdom of *Sindi*; whose prince *Mîrza Jêhân* was become odious for his tyranny. In this expedition he employed *Khân Kâpna* (with 12,000 men); who, embarking his troops on the *Râvi*, sailed into the *Indus*, and thence to *Tâtta*, capital of *Sindi*; which he besieged. The city held out six months: but, in the seventh, the tyrant, surrendering himself, is sent to court; where he is kindly received, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a province.

Dekân invaded: ABOUT this time, *Nezâm Shâh*, king of *Dekân* (O), dying, *Akbar* became desirous to conquer that kingdom also. With this

† DE LAET, p. 197. HERBERT, p. 66.

(O) Herbert says, he was succeeded by his son *Mâlek Amber*; but, according to *Van Den Broeck*, the founder of *Batavia*, who

this intent he sends Khân Khânnâ from *Lahûr*, with twenty-two Omrâs and a great army, towards *Brâmpûr*. Here they were joined by the forces of Râjah *Ali Khân*, governor of that province; but staid there six months without action: for *Jând Bîbi*, daughter of the late king, governed the kingdom at *Amdanâgar* with great prudence, and had an army under the conduct of *Koja Shuhel*, an eunuch, eminent for his courage and activity. This general, with 40,000 horse, including the troops of *Viziapûr* and *Golkondâ*, advanced to meet Khân Khânnâ; who, notwithstanding he had scarce 20,000 men with him, yet confiding in the valour of Râjah *Ali Khân*, *Mîrza Ked Gassem*, descended from *Zadet*, and others, he ordered them to oppose the enemy with their troops; while he kept at a small distance with a body of 5000 men, in order to send relief from time to time. The battle continued all day and all night; during which time fortune seemed doubtful, and many were killed on both sides: among whom was Râjah *Ali Khân*. At length, towards morning, the *Mogol* troops began to give way; which Khân Khânnâ perceiving, he rushed with so much fury upon the fatigued enemy, that he presently obliged them to fly, after the general *Koja Shuhel* had been slain in the fight. Although this was a signal victory, yet the province of *Dekân* did not suffer much by it; for the queen took care, with fresh forces, to repel the attacks of the *Mogols* ².

3. *Soltân Akber.*

without success.

The war revived.

HITHERTO every thing succeeded to *Akbar's* wishes; but, from this time, many misfortunes in his family troubled his reign. In the first place, his desire of conquering *Dekân* still continuing, he ordered his son *Shâh Morâd*, who commanded 7000 horse, with *Zadok Khân* and other Omrâs, to prosecute the war in that country. The prince, arriving at *Brâmpûr* with his forces, consumed six months in that city; where he gave himself up so entirely to drinking, that he fell desperately sick. On this news, *Akbar* sent *Abdol Fâzl* (P), president of the Divân, formerly *Morâd's* tutor, to reclaim him: but soon after his arrival the prince died (Q). On his death, many of the Omrâs and *Mansebdârs*, who accompanied

² DE LAET, p. 200. HERBERT, p. 67.

who was in *Mâlek Amber's* camp, in 1617, that lord was not *Nezâm Shâh's* son, but a foreigner, and general of the *Dekân* armies. By *Dekân*, or *Dekkân*, here is to be understood

the provinces of *Balagât*, *Baglâna*, and *Telengâna*.

(P) It ought to be *Abu'l Fâzl*.

(Q) According to the historians made use of by Mr. *Frazer*, this happened in the year 1598.

3. *Soltân Akber.* him, fled, without any apparent cause. Hereupon *Abdol Fâzl* took on him the command of the army, and ordered several of the fugitives, who were brought back; to be trodden to death by the elephants. Then sending *Morâd's* corps to *Dehli*, and distributing his treasure among the troops, he marched towards *Kapûr*, and encamped opposite to the enemy.

Barar and Kandish conquered. THE same year, *Akbar* gave *Dhaen Shâh*, or *Shâh Daniel*, the command of 7000 men, and sent him to *Elabâs*, accompanied by *Koutel Mohammed Khân*, his chancellor, and other *Omrâs*, to subdue the rebels, who were in the neighbourhood of that city. Mean time, *Abdol Fâzl* annexed the provinces of *Barâr* and *Khândîsh* to the *Mogol* empire. After which, he intreated *Akbar* to remove to *Agrâ*; alleging, that it would facilitate the conquest of *Amdanâgar*, *Viziapûr*, and *Golkondâ*. The king takes his advice; and leaving *Lahûr*, where he had resided twelve years, repairs to *Agrâ*, and there continues a whole year.

War with Râjah Rana: IN the year of the *Hejrah* 1005, *Akbar* thought fit to send his son *Shâh Selîm* to make war on *Râjah Râna Mardout*, by far the most powerful of all the *Râjahs* of *Hindûstân*; who had lately rebelled. The prince was accompanied by *Shebher Khân*, with 5000 horse; *Shâh Kâlî Khân Mâhrem*, with 3000; *Râjah Jaganat*, with the same number: besides many other *Mansebdârs*; which formed a potent army*.

A. D. 1598. IN 1007, the king himself departed from *Agra*, in order to prosecute the *Dekân* war: but when he had passed the river *Nerabeda*, the *Râjah Bahâdr Shâh*, not caring to trust him, put his castle of *Hasser* in a posture of defence, and furnished it with provisions. This fortress consists of three castles: the first called *Kozanin*; the second, *Kommerghâr*; and the third situated on a very high mountain, so that it may be seen at six kos distance. *Akbar*, judging it dangerous to leave such a place behind him, immediately laid siege to it; and, at length, after six months continual battery, *Bahâdr Shâh*, finding himself unable to hold out much longer, not only submitted himself on promise of liberty and effects, but, with his relations, entered into the *Mogol* service.

Shâh Selîm rebels. HERE *Abdol Fâzl* met the king, and encouraged him by all means to go on with the war; alleging, that, if he could subdue *Dekân*, and defeat the kings of *Viziapûr* and *Golkondâ*, he would sufficiently exalt his name, and enlarge his empire. But while matters stood thus, news unexpectedly arrived, that *Zebhar Khân Kambau*, who had accompanied the prince *Shâh Selîm*, was dead at *Azmîr*; and that the prince, having

seized his treasure, amounting to a krór, or ten millions of 3. *Soltán Akber.*
 rupees, was marched with a numerous body of select troops to *Agra*, in order to dethrone his father. Hereupon *Akbar*, leaving his son *Sháh Daniel* with *Abdol Fázl*, *Khán Khamzíed*, *Yúsof Khán*, and several other *Omrás*, to proceed to *Amdanâgar* and *Viziapúr*, he departed for his capital. *Sháh Selím* had been there a while before : but, finding that he could not reduce the castle, left the place ; and, passing by the way of *Rehen* and *Annewár*, came to *Elhabás*, twelve days journey distant. He had, however, gotten into his power several cities (R), in which he placed his own *Omrás* ; turning out his father's commanders ; to whom the greater part retired, leaving the rest, with all their effects, to *Selím*.

As soon as *Akbar* arrived at *Agrá*, he sent letters to his son ; setting before him the judgments threatened by God against disobedient children, and promising to restore him to his favour, in case he returned to his duty. But the rebellious prince, despising his father's admonition, continued to extend his power ; and, having subdued all the country as far as *Hassípúr* and *Pátan*, sent to *Rájah Mánzing*, viceroy of *Bengál*, to deliver up that province to him : but the *Rájah* rejected his motion. Mean time *Daniel Sháh* advanced with his army towards *Amadnâgar*, and came to *Gandezín*. On this advice, *Jánd Bibi* shut herself up, with all her father's commanders, in the castle of *Amadnâgar*, and prepared to undergo a siege. This castle is exceeding strong ; for it is built on an eminence, and surrounded with deep ditches, in which several springs discharge their waters. However, prince *Daniel*, surrounding the place with his troops, after battering it for above six months, at length took it. A great treasure fell into the victor's hands ; but the princess *Jánd Bibi* had before made herself away by poison. After this *Soltán Daniel*, having given the command of the place to *Koja Bik Mírza*, went and reduced the provinces of *Gandes* and *Berár* (S) ; which done, he returned to *Brampúr* ; where ambassadors came to him with rich presents, and submissive letters, from the kings of *Golkondá* and *Viziapúr*. The prince did nothing remarkable from this time forward ; but gave himself up intirely to drinking^b.

Success in Dekán.

Amadnâgar taken.

^b DE LAET, p. 205, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 68.

(R) As *Siapúr*, *Babar*, *Kalpi*, *Laknow*, *Oude*, *Beragbe*, *Kerfama*, *Mekpúr*, *Kera*, *Gastanpúr*, *Ghanouts*, and other places.

(S) These are the same with *Khándish* and *Barár*, already said to have been subdued by this prince.

3. *Soltân Akber.*

Shâh Selim's infolence.

AT the same time, Shâh *Selim* sent *Koja Jehân* to his father, pretending sorrow for having offended him. Hereupon *Akbar* writes to him, giving him hopes of pardon, in case he without delay came and asked it. *Jehân*, after six months stay at *Agrâ*, returns, and so wrought on the rebel son, that he resolves to submit himself. Accordingly he sets forward, and on the road writes to acquaint his father with his coming : but, as he had now on foot an army of 70,000 select troops, he required not only that his commanders might keep what had been given to them, but also that they should not be considered as rebels. Neither of these two things *Akbar* would grant : upon which, the prince returned to *Elabâs* ; where he not only coined money in his own name, but, to provoke his father the more, sent some of it to him. *Akbar*, unable to bear such an affront, wrote an account of the whole affair to *Abdol Fâzl* ; who sent back for answer, that he would be with his majesty as soon as possible, and did not doubt but to manage things so as to bring the prince bound before him.

Abdol

Fâzl slain.

ABDOL Fâzl upon this, taking leave of *Daniel Shâh*, with two or three hundred horse sets out for *Agrâ*. Mean time, Shâh *Selim*, who was acquainted with all which passed, calling to mind, that *Fâzl* always bore him an ill-will ; and therefore fearing that he would incense his father still more against him, judged it best to intercept him. To this end he sent to *Râjah Berfing Bondela*, who, at that time, resided in the province of *Ossîn* ; desiring him to way-lay *Fâzl* between *Sâr* and *Gwaliyâr*, and send him his head ; promising, for that piece of service, to give him the command of 5000 horse. The *Râjah* consents ; and, with 1000 horse, and 3000 foot, encamps three or four kos from *Gwaliyâr*, placing spies in the neighbouring villages, to give him early notice of *Fâzl's* approach. When the *Wazir*, ignorant of the snares laid for him, was passed *Kollebâga*, on the way to *Sâr*, *Râjah Berfing* rushes on him with his troops ; which were placed on both sides of the road. Hereupon began a fierce engagement ; in which *Abdol Fazl* and his followers behaved courageously : but, being oppressed with numbers, they were almost all slain. *Fâzl* himself (T), after having received twelve wounds, was taken, by the information of a captive slave, under a neighbouring tree, and had his head cut off.

Shâh Daniel dies.

THE head, being sent to the prince, transported him with joy : on the contrary, the king, when he heard of the death of that minister, whom he intirely loved, was extremely af-

(T) This is the famous *Abul ma*, mentioned in a note at the *Fâzl*, who wrote the *Akbar Na-* beginning of this reign.

flicted ;

distressed; and for three days did not appear in public. Nor did Akbar's sorrows end here: for not long after news arrived of the death of Shâh Daniel (U) at Brâmpûr, occasioned by excessive drinking; which affected him so much, that his life became a burthen to him. At length, recovering from his grief, he sent for Khân Khânnâ to court; and was so enraged at him, for not taking more care of his son, that for some time he would not admit him into his presence: but at length, by the persuasion of his Omrâs, he received him into favour; and, constituting him general in chief, sent him back to the army in Dekhân.^c

AKBAR, who all this while retained his anger against his son Selim, now resolved to turn his arms against him. He had already passed the river Semena (or Jemni) when, advice coming from court that his mother was fallen sick, he returned to Agrâ; two days after which she died, and was buried in the sepulchre of her son Hemayûn, at Dehli. As soon as these ceremonies were over, Akbar dispatched Miraseddâr, who had been Selim's tutor, with letters to that prince; wherein, after reproaching him severely for his rebellion, he put him in mind, that, as he was now his only son and heir, he was ready to receive him into favour, provided he came and humbled himself. Selim, moved by his father's letters, and the persuasions of Miraseddâr (X), set out with his son Soltân Perwîs from Elabâs, in the year 1013; and passing the Jemni with his army, the second day after, as it had been judged lucky by the astrologers, he arrived at the castle of Agrâ; where he was introduced to his father by Mortôsa Khân. When, according to the custom of the country, he fell down before the throne, his father, taking hold of his hand, carried him into the mâhl, or inner apartment, and, falling into a great rage, gave him several blows in the face (Y); at the same time upbraiding him with his wicked attempts. Then, changing his strain, he reflected on him for want of courage; who, having had 70,000 troops at his command, should yet so tamely come and submit himself, in that cringing manner. After this, he ordered him to be carried to an-

3. Soltan Akber.

Selim sub-mits:

A. D. 1604-

received to favour.

^c DE LAET, p. 208, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 70, & seq.

(U) This happened in 1604, according to Fraser.

(X) Herbert calls him Myrad Zeda.

(Y) Herbert says, he struck him so hard and often on the

mouth, that the prince, throwing himself on the ground, opened his breast, and offered at his father's command to kill himself.

other

3. *Soltân Akber.* other court of the palace, and confined. His Omrâs likewise, excepting Râjah *Batso*, who had fled in time, were seized, and conducted to prison, loaded with irons. *Selîm*, who used to take opium every day, stunned with this unexpected usage, forbore taking opium for twenty-four hours : but next day, the king, going to see him, gave him some with his own hand. On the third, all the ladies of the *mâhl* waited on *Akbar*, and intreated pardon for the prince ; which having obtained, he was sent to his own apartments. From thence he daily came, accompanied with a great train, to salute his father : but certain courtiers having infused a suspicion into the old king's mind, that *Selîm* intended him some mischief, he was ordered to come for the future attended only by four of his Omrâs.

Akbar's death : *AKBAR* did not long survive this reconciliation : for, being incensed against *Mirza Gaja* (Z), son of *Mirza Jehân*, who governed *Sinda* and *Tâtta*, on account of some insolent expression which dropped from him, he resolved to get rid of that lord by poison. To this end, he orders his physician to prepare two pills in the same form, and put poison in one of them ; resolving to give this to *Gaja*, and take the other himself : but, after holding the pills in his hand for some time, he happened to give to *Mirza* the sound pellet, and swallowed the infectious one himself. As soon as he discovered his error, he took remedies, although it was then too late. On occasion of this accident, *Selîm* paying him a visit, he put his own turbân upon the prince's head, and girt him with his father *Hemayûn's* sword : but ordered him not to act within the palace, nor visit him till he was recovered. However, *Akbar* died the twelfth day after he had taken the fatal pill^d, in the Year 1014 (A).

A. D.
1605.

ACCORDING to the Christian account, his death happened on the twelfth of *October*, 1605, at the age of sixty-three solar years and one day ; of which he had reigned forty-nine

^d DE LAET, p. 211, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 71.

(Z) *Herbert* calls him *Mirza* *seft.* 28. relates the story as in the text.

Gasbâ, and says the *Mirza* brought the pills himself ; and, being ordered to take one, took the best ; which *Akbar*, by mistaking the mark, believed to be the poison-pill, and so took the other without hesitation. *Terry*,

(A) *Herbert* makes it 984 ; we presume, by subtracting 620 from 1604, the year of Christ ; mistaking the *Mohammedan* for solar years.

solar

solar years, eight months, and one day (B). His body was interred in the burying-place of *Sekandra*, near *Agrâ* (C). 3. Soltân Akber.

AKBAR had three sons; Soltân *Selîm*, Soltân *Morâd*, and Soltân-*Daniel*: of whom the two latter died before their father; one in 1598, the other in 1604, as hath been already remarked. He had likewise three daughters; *Shâh Zâdeh Khânûm*, that is, *the royally born lady*; *Shahr Nissa Begum*, or *the sweetest of women princess*: and *Arâm Bânû Begum*, or *the calm and peaceful princess* ^{his children.}.

BEFORE we pass to this monarch's successor, we shall take farther notice of an affair, which we have already mentioned Account of Xavier: in the beginning of *Akbar's* reign^f. It has been there observed, that, in 1582, *Akbar* wrote to the king of *Portugal*, desiring a translation of the scriptures into the *Arabik* or *Persian*; and withal, that he would send him some person of learning to explain the Christian religion. Our author, *Frazer*, is not sure whether that letter went farther than *Goa*; but supposes the sending of *Geronimo Xavier*, a relation of the famous St. *Francis Xavier*, was in consequence thereof. However, the journey of this missionary to the court of *Akbar* seems rather to have been the effect of another letter from that monarch thirteen years after; viz. in 1595, to *Mathias De Albuquerque*, the then *Portuguese* viceroy in the *East Indies*, for some priests to be sent to him. The persons pitched on for this mission were the before-mentioned *Geronimo Xavier*, then rector of the *Jesuits* college at *Goa*; *Emanuel Pigueira*, and *Benedict Goes* (D), two others of the same society.

ON their arrival at *Agra*, they were very kindly received by his spuri- the Great Mogol; who built them a church there, and granted them many privileges; which, after his death, were all confirmed by his successor. ous gospel.

AT *Akbar's* command, *Xavier* wrote two books in the *Persian* language. The first, intituled *the History of Jesus*, collected for the most part out of the *Romish* legends, which he intended to substitute among the *Mohammedans*, instead of the gospel. The second was called, *A Looking-glass shewing the Truth*, and contains a defence of the doctrines of that gospel against the *Mohammedans*. *Xavier*, having learned the *Persian*, in order to obey the king's command, first wrote

^e FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 18. ^f See before, p. 321.

(B) *De Laet* says, he reigned 60 years: *Herbert*, only 25; and that he lived 73. is three kos from Agra. The sepulchre was not then finished.

(C) *De Laet*, and after him *Herbert*, writes *Tzekander*; which (D) He went from Agrâ, in 1603, to China; and was the first missionary who went thither by land.

3. Soltân
Akber.

his *History of Jesus*; which he presented in 1602: the *Looking-glass* was not published till a year or two after. When it first came abroad, it unluckily fell into the hands of a learned *Persian* nobleman, of *Ispâhân* in *Persia*, named *Ahmed ebn Zeyn Alabo'ddin*; who immediately wrote an answer to it, which he calls *The Brusber*, or burnisher, of the *Looking-glass*; wherein he makes terrible work with the Jesuit, thro' the advantages which he gave him, by teaching the idolatry, superstitions, and errors, of the church of *Rome*, for the doctrines of *Christ*.

herts
Christia-
nity.

WHEN this book (which is reckoned the most acute of any that has been written by the *Mohammedans* against the Christian religion) first appeared, it so alarmed the college *de propaganda fide*, at *Rome*, that they immediately ordered it to be answered by *Bonaventura Malvasia*, a *Franciscan* frier of *Bononia*; who published his *Dilucidatio Speculi Verum Monstrantis*, in 1628. But, this not being judged by the college to be a sufficient reply, they appointed *Philip Guadagnol*, another *Franciscan* frier, to write a second answer; which he composed under the title of *Apologia pro Christiana Religione*. This was published in *Latin* at *Rome*, in 1631; and, being better approved of than the former, by the college, the author was ordered to translate it into *Arabik*. This being performed in 1637, they sent it into the east, to be dispersed among the *Mohammedans*: but his performance, saith our author *Doctor Prideaux*, doth by no means answer the design, as abundance of his arguments are drawn from the authorities of popes and councils; which will never convince an infidel of the truth of the Christian religion^s.

C H A P. VI.

The Reign of Jehân Ghîr, surnamed Nuroddin Mohammed.

4. Soltân
Jehân
Ghîr.

AS soon as *Akbar* was dead, the principal *Omrâs*, who were about him, shut all the gates of the castle of *Agra*, and gave the keeping of them to their most trusty officers. This done, *Mortâza Khân*, *Seyfet Khân*, *Kûli Mohammed Khân*, *Râjah Ramdas*, and *Râjah Mansing*, met together at the house of *Khân Azem*, to consult what was best to be done at this critical juncture. *Khân Azem* and *Râjah Mansing* were for placing *Soltân Khosrow*, son of *Soltân Selîm*, on

^s See *PRIDEAUX's* Life of *Mohammed*, p. 155, & seqq.

the

the throne : but Rājah *Ramdas*, who had four or five thousand *Rāspūts* within call, opposed their motion ; and, seizing the treasury, would suffer nobody to meddle with the cash. Mean time, Soltān *Selīm*, being informed of his father's death, assembled his Omrās at his palace, and acquainted them with the designs of his adversaries : but, in the interim, *Mortāza Khān*, to whom the chief gate of the castle was intrusted, went out to the prince, and saluted him king. His example was followed by the Nabāb *Sayel Khān*, his son *Kāli Mohammed Khān*, and soon after by Khān *Azem* himself : but Rājah *Manjing*, passing out by the gate which faces the river, carried Soltān *Khosraw* with him in a boat to his own house.

SELIM, having now gained all the principal Omrās to his interest, went with them on foot, attending the corps of his father, and buried him in great pomp. Then, returning to the castle, they crowned him, and gave him the name of *Mohammed Jehān Ghīr* (A). Three days after, Soltān *Khosraw* was taken out of the hands of Rājah *Manjing* and Khān *Azem*, and brought to court ; where his father seemed to be reconciled to him. Moreover, the coronation of *Jehan Ghīr* being soon made known in foreign countries, ambassadors arrived from *Persia*, *Tartary*, *Golkondā*, *Viziapūr*, *Dekān*, and the neighbouring Rājahs, with magnificent gifts, to felicitate his accession to the throne.

AT this time the following provinces were subject to him ; *Provinces Kandahār, Kābūl, Kasbmīr, Ghassanī and Benazād, Guzerāt, Sindh, or Tātta, Gandhees* (B), *Brampūr, Barar, Bengāl, Orixā* (or *Orissa*), *Odé, Malow* (or *Malwa*), *Agra*, and *Dehli* ; out of which the annual tax, according to the register of *Akbar*, amounted to six arebs and ninety-eight krorrs of dams (C).

IN 1015, which was the first of *Jehān Ghīr*, this king, Soltān jealous of his son *Khosraw*, asked *Mirza Omra* (D), his chief

(A) Or more fully, *Nūrō ddīn Mohammed Jehān Ghīr*, that is, *the light of religion, Mohammed the conqueror of world* ; which titles, as *Frazer* observes, *Selīm* assumed himself on his ascending the throne, on the 21st of October, 1605 ; at what time he was aged about 36 solar years, having been born at *Fattehpūr*, on the 19th of August, 1569.

(B) Perhaps *Khandīsh*.

(C) A dam is the fortieth part

of a rupee, which is two shillings and six-pence *English* : 100,000 rupees make one lak ; 100 laks, one kror ; and 100 krorrs, one arrib. *Fraś. Hist. Nadir Shāh.* p. 25, & seq.

(D) *Mirza Omra* is doubtless a mistake for *Mirzo'l Omra*, or *Mīr al Omra*, that is, *the prince of princes*, the first and most honourable post at the *Mogol's* court. It is the same with *Amīr al Omra* of the *Arabs*.

4. *Soltân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

A. D.
1606.

minister, what was the proper course to be taken with him? The Mirza answered, to deprive him of sight. But, while the king delayed coming to a resolution, the prince, who had discovered what was in agitation against him, writes to his friend *Hassan Bek* (E), to hasten towards *Agra* with his choicest troops, and carry him off to *Lahûr*. *Hassan Bek*, whom *Akbar* before his death had sent to *Kâbul* to collect the revenue of that province, upon receipt of *Khosraw's* letter, immediately set forward with two or three thousand horse; and, being arrived at *Akbarpûr*, within twenty kos of *Agra*, the prince, with 500 young men, departed in the evening from the castle, the Kotwal *Koja Mâlek Ali* not daring to hinder him. In their way, they put out the lights everywhere, and plundered some shops; then getting into the fields, early in the morning arrived at *Akbarpûr*; from whence they halted to *Lahûr*.*

besieges
Lahûr
castle:

As soon as the king was informed of his son's flight, he sent the Kotwal *Koja* in pursuit of him, with 300 horse: he was followed the same night by *Mortâza Khân*, with 1500 more; and the king himself, by the persuasion of *Mirza Omra*, set out in the morning after the rest, with the swiftest elephants, and several Omrâs. These four parties were not above ten kos one before the other. The prince plundered all the country people along the road, took the king's horses out of the stables, and whatever merchants he met with carried them with him: so that on the ninth day, when he arrived at *Lahûr*, he had gathered a tolerable army. But *Ibrâhîm Khân*, the *Pâtan*, whom the king had a little while before made governor of *Lahûr*, getting into the castle before the prince could come up, shut the gates against him.

THIS was an unlucky accident; but he met with another presently after, still more mortifying: for, hearing that *Sayd Khan* was encamped with his people, only three kos from the city, in his way to *Banghe*, he sent to desire him to join his forces. *Sayd Khân* seemed to consent; but, when he came with the foldiers of the prince to the river *Râvi*, he deceived them, and brought the boat to the castle (F).

he re-
treats:

MEAN time, *Jalâb'ddîn Hassan* came from the king, to offer the prince *Kâbul* and *Banâsûd*, provided he could quit *Lahûr*. But *Khosraw* demanded, that all the country of *Serhind*

* DE LAET'S Ind. Vera, p. 214. HERBERT, p. 72.

(E) Herbert calls him governor of *Kabul*.

(F) Herbert says, the prince

was taken, but by a bribe escaped to *Hassan Beg*.

should

should be yielded to him : and as he found this treaty was 4. *Soltân*
 set on foot only to delay time, till the *Imperial* forces came up, *Jehân*
 so soon as he heard that the king had passed the river at *Ghîr*.
*Soltân**pûr*, and that *Mortâza Khân* was ready to cross the
Nakhod, he breaks up from before *Labûr* castle, after a fort-
 night's siege ; and with 20,000 men turns back, determined
 to give his father battle. When he had proceeded about 30
 kos, he came to a place, where *Mortâza Khân*, apprised of
 his march, had already posted himself, having with him scarce
 300 men. Although it happened to be a very rainy and tem-
 pestuous day, yet the prince ordered his troops to attack the
Khân's ; which they did, at first, by light skirmishes. In a
 little time they were quite surrounded, and *Shâh Khelîal*, the
 commander, slain ; when *Koja Mâlek* arrived seasonably with
 the royal standard, and gave out aloud, that the king him-
 self was at hand. This news so much animated the *Imperial*
 troops, and dispirited the prince's, that *Abdol Râjah*, his
 standard-bearer threw it on the ground, and fled. The rest
 of his forces were so confounded at this action, that, con-
 cluding *Khofraw* was slain, they took to flight also, and dis-
 persed. Thus were they for the most part slain, or taken,
 with all their baggage, either by the country-people, or the
 troops of the king ; who, when he had joined *Mortâza Khân*,
 in memory of this great victory, called the place *Fettîpûr*^b (G).

and is de-
 seated:

THE prince, accompanied by *Hassan Beg*, *Khân Pâdi-* taken pri-
sbâh, and *Abdol Râjah*, hastened back to *Labûr* ; where soner.
 leaving the *Râjah*, he, with *Pâdisbâh*, crossed the *Râvi*, in
 order to get to the strong castle of *Rantas*. But, coming to
 pass the *Chenâb*, the watermen, by the direction of the sons
 of *Kâssef Khân Nimek*, who commanded the garrison there,
 when the boat was in the middle of the stream, jumped out ;
 and, swimming to the other side, left the prince and *Hassan*
Beg in the power of their enemies. Being brought to the
 king, who by this time had passed the river *Latir* (H), he re-
 turned with them to *Labûr* ; where *Abdol Râjah* was drawn
 out of his concealment. To punish the rebels now in his
 power, he orders the peasants to fix without delay a long se-
 ries of sharp stakes on each side of the road ; on which some
 were impaled, and others hung upon trees. This done, the

^b DE LAET, ubi supr. p. 217, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 73.

(G) Or *Fattehpûr*, that is, the place of victory. Herbert mis-
 takes this for the city of *Fetti-* from *Agra* ; whereas this place
pûr, which is but twelve kos is but thirty kos south of *Labûr*.
 (H) Herbert says, it is seven
 days journey from *Rantas*.

4. Soltán
Jehân
Ghîr.

king carries the captive prince with him towards the city; and, the more to mortify him, had him set on an elephant with *Zemâna Bek* (afterwards called *Mohabet Khân*) behind him, in order to shew him the criminals as they passed along, and tell him their names (I). When they arrived at *Labâr*, he was given in custody to the same lord; and *Hassan Bek Pâdisbâh*, being sewed up in a raw hide, was left to die in horrible torment. Afterwards his head was cut off, and sent to *Agra*, to be fixed on the castle gate.

A new
conspiracy.

THIS rebellion being thus quashed, *Jehân Ghîr* for some time took the pleasure of hunting; and, when he had staid four months at *Labâr*, set out to visit *Kâbul*. Soltân *Khosraw* still remained confined, the Omrâs and Mansebdârs, by turns, guarding him. One day, as *Mîrza Fetulla*, son of *Hâken Mîrza Sharîf*, son of the Etimâdo'ddawlet, *Mîrza Muro'ddîn*, nephew of the great *Affos Khân*, *Mîrza Jâffer Bek*, and several other Omrâs, were upon that duty, they conspired among themselves to slay the king in passing the *Kâbul* mountains, and set *Khosraw* upon the throne: but a proper opportunity not offering, *Jehân Ghîr* got safe to that city.

Shîr Af-
ghân
slain.

A. D.
1609.

MEAN time, the Etimâdo'ddawlet, who was great treasurer, is accused by *Ottem chend*, one of his Indian slaves, of having converted fifty millions of rupees to his own use, and is committed to the custody of *Dianet Khân*. Moreover, in the year 1018, the king received advice, that *Shîr Afkân Khân* (K), son-in-law of the imprisoned treasurer, had slain *Kotho'ddîn Mohammed Khân Goga*, viceroy of *Bengâl*, at *Râjah Máhl*. *Sheykh Ghiatho'ddîn*, the brother, and *Kizwer Khân*, the son of the viceroy, revenged his death, and sent *Shîr Afkân's* head to *Agra* (L). They likewise imprisoned his brother *Gommer*, with his son and mother: also his wife *Mehîr Mejâm*, daughter of the Etimâdo'ddawlet; whom they treated in a very ignominious manner.

(I) According to *Terry*, sect. 28, there were 800 thus impaled; and the king himself shewed them to the prince, who told his father, that he ought to have spared them, and served him so; adding, that he had no pleasure in life after beholding the execution of so many brave men.

(K) *Shîr Afkân* signifies the lion-overthrower. It is written in the copy of *De Laet*, *Affen*;

elsewhere, *Affegan*. He is afterwards said to have been a *Turk*. *Frazer* says, of a *Turkmân* family, which came from *Persia*. He was esteemed the bravest man in the army.

(L) *Frazer* says, p. 21, that, for sake of his exquisitely beautiful wife, *Jehân Ghîr* sent *Shîr Afkân*, with some troops, to command a place in *Bengâl*, and afterwards sent another with a greater force, to cut him off.

THIS murder greatly aggravated *Jehân Ghîr's* resentment against this last-mentioned lord : but what soon after happened completed his ruin. For just as the king was ready to return to *Lahûr*, *Koja Veiz* comes, and both by word of mouth, and in writing, accuses the above-mentioned lords, and several others, of a plot against his majesty's life. *Jehân Ghîr*, highly enraged at this treason, ordered all the conspirators, with the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*, to be brought before him bound. This being done, he commanded their heads to be cut off, and their bodies fixed upon the battlements ; only the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*, at the request of his keeper, was pardoned, on promise of paying eleven lak (M) of rupees for his life ; but led back to prison in the most disgraceful manner. After this, the king left *Kâbul*, and returned to *Lahûr* ; where, by the counsel of *Mîrza Omra*, and other lords, he ordered *Soltân Khosraw* to be deprived of sight, with the juice of *ask* leaves ; which yet did not so effectually blind him (N), but that he could see a little with one eye.

AT the same time, *Jehân Ghîr* vented his anger against *Khân Azem*, father-in-law of the prince, on account of this latter. After confiscating all his effects, he ordered him to be brought before him, clothed in a disgraceful manner, and all the *Omrâs* to spit on his beard. Then he sent him loaded with chains to the castle of *Gwaliyâr*, where he was imprisoned : but at the end of two years he was, by the intercession of some ladies of the *Harâm*, restored to favour and his places at court. The same year (O) *Mîrza Omra* was rendered

4. *Soltân*
Jehân
Ghîr.
The plot
discovered.

Conspirators
punished.

(M) That is 132,550 pounds sterling ; reckoning the lak at 12,500 pounds. *Herbert* says, he paid 200,000.

(N) *Terry*, sect. 28. says, his eyes were sealed up, by something put before them, which was not to be taken off for three years ; at the end of which, the seal was removed, that he might freely enjoy the light, though not his liberty. He doubtless seemed to have his sight perfectly, to this author ; who often saw him following the king in his progresses ; particularly once, when he stopped to talk to *Sir Thomas Roe*. *Terry* says, he had a very lovely presence,

and fine carriage. *Sir Thomas* himself only says, that his person was comely, his countenance chearful, and his beard grown down to his girdle. He was attended with no great guard ; and his questions shewed ignorance of all that was done at court. *Roe's Journal*. *Church's Collect. Trav.* vol. i. p. 718.

(O) That is, in 1609. *Herbert* says, that this year the *Jesuits*, with *Jehân Ghîr's* consent, baptised three of his brother's sons, by the names of *Philippo*, *Carlo*, and *Henrico* ; with another grandson of *Akbar*, whom they called *Don Edoard*.

He

4. Soltân
Jehân
Ghîr.

dered incapable of business, by losing the use of one side, after the fit of an apoplexy; and *Salâm Khân*, who acted the part of Fausdar (P) at *Agra*, or rather that of captain of the robbers in the neighbouring country, was made governor of *Bengâl*, in the room of *Kothbo'ddîn Khân*, slain as above-mentioned.

MehrMe-
ja, or Nûr
Mâhl:

THE king, having gotten his fill of hunting, and intending to return to *Agra*, gave permission to the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*, and his keeper *Dianet Khân*, with all his family, to repair to that city, in order to collect his fine of rupees, and soon after came thither himself. From thence he wrote to *Salâm Khân*, to send him with all speed the family of *Shîr Affegân*; namely, his widow *Meher Meja*, and his brother. *Salâm* obeys the order, and the parties set forward. When they had entered the province of *Bahâr*, a *Darwîsh*, reported to have foretold many things, accosts *Meher Meja* on the road; and, looking her in the face, predicts her favour with the king, and future splendor. As soon as they arrived at *Agra*, the brother and son of *Shîr Affeghân* were given in charge to the *Omrâs*: but *Meher Meja* and her young daughter were introduced to *Rokkiâ Soltân Begum*, the king's mother; who, embracing her with the greatest affection, could scarce ever after bear her to be out of her sight.

brought to
court:

SOON after, the queen mother happening to carry *Meher Meja* into the *mâhl*, or women's apartment, the king came in; and, putting aside her veil, looks in her face. A few days after this, on the feast of the new year (called by the *Mohammedans Nova Rosa*) (Q), the king being very merry among his ladies, *Meher Meja* brought her daughter, but six years old, before the king; who, deeply enamoured with the mother, said with a smile, *Henceforward, I will be father to*

Hejrah
1610.

c DE LAET, p. 220, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 74, & seq.

He said, that the king was prevailed on to suffer this, by the persuasion of his son Soltân *Kborm* and his friend, in order to make his way the easier to the throne.

(P) It ought, no doubt, to have been *Fojhdâr*, an officer who has command of a body of horse, and is entrusted with the care of the suburbs and out-parts. *Frazer*.

(Q) This does not mean the

new rose, although the *Englîsh* comes nearer the true word than the *Latin*; but *Nawrûz*, or *Nawrûz*, which, in the *Persian*, signifies the new day, or, if you will, new year's day. The names throughout the original are so corrupted, or disfigured, by the *Dutch* spelling, we cannot warrant many of them to be right, as we have reduced them to the *Englîsh* idiom.

this

this child. The lady answered, that *she was an unhappy widow, unworthy to be numbered among his majesty's wives; and only desired he would have pity on her daughter, and do something for her.* After this, *Jehân Ghîr* became so doatingly fond of *Meher Meja*, that every evening he went by water to the *Etimâdo'ddawlet's* house, and did not return to his palace till early in the morning. He had loved her when a virgin, in his father *Akbar's* life-time; but, as she had been espoused to *Shîr Afkân*, his father would not give her to him for a wife: for all this, he still retained an affection for her.

AFTER he had thus for forty nights made his court to her, he orders *Koja Abdol Hassan* to go and demand her of the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*; for that he was determined to marry her, and give her the precedence of all his other wives. *Abdol Hassan*, going about to remonstrate how dishonourable it would be to his majesty, to marry the daughter of an infamous person, *Jehân Ghîr* bade him angrily begone, and obey his commands. The *Etimâdo'ddawlet* received the royal message, and, having declared himself unworthy of the honour designed him, gives his consent; after which, a fortunate day being fixed, the king married her, and changed her name to that *Nâr Jehân Begum (R)*. In short, he loved her to such excess, that he not only preferred her to all his other wives, and gave her father the command of 5000 horse, but also conferred honours and places at court on all her relations.

IN the year 1020 of the *Hejrah*, and sixth of his reign, he sent the *Nabâb Mortâza Khân*, with his youngest son *Soltân Shebriâr (S)*, with absolute command, into *Guzerât*; *Khân Jehân*, with several *Omrâs*, to *Brampûr*; the province of *Khor* was given to *Khân Khânna*; and *Mohabet Khân* was sent with an army to make war upon *Râjah Râna*. The same year arrived *Zeynel Bek*, ambassador from *Shâh Abbâs*, king of *Persia*, with a magnificent equipage, and very rich presents. He was received with great honour, and sent back with presents suitable to the occasion. In *Bengâl*, the territory of *Râjah Kots* is reduced into a province by *Salau Khân (T)*; and *Murfa Khân*, son of *Hissa Khân*, with many other lords, brought into subjection to *Jehân Ghîr*. As for *Mohabet Khân*, sent against *Râjah Rana (U)*, after taking some towns from *Râjah Mardout*, he was recalled to court; and *Abdol Khân*, with other *Omrâs*, sent to command the army in his room.

(R) In *De Laet*, *Nourziam Begem*. It signifies the lady, who is the light of the world.

(S) *Shebriyar*, or *Shehr riyar*, that is, the friend of the city. In

De Laet it is written *Tzerriar*.

(T) Before called *Tzalâm*, or *Salam Khân*.

(U) *Herbert* calls him *Rana*, or *Rabanna of Mandow*.

WHEN

4. Soltân
Jehân
Ghîr.

War
against
Rana :

WHEN *Abdol Khân* arrived at *Sissimtr*, he was met by an army of *Râspûts*; whom *Râna* had sent to oppose him: but he fell on them with such vigour, that, being quickly routed, they fled to *Oudepûr*. That province being thus subdued, the wives and children of the *Indian* inhabitants were carried into slavery. From thence he marched with his army to *Siavend*, where the ancestors of *Râna* formerly had their palace: for it was a place so strongly fenced, being surrounded with impenetrable woods and desarts, that the kings of *Debli* never durst attempt it. But *Abdol Khân*, commanding his pioneers to cut down the trees, and open passages through the rocks, by degrees cleared the way to *Siavend*. When *Râna* saw this, he left two or three thousand *Râspûts*, with a great deal of provision, in the castle; then, taking with him his domestics and women, withdrew into the woods and mountains.

his country
reduced.

MEAN time *Abdol Khân* sits down before the castle, and, making a wall with the trees which had been cut down, attacked the place with such vigour, that at length he took it, after all the garrison had been slain. As soon as he had taken possession, he ordered all the pagods, or *Hindû* temples, to be destroyed; which had stood for above one thousand years; and, in their room, a stately Masjed to be erected. At the same time, he pursued *Râna* so closely, that, after obliging him several times to shift his quarter, he at length forced him to leave his provinces at the mercy of his enemies. *Jehân Ghîr*, highly pleased with *Abdol Khân's* proceedings, sends him next into *Guzerât*, to command there; with particular orders to pursue the *Bielsgrats* and *Kowlis*, who infested the ways, and robbed the karawâns, and either reduce them to obedience, or quite extirpate them. In his march, many *Rajahs* and their subjects met him, with presents, and voluntarily submitted; excepting *Rajah Eder* and *Lael Kowli*, who, trusting in the ruggedness of their country, refused to come in^d.

Successes in
Guzerât.

ABDOL Khân, resolved to humble them, as soon as he had gotten to *Abmed abâd*, marched at the head of 500 select men, with so much speed, that he arrived at the castle of *Eder*, seventy kos distant, before the garrison knew any thing of his coming. However the *Rajah* ventured out to meet him with his followers: but, by a smart conflict of some hours continuance, was so roughly handled, that he was compelled to fly, accompanied by only four or five of his soldiers; leaving his castles and treasures to be possessed by the victor,

^d DE LAET, p. 224, & seqq. HERBERT; p. 75, & seqq.

Not long after, *Abdol Khân*, being informed, that *Lael Kowli* 4. *Soltân* had robbed a karawân of all its merchandises, moved towards *Jehân* him with an army : the *Kowli*, far from retreating, met him *Ghîr*. with two or three thousand horse, and ten or twelve thousand foot. But, after a bloody engagement, the victory fell to *Abdol Khân* ; and *Lael* himself having been slain in the battle, his head was cut off, and set over the gate of *Ahmed abad*.

MEAN time, *Khân Jehân*, who was sent against *Mâlek Mâlek Amber*, king of *Dekân*, finding he made no progress, chiefly *Amber* through the discord among the commanders, sent to desire *attacked*, *Jehân Ghîr* to command the army. The king hereupon sent *Soltân Parweis*, accompanied by *Râjah Ramdas* ; who, being arrived at *Brâmpûr* with his forces, wrote to *Adel Khân*, and *Kothb Mâlek* (X), to know why the accustomed tribute was not paid : and, being answered, that it had been ready a considerable while, he sent a person to receive it. As soon as he had secured the money, he dispatches *Khân Jehân*, *Râjah Mansing*, and *Râjah Ramdas*, with a strong army, into *Balagât*, against *Mâlek Amber* ; who, with his forces, daily encountered them. After this, *Jehân Ghîr* sent *Khân Azem*, with three or four thousand soldiers more, to *Brâmpûr*, and removed himself to *Azmîr*. Mean time advice arrived, that *Râjah Râna* had appeared in the field again, and recovered *Oudenpûr*, *Pormândel*, and other neighbouring places. Here- *Râna sub-* upon, the king sent against him his son *Soltân Kourm*, with a *mits*. potent army. The prince, advancing to *Oudenpûr*, sent out troops on all sides ; whereby *Râna* was hemmed in so straitly, that he intreated *Kourm* to mediate his pardon with the king ; and, at the *Soltân's* demand, sent his son *Karen*, as a pledge of his fidelity, with rich presents, valued at 100,000 rupees. With these he repaired to *Azmîr*, and made peace for *Râna* with his father, who kept *Karen* about him, and gave him the above-mentioned places.

KHAN Azem, being arrived at *Brâmpûr* with his forces, *Dekân in-* sent to *Khân Khanna*, who resided in the kingdom of *Khûr*, *vaded*. to join him. After which, it was resolved in a council of war, that the *Râjahs Abdol Hassan*, *Mansing*, and *Ramdas*, with several *Omrâs*, should march before towards *Ballagât*, while *Khân Khanna* and *Khân Jehân* followed with the rest of the troops. *Mâlek Amber*, on the news of their march, set out to meet them, with 50,000 forces ; 20,000 of his own, 20,000 brought by *Adel Khân*, and 10,000 by *Kothb*

(X) Rather *Adel Shâb* and the kings themselves ; that of *Kothb Shâb* ; the first, king of *Khân* being given them by the *Yiziapûr*, the other of *Golkondâ* : *Mogols*, by way of contempt. for *Shâb* was the title used by

Mâlek.

4. *Soltân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

Mâlek. Hereupon *Jehân Ghîr* ordered *Abdol Khân*, who then commanded in *Guzerât*, to set out in haste with all his troops for *Dekân*. By this time, the *Mogol* army was advanced as far as *Kerki*, the regal seat of *Dekân*, but not inclosed with walls, yet within five or six kos, of *Dawket abâd*, a very strong fortress. *Mâlek Amber*, being determined to fight them, sent *Fassen* to defeat *Abdol Khân* before he could join the other forces : but when he drew near, and found those forces to amount to no fewer than 100,000 horse, he became astonished, and fled with only a few followers; leaving in the camp *Molhena Mobammed Lâri*, and the *Wakil* of *Adel Khân*, who, with 20,000 men, were come to assist him.

Notable
stratagem.

WHEN therefore the king of *Dekân* saw, that he was no match for the *Mogols*, he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered counterfeit letters to be written, giving an account, that *Jehân Ghîr* was dead; and contrived, by unknown messengers, to convey them to the hands of *Râjah Mansing*, *Râjah Ramdas*, and *Khân Khânna*. The *Omrâs*, giving credit to these letters, immediately break up their camp, and in great haste return to *Brâmpûr*. *Abdol Khân*, deceived by the same artifice, distributes his forces into garrisons, and marches back to *Guzerât*. *Mâlek Amber*, being thus delivered from his enemies, quickly recovered the places which they had taken from him, and fortified them with new works. When *Jehân Ghîr* heard how his generals had been duped, he was greatly incensed at their easy credulity; which he severely chastised in his letters to them. When he got to *Mândow*, he sent *Mohabeb Khân* to command in *Brâmpûr*, and the province of *Barar*; who was so fortunate, as, in a short while, to reduce the whole country a second time as far as *Kerki*. After *Jehân Ghîr* had resided for one year and five months at *Mândow*, he proceeded to *Guzerât*; from whence, being come to *Ahmed abâd*, he sent *Abdol Khân* to govern the province of *Kalpi* and *Khûr*. Then, having diverted himself another year with hunting, returns to *Agra*.

Commo-
nations in
Bengâl:

AT this time, *Shâh Bek*, governor of *Kandahâr*, being superannuated, the king recalls him, and places *Bahâdr Khân*, the *Uzbek*, in his room. He likewise dispatched *Sejad Khân* to *Saâlm Khân*, viceroy of *Bengâl*, that he might place him in the government of *Odia*: but *Ozmân Khân*, the *Pâtan*, who for many years had been master of the country lying between that city and *Daak* (or *Daka*) came in the mean time, with a great army, and besieged the latter. Upon this advice, *Salâm Khân* moved towards him with his forces, sending before *Sejad Khân*, *Mîrza Effagher*, and other *Omrâs*; while he followed.

lowed about fifteen kos behind with the rest of his troops to support them. The two armies meeting, *Effagher* and *Mirsh Jeldyr* gave the enemy so furious an onset, that they obliged them to fall back : but *Ozmân* sending a fierce elephant among them, they, in their turn, were obliged to give way, and *Effagher* was slain. *Sejad Khân* also himself, to avoid that furious animal, threw himself off the elephant which he rode on, and broke his leg in such a manner, that his people had much ado to carry him out of the battle. Hereupon the *Mogols* began to fly on every side : and had been utterly overthrown, had not an unexpected accident restored the fight. For a soldier, who lay wounded on the ground, happening to hit *Ozmân* in the eye with a knobbed stick, as he rode by on his elephant, that *Pâtan* soon after died of the wound ; which so terrified his soldiers, that they immediately fled. *Salân Khân*, being informed by a courier of the victory, arrived two days after on the field of battle ; and, finding *Sejad Khân* dead of his wound, set himself in pursuit of the enemy. By forced marches, he at length overtook the brother, widow, and children of *Ozmân Khân*, whom he seized, with the elephants, and all the treasure of the deceased ; which, at his return to *Daak*, the capital of *Bengâl*, he sent to *Jehân Ghîr*.

4. *Soltân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

luckily
quashed.

IN the year . . . that monarch removed from *Agra* to *La-hûr*. Mean time, *Abdol Khân*, who had been sent to govern the provinces of *Khûr* and *Kaspi*, intirely subdued them : for he brought in subjection, or destroyed, all the *Râjahs* and others, who had rebelled, and never would obey the former governors. He likewise made captives their wives and children ; amounting, it is said, to so great a number, that, being sent to *Îrân* (or *Persia* at large), the sale of them amounted to eleven lak (Y). Lastly, to humble the natives effectually, he razed all their fortified places to the ground.

J E H A N Ghîr about this time, resolving to send an ambassador to *Shâh Abbâs*, pitched on *Khân Azem*, a man of prudence and high birth, to execute that commission. That he might appear at the *Persian* court with greater lustre, he was intrusted with magnificent presents for the king. These consisted of agate vessels, all sorts of cotton and woollen cloths, made in *Hindûstân*, intermixed with gold and silver ; daggers and swords, adorned with gold and precious stones, with other curiosities of great value ; amounting in the whole to

• DE LAET, p. 229, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 76, & seq.

(Y) That is lak of rupees ; lak, amount to 137,500 pounds which, at 12,000 pounds to a sterling.

seventy

4. Soltân
Jehân
Ghîr.

seventy thousand rupees. He likewise ordered sixty thousand more to be paid out of his own treasury for defraying the expences of the Khân's journey, and the train of noblemen, who accompanied him. In his letters to the Shâh, he bestowed great commendations on the ambassador; styling him not only his friend, but brother.

honourably
received.

WHEN he arrived with his retinue at *Serâd*, *Hassan Bek*, governor of that city, met him; and, with great honour, conducted him thither. Likewise, on his approach to *Spâhân* (or *Ispâhân*), the Shâh sent *Konstalik Khân*, with several other lords, to compliment, and usher him into his capital. When he was introduced to the king, his majesty rose up, and walking a few steps to meet him, took him by the hand, and placed him by him on the throne. Thenceforward banquets were made, and shews exhibited daily for his entertainment. At length, after two years stay, Khân *Azem* was dismissed with magnificent presents, both for his master and himself. Among those for *Jehân Ghîr*, besides great quantities of silk, and cloth of gold and silver, were 500 *Persian* horses, twenty he and fifty she mules, with 150 dromedaries of both sexes, all very beautiful in their kind. Shâh *Abbâs*, at the same time, desired the ambassador to speak to his king, to restore *Kandahâr*, which had been betrayed to his father *Akbar*; or else, to take an equivalent elsewhere in lieu of that province.

Affairs of
Bengâl.

KHAN *Azem* returned to *Lahûr*, at such time as *Jehân Ghîr* went for the first time to *Kashmîr*; and Soltân *Khofraw*, who till then had been in custody of *Affos Khân*, was delivered into the hands of Khân *Jehân*; *Mohabet Khân* likewise was made viceroy of *Kâbul* and *Banghes* (Z). *Salam Khân* having deceased in *Bengâl*, the king made his brother *Sheykh Kâssef* lieutenant of that province. *Kherram Khân*, son of the late governor, hearing of his uncle's coming, who ever hated him, leaves *Daâk*, with all his father's effects, in order to repair to *Agra*: but *Kâssef*, meeting him at *Râjâh Mâhl*, took from him some elephants and other goods. Of this *Kherram Khân* complained to the king, who was so incensed at *Kâssef* for the same, that, at the year's end, he recalled him; and, in his room, appointed *Ibrâhîm Khân*, a relation of *Nûr Jehân*, with the command besides of 5000 horse. As soon as *Kâssef* had received notice of his disgrace, he in haste, with his family and all his effects, departed from *Daâk*: but *Ibrâhîm*, meeting him at *Râjâh Kom*, demands restitution of what he had taken from his nephew. *Kherram*,

(Z) Rather *Banglâr*, or *Bengbîr*, a city about thirty miles north of *Kabûl*.

instead

instead of the goods, returned ill-language; which, at length, 4. *Soltân* produced blows: but, finding himself the weaker party, he *Jehân Ghîr.* killed several of his women, that he might fly the faster; and, leaving all his effects behind, escaped with a few domestics; while *Ibrâhîm* was, with great submission, received as governor by all the inferior Omras^b.

AFTER this, *Jehân Ghîr* sends an army against the *Mû-khans*, who had committed hostilities; and *Ibrâhîm* joining them with his forces, fell upon the rebels; of whom he made a great slaughter, and took many captives, with considerable spoils. These actions rendered *Ibrâhîm* so much in favour with the king, that, besides sending him horses, a sword, and a dagger, he conferred on him the name of *Firûz Jehân Khân*. The same year he sent *Mortâza Khân* to besiege *Kangra*, a castle, so strongly fortified by nature and art, that the kings of *Dehli* never could take it from the *Hindûs*: for it is surrounded by steep mountains and deep ditches; nor is there any getting to it, but through a wood fifty kos in breadth, and a very narrow path between the rocks. The *Khân*, nothing dismayed with these difficulties, commanded the trees to be cut down before him: and, although he advanced scarce half a kos each day, yet he persisted in the work, till at length, after eight months labour, he arrived before the castle. He immediately ordered a wall to be built round it, and battered the place so furiously, that in a short time it seemed in a fair way of being taken; when his death put an end to the expedition.

IN 1028, *Jehân Ghîr* made a second progress to *Kashmîr*; but quickly returned to *Labâr*; when, by the persuasion of *Nûr Jehan* and her brother *Affos Khân*, *Soltân Khofraw* was taken out of the custody of *Khân Jehân*, and delivered into the hands of his brother *Soltân Khûrm*. This prince was now greatly in favour with his father; who gave him the command of 40,000 horse, and sent him to the war in *Dekân*, accompanied by *Koja Abdol Hassan*, and other experienced generals. The ground of this expedition was, that the kings of *Vizianpûr* and *Golkonda* had for several years forborne to pay the tribute; and *Mâlek Amber* had surprised the provinces of *Khândish* and *Barâr*: so that *Khân Khânna* was in a manner besieged by an army of *Râjpûts*. Mean time *Abdol Azîz Khân* was appointed governor of *Kandahâr*, in the room of *Bahâdr Khân Uzbek*, who was sent against *Kangra*, before mentioned; and the command of *Multân* given to *Khân Jehân*: that of *Kalpi* to *Abdol Khân*,

Soltân
Khofraw
removed.
A. D.
1618.

^b DE LAET, p. 231, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 77, & seqq.

and

4. Soltân
Jehân
Ghîr.

War of
Dekân.

A. D.
1619.

and the government of *Bondela* to Râjah *Lala Bertsing*. Lastly, Soltân *Parweïs* was nominated to that of *Pâtan*.

IN 1029, Râjah *Râna* dying, *Jehân Ghîr* sent *Karen* from court, to succeed his father in his territories : and at the same time ordered his brother Râjah *Ribem*, to assist Soltân *Khûrm* with 2 or 3000 *Râspûts*. This prince, who now assumed the name of Shâh *Jehân*, at length arrived at *Brampûr*, with his whole army; from whence he detached before *Abdol Khân*, *Lala Bertzing*, and *Koja Abdol Hassan*, with several other Omrâs, to make war on *Mâlek Amber*, *Ziaddê Râjah*; and *Mirza Makkey* was sent to invade *Golkonda*. At the same time *Mohammed Takki* was dispatched to *Viziapûr*, with letters for *Adel Khân*; in which he gave them notice, that, unless the tribute was forthwith paid, he would enter their dominions, and drive them out. In the interim *Abdol Khân*, with his forces, passed through *Ballagât*, followed by the prince, at the distance of ten or twelve kos, with the rest of the army.

Kerki
taken.

At length they are opposed by the troops of *Mâlek Amber*; with whom they had several battles, in which they had always the victory; and then advancing to *Kerki* took it a second time : where, to be revenged on *Mâlek Amber*, they demolished his palace, and carried away a vast booty. Thus the province of *Khândîsb* and *Barâr*, with all the places about *Amdanâgar*, again fell into the hands of the *Mogols*.

A. D.
1620.

IN 1030, the king, returning to *Agra*, spent his time much in hunting, and the gardens of Soltân *Parweïs*, beyond the river. The same year died the *Itemâdo'ddawlet*, prime wazîr to *Jehân Ghîr*; who bestowed all his effects on his daughter *Nûr Jehân*, and his post on *Koja Abdol Hassan*.

Soltân
Khosraw
murdered,

SHAH *Jehân*, who resided at *Brampûr*, began to contrive how to make away with his brother *Khosraw* (whom he had in custody) without suspicion : and, having imparted his mind to *Khân Khânnâ*, and other Omrâs he confided in, rode out a hunting. *Reza* (A), his slave, whom he had engaged to commit this murder, going in the night with his assistants to the prince's apartment, knocked at the door, pretending he brought him vests and letters from his father, with orders to his brother *Shâh Jehân* to set him at liberty. As *Khosraw*, who suspected his errand, refused to admit him, the ruffian forced the door off the hinges; and, throwing the prince on the ground, with the help of the rest, strangled him. Then, laying his dead body on the bed, went out, and shut the door again¹.

¹ DE LAET, p. 239, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 78, & seqq.

(A) Herbert calls him Râjah *Bandor*.

NEXT morning his wife, who was daughter of Khân Azem, going into the chamber, and, finding her husband dead, filled the house with lamentations. Every one was grieved for the prince's unexpected death; but nobody suspected that he was murdered. As soon as Shâh Jehân returned to the city, he wrote his father an account of his brother's death; and, the better to conceal his crime, got all the Omrâs and Mansabdârs to sign the letter: after which he had the corpse interred in a garden without the city. But the *Nabâb Nûro'ddîn Kowli*, happening to be there at that time, sent a detail of the whole matter to *Jehân Ghîr*. The king mightily bewailed his son's death, and wrote very sharply to the Omrâs; demanding, Why they failed to let him know, whether his son died a natural or violent death? He likewise commanded the body to be taken up again, and sent to him, that it might be buried at *Elabâs*, in his mother's tomb. Then sending for Khân Azem, the deceased prince's father-in-law, he comforted him, and committed to his care the education of his nephew Soltân Bolaki (B); on whom he conferred the command of ten thousand horse.

4. Khân
Jehân
Ghîr.
by his brother's
order.

S E C T. II.

From the Rebellion of Soltân Khurm to the recalling Mohabet Khân to court.

MEAN time *Abdol Khân*, departing from Shâh Jehân Kanda without leave, retires to his government of *Kalpi*; but the king repented this liberty, and ordered him to return to the army. While affairs were in this confusion, a courier arrives from *Azof Khan*, governor of *Khandahâr*, with advice that Shâh Abbâs, king of *Persia*, was advancing to besiege that fortress, and to desire immediate succours. Khân Jehân, who commanded at *Multân*, was accordingly ordered to set out, with what forces he had, upon that service; but while he delayed to obey his orders, the *Persians* came and besieged the place; which they attacked continually both day and night. *Jehân Ghîr*, anxious to relieve *Khandahâr*, by advice of his council, sent for *Abdol Khân*; who now, with the prince's leave, was gone back to his government. The Khân no sooner received the king's orders than he set forward, with 5000 chosen horse and 100 elephants. *Jehân Ghîr* was so well pleased with this instance of that lord's zeal for his service,

(B) *Herbert* writes, *Bullokhi*, also called *Daur Butsh*; that is, or *Blokhi*. *Frazer* says, he was God's gift.

4. *Khân* that, on his arrival at *Lahûr*, he gave his grand-daughter (C) *Jehân Ghîr* in marriage to his son *Mîrza Khân*.

Ghîr.

taken by
*Shâh Ab-
bâs.*

THE siege of *Kandahâr* had now continued six months, when *Shâh Abbâs* came in person, with a great army, against that fortress : of which the news arriving at court, *Jehân Ghîr*, on reflection that he could not send relief in time, wrote the *Shâh* word, that he would deliver up the city to him of his own accord ; and sent *Azof Khân* orders for that purpose : but this lord, suspecting the letters to be counterfeit, held out the place, till the principal bulwark being blown up, he was obliged to surrender. *Shâh Abbâs*, having appointed *Ali Kuli Khân* for his governor, marched back to *Isfahân* ; while *Azof Khân* and *Abdol Khân* returned to *Lahûr*.

Soltân

*Khurm
advances*

BEFORE this *Jehân Ghîr*, had sent *Azof*, or *Affof Khân*, brother to *Nûr Jehân Begum*, to *Agra*, to bring the treasures from the castle of that city to *Lahûr*. But *Ethabar Khân*, governor of *Agra*, and *Ethamat Khân*, keeper of the treasure, both eunuchs, first refused to deliver it ; and when they had consented, still raised many objections against it. Mean time *Affof Khân* sent letters privately to *Shâh Jehân*, in which he gave him an account of his journey to fetch away the treasure ; advising him to come and seize it between *Agra* and *Dehli*. The prince had long since coveted his father's throne ; and for this end had married the daughter of *Affof Khân* ; who, with his brothers, and other *Khorassân* lords, governed almost every thing at court. He had likewise, with the same view, so attached his *Omrâs* to his interest, by gifts and pensions, that they did not scruple to swear obedience to him, in opposition to their rightful sovereign.

to seize
the trea-
sury :

BESIDES these supports, *Shâh Jehân* had received, from the indulgence of his father, several large and wealthy provinces ; as all the country between *Mandow* and *Brâmpûr*, *Ganderfi*, *Oudepûr*, *Barâr*, *Amdanâgar*, all *Guzerât*, extending from *Brâmpûr* to *Surât*, and from thence to *Ahmed abâd*, its metropolis. In all which provinces, and the cities belonging to them, he, by his own authority, appointed governors, to serve his ambitious design, as before-mentioned : and, lastly, to remove his chief obstacle, he made away with his elder brother, by the advice of *Rajah Bikkermanfid* (†) ; who was thought to have the gift of foretelling what was to come. So that nothing farther seemed wanting to compass his ends, than to join his father's treasures to those which had been gathering, for five or six years, out of the provinces subject to him.

(C) The daughter of his son *Daben*, or rather *Dhan Shâh* ; that is, *Daniel Shâh*.

(†) Called also *Bikker mansa*.

HAVING

HAVING therefore received the above-mentioned message from his father-in-law, he, without delay, assembled all his Omrás, with Rájah *Bikkermanfid*, who governed *Guzerât*, and other commanders; and, in 1031, set out from *Brampûr*, with an army of 70,000 horse, under pretence of going towards *Mandow* to hunt. He made such great expedition, marching twenty or thirty kos a day, that he arrived at *Azmîr* with all his forces, before *Ethabar Khân* knew any thing of his coming; and on the fifteenth day got to *Fettipûr*. As soon as *Ethabar Khân* heard this news, he carried back the treasures, which he had gotten ready to deliver to *Affof Khân*, into the castle of *Agra*; and, by couriers, immediately gave the king notice of the prince's coming, and design. Hereupon *Jehân Ghîr*, without delay, set out from *Labûr* to that other capital. Mean time the prince detached Rájah *Bikkermanfid*, his chief general, *Beyrâm Bîk*, *Rostom Khân*, *Tjoffalia Deria Khân*, *Wazîr Khân*, and *Mohammed Takki*, with an army, to take the castle of *Agra*. But *Ethabar Khân*, faithful to his king, had already fortified it, prepared his warlike engines, and walled up all the gates^k.

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

besieges
Agra;
A. D.
1621.

BETRAM BIK, who first entered the city, posted himself in the house of *Mîrza Abdollatr*, son of *Khân Azem*, from whence he went to attack the castle-gate: but he was bravely repulsed by the garrison, under the conduct of Rájah *Baderois*. Next came Rájah *Bikkermanfid*, who, taking up his quarters in the house of *Affof Khân*, sent to search those of *Nûro'ddîn Kûli*, *Laskar Khân*, and other lords, who defended the castle. In the house of the first they found ten lak; in that of the second lord, sixteen; and several more in *Affof Khân's*. Having thus, in three days time, gathered fifty or sixty lak out of the houses of several Omrás, they returned to the prince at *Fettipûr*, without doing any other damage to the citizens.

but is repulsed.

WHEN Shâh *Jehân* found himself balked in his design of seizing his father's treasures, and having no hopes of taking the castle in a short space of time, he resolved to meet his father, and give him battle. For this end he distributed money among his soldiers; and, having reviewed his forces, departed from *Fettipûr* the twenty-fifth day after his arrival there. The king began his march with only a few troops: however, he had sent for *Mohabet Khân* from *Kâbul*, and *Khân Jehân* from *Multân*. Soltân *Parweis* also was on the road from *Pâtan*, with succours, designing directly for *Agra*. Shâh *Jehân*, with his army, comes on the third day to *Fern*

The king taken;

^k DE LAET, p. 243, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 80, & seqq.

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

abâd, within ten kos of *Dehli*; three kos from which the king was encamped: so that the two armies were no more than seven kos asunder. Next day the prince sent *Rajah Bikkermanfid*, with other commanders, to attack his father's army; who sent against them *Abdol Khân*, *Mahabet Khân*, *Affos Khân*, *Rajah Bertzing*, and other *Omrâs*, with forces divided into three bodies: but some of these lords, having given their faith to the prince, deserted *Jehân Ghîr*; whom they had even determined, if practicable, to deliver into his son's power.

yet gains
the vic-
tory.

THE forces of the king were commanded by *Shebriar*, his youngest son, and *Mahabet Khân*; those of the prince by *Bikkermanfid*. When the two armies were drawn out ready for battle, *Jehân Ghîr* sends *Zaberdast Khân*, with a sword, bow, and arrows, to *Abdol Khân*, conjuring him to do his best to defeat his rebellious son: but that lord, advancing with fifty horse nearer the enemy's front than he imagined, was attacked and cut off. Mean time, the battle growing hot, and many other *Omrâs* being slain, *Bikkermanfid* broke his way through the king's troops to his very tent, and takes him prisoner: but before he could secure his prize, he was killed by one of the guards, with the stroke of a mace on the poll; which accident so astonished the rest of the *Omrâs*, that they immediately drew-off, with their forces, to three kos distance, and left the victory to the king's troops.

Khurm
submits.

AFTER this *Khân Khâna* persuaded the prince to give over the war; and, retiring to the mountains of *Mevat*, endeavour by all methods to regain his father's favour. Which advice the prince follows. On the other side, *Soltân Parweis* meeting *Jehân Ghîr* at *Balzol*, the whole harâm was sent to *Agra*, and *Ethabar Khân* ordered to open the gates of the castle again. The king hereupon wrote to acquaint *Shâh Jehân*, that provided he came to him to *Azmîr*, and swear not to attempt any thing against his person for the future, he would not only pardon, and take him into favour, but would also confer on him great honours and riches. The prince on receipt of these letters immediately set forward with *Khân Khâna*, *Abdol Khân*, *Beyrâm Bîk*, and other *Omrâs*, who all arrived at *Azmîr*, and were well received.

Guzerât
taken by

AFTER the death of *Rajah Bikkermanfid*, *Shâh Jehân* conferred the government of *Guzerât* on *Abdol Khân*; who, continuing with the prince, sent his eunuch *Baffadar Khân* to command in his absence. When he arrived at *Amed abâd*, he thrust out the *Nabâb*, *Shaffi Khân*, the king's chancellor; who, enraged at this affront, went to *Kanksi*. From thence he wrote to *Nâzar Khân*, governor of *Pâtan*, and *Babon Khân*, who resided at *Kapperbeniz*, giving them an account of what had

had passed. As he knew that *Soltân Bolaki*, and his grandfather *Azem Khân*, were on the road with an army to recover *Guzerât*, and command over it for the king, they blamed him for suffering himself to be so easily thrust out; and ordering him to meet them at *Kapperbentz*, it was resolved to march to *Ahmed abâd*: therefore, setting forward in the evening, they early next morning arrived before the walls of that city; and, having divided their forces (D) into three bodies, each attacked a gate, which with their elephants they broke open; and, thus entering the place, seized *Bassader Khân*, and other lords, who had deserted to the prince.

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

As *Shâh Jehân*, then at *Mandow*, was greatly concerned at this news, *Abdol Khân* made light of it; saying, that they who had taken *Ahmed abâd* were only three merchants, and would easily be obliged to quit their conquest. But it happened otherwise; for when he, accompanied with several other *Khâns*, and 70,000 horse, was come to *Wasset* (E), he found *Shaffi Khân* prepared to receive him, though not expected. This lord finding the king's army, under *Soltân Bolaki* and *Khân Azem*, was at a great distance, and, being short of money, stripped the throne, which *Shâh Jehân* had caused to be made at *Ahmed abâd*, of its gold and jewels; and therewith, in nine days time, procured out of the neighbouring places 19,000 horse, 500 musketteers, 28 elephants, and 22 *Omrâs*¹.

WITH these forces he encamped without the city, at *Kanki*, from whence he removed to *Affemphâr*; where, being informed of *Abdol Khân*'s coming, he posted himself with his army at *Bowben talaw*, six kos from *Ahmed abâd*. *Abdol Khân*, on this advice, leaving *Anamogherri*, advances to *Neridd*, and thence to *Momod Abâd* (F), but six kos from the enemy, whom he despised, too much confiding in his own strength. Here, discovering by an intercepted letter, that *Matza-hayb Khân* intended in the battle to go over to the king's troops, he had him arrested, with his son *Koja Soltân*, and confiscated their effects. Next morning he moved towards *Kanisa*: but, when he understood how strong the royal army was, and knowing that some of his commanders were not to be trusted, he turned off towards *Baroch*, with design to attack *Shaffi Khân*.

¹ DE LAET, p. 248, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 82, & seqq.

(D) Herbert says, they had 1,400,000 rupis to pay the soldiers: but Herbert says, it was 1000 horse and 5 elephants.

(E) Beyond (or to the south of) *Brodra*, which is five days march from *Mandow*. He had

(F) Perhaps *Mahmûd Abâd*.

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

in the rear. However, his design being discovered by the watchful enemy, he resolves to give them battle without delay. To this end, next morning, he divides his forces into three bodies, and gives the right wing to *Hamed Khân* and *Zali Beg*; the left to *Zardi Khân*, *Masbûd Beg*, and *Mohammed Kûli*, reserving to himself the main body.

attempts to
recover it; IN this order the whole camp advanced by *Jetelpûr* to *Fettabâgh*; where *Shaffi Khân* being already arrived with his forces, *Nakar Khân*, with his five sons, and two sons-in-law, *Kara Mohammed Khân* and *Shâh Mohammed Khân*, with 3000 horse, began the fight, and made a great slaughter of *Abdol Khân's* troops. *Shaffi Khân*, having at the same time chosen a more commodious ground, so galled the enemy with his cannon, that one of the chief elephants, being wounded, turned about, and made great disorder among their ranks. *Abdol Khân* was not wanting all this while to encourage his soldiers; and, having in some measure restored the battle, challenges *Nahar Khân* to a single combat. The brave old man did not fail to meet him; but, having been wounded by his adversary in the head with a lance, his men came in to his assistance. Hereupon began a fierce conflict, in which one of his sons-in-law was killed, and three of his sons wounded. *Nahar Khân* finding the enemy too strong for him, began to fly: but *Delawer Khân* called him back, and renewed the fight.

but is de-
feated.

Saïd Khân and *Sid Yakûb* in the mean time attacked *Sali Beg*, who had advanced before with 1000 horse, with so much bravery that all his soldiers dispersed; yet, with only four more, he still fought gallantly, till, being at length thrown from his elephant, *Saïd Khân* ran him through. *Ahmed Khân* also, who ventured to assail *Rajah Hallen* and *Abdol Rahmân*, had his head cut off; which with that of *Sali Beg* was sent to *Shaffi Khân*. The death of these great officers so astonished the whole army of the enemy, that they immediately fled on all sides, excepting *Zaitfi Khân*, governor of *Brodra*, who, with 400 horse and three elephants, still stood his ground in the rear; but, on *Shaffi Khân's* advancing towards him, he surrendered. His son *Mohammedan Kûli Khân*, much offended at his father's cowardice, with forty horse and one elephant, fled to *Abdol Khân*: who, being informed of those misfortunes, thought it best to fly likewise towards *Brodra*; whither he arrived with only a few followers, great numbers of his troops having been cut-off in their way by the people (G) of the country. From thence he went to *Surât*,

(G) These are the *Kowlis*, according to *Herbert*.

where,

where, having staid eight days, he returned with a few troops to *Brâmpûr*.

MEAN time *Jehân Ghîr*, who remained at *Fettipûr*, detached his son *Soltân Parweis*, with *Mobabet Khân*, *Rajah Lala Bertzing*, and the whole army of *Râspûts*, to pursue his rebellious son, and, if possible, take him alive. At the same time *Mirza Khân*, son of *Abdol Khân*, is sent loaden with chains to the castle of *Agra*; while *Abdol Ajef Khân*, who had by the contrivance of *Abdol Khân* been put into the power of *Shâh Jehân*, makes his escape, and returns to the king. As soon as this prince knew that the royal army was advancing, he removed from *Azmîr* to *Mandow*, and assembled all his forces, in order to try his fortune in battle. When the two armies were now within five or six kos of each other, the vanguards began the fight, and soon after ensued a general engagement: but *Rostan Khân* and *Berkendash Khân* deserting to the king's forces, *Shâh Jehân* was overthrown. Hereupon he fled, fighting by the way; and, passing the *Nerebeda*, or *Nardaba*, arrived at *Brâmpûr*.

MEAN while *Beyrâm Bek* and *Darab Khân* being left at the river, to hinder the passage of the king's forces, *Khân Khânnâ* persuades *Shâh Jehân* to send him to his brother *Soltân Parweis*, in order that he might intercede for them with his father; nor could *Abdol Khân* divert the prince from entering into this measure, or induce him to suspect *Khân Khânnâ's* fidelity. The *Khân* having crossed the river, and arrived at the *Soltân's* camp, advises him to pass the *Nardaba* with what rafts or boats he could procure in haste; assuring him, that his brother had but few forces, and that *Beyrâm Bek*, already gained, would not hinder him. *Soltân Parweis*, without delay, crosses the river, as he had been counselled, and sends *Beyrâm Khân* to inform *Shâh Jehân*, that *Khân Khânnâ* had made his peace with his brother: but *Abdol Khân* counselled the prince to beware of *Khân Khânnâ's* treachery; assuring him, that his design was to seize him unawares, and deliver him into his brother's hands, since 20,000 horse had already passed the *Nardaba*. He therefore advised, that, instead of minding what *Beyrâm Bek* said, both he and *Darab Khân* should be put in irons, and the prince himself retire as fast as he could to *Rehen Kera*.^m

SHAH Jehân, approving this counsel, had those two lords bound on an elephant, and fled towards *Kerki*, to *Malek Am-beks reber*; who appoints him a residence in *Nasîr Trom*; from *pulsid*, whence he sent his fatigued elephants to the castle of *Dolt abad*, in order to recruit. Mean time, *Soltân Parweis* being

4. *Khân
Jehân
Ghîr.
Khurm
otter-
thrown;*

*flies to
Malek
Amber.*

^m DE LAET, p. 254, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 86, & seqq.

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

arrived at *Brâmpûr*, without any opposition, sent an account of his success to *Jehân Ghîr*, who received the news with the utmost joy: but his joy was soon allayed with the news, that *Ihens Tous*, the *Uzbek*, with 30,000 horse, was on his march towards *Kabûl*, in order to conquer that province. As soon as *Khânnâ Zaed Khân*, son of *Mohabet Khân*, governor of the province of *Banghiz* (H), heard of this *Tatar* invasion, he in all haste repaired to *Kabûl*, and fortified it. Then, being informed by his scouts that *Ihen Tous* was advanced within fifteen kos of that city, he marched out to meet him with 20,000 horse; and giving the *Uzbek* battle, obliged him to fly, after he had made a great slaughter among his troops. *Zaed Khân*, making use of his victory, pursued the enemy, for forty kos, to the borders of *Uzbek*. Then attacking the city of *Gassani* (+), he took it, and returned to *Kabûl* with a rich booty, many elephants, and several thousand captives: for which victory he was rewarded by the king with the command of 5000 horse and other gifts.

Khurm
enters
Bengâl,

AFTER this, *Jehân Ghîr* made another progress to *Kashmîr*, for the sake of hunting: which opportunity of his long absence *Shâh Jehân* thinking proper to lay hold of, with 4000 horse and 300 elephants, marched by the way of *Golkonda* and *Orijba*, through the deserts, into *Bengâl*. At this unexpected coming *Kamet Bek Khân*, the governor, married to *Ibrâhm's* sister, was so terrified, that he fled; leaving the prince in possession of his treasure, and every thing else which belonged to him. Hereupon several *Mansebdârs* revolted to *Shâh Jehân*; who thence marched into *Pâtan*; which *Moklidis Khân*, the governor, shamefully deserting, fled to *Ressam Kandahâri*, governor of *Elhabâs*; who, for his cowardice, imprisoned him, and seized all his effects.

and sub-
dues part.

Mean time *Shâh Jehân*, having crossed the *Ganges*, entered *Bengâl*, and came to *Kerin*: but *Ibrâhm Khân*, governor of *Daak* (or *Daka*) meeting him at *Râjah Mâhl* with 5 or 6000 horse, attacked him so furiously, that he was on the point of flying; and had been utterly defeated, if *Abdol Khân*, who lay in ambuscade, had not seasonably advanced to his assistance. For the king's forces were so dismayed at this unexpected reinforcement, and being at the same time greatly dissatisfied at the avarice of their commander, who withheld their pay, that they turned their backs, leaving the covetous *Ibrâhm Khân*, with 500 men, to shift for themselves. After a brave resistance he and his soldiers were all slain. Then the prince, seizing his treasure, sent *Darab Khân* to *Daak*, to

(H) A city to the north of (†) Perhaps *Gânza*, or *Ghânza*.
Kâbul. *na.*

bring

bring away the rest of *Ibrâhm's* riches, with his wives and children. He had orders also to reduce all *Bengâl*, while *Shâh Jehân* marched to *Patân*, where *Râjah Jehân Usim* joined him with 5000 horse and 20,000 foot.

As soon as Soltân *Parweis* was informed of these proceedings, leaving *Râjah Râgh Khan* to command in his absence at *Brâmpûr*; he set out, accompanied by *Mohabet Khân*, *Khân Alem*, and other *Omrâs*, who with the rest of the *Râspâts* forces (I), marched with all expedition towards *Elabâs*; and, when he was entered into the province of *Lala Bertzing*, this prince met him with a present of two or three lak of rupees, and joined him with all his troops. Mean time the king, having received advice in the city of *Kashmîr* of *Ibrâhm Khân's* death, forthwith sent orders to *Khân Jehân*, who resided at *Mâltân*, to march with his forces to assist Soltân *Parweis*: but he, coming to *Fettipûr*, loitered there six months, without carrying any succours to that prince. On the other side, *Rustam Kandahârî* fortified *Elabâs*, while *Shâh Jehân* sent troops against the castle of *Rantas*, which *Sid Monbark* surrendered to him; as did the castle of *Sinnar*, commanded by *Hafis Baki*, after enduring several assaults. About the same time *Wâzir Khân* marching to *Benâres*, extorted tribute from the inhabitants; and *Abdol Khân* coming to *Jaunpûr*, did the like there, after obliging *Jehân Ghîr Khân*, the governor, to retire to *Elabâs*.

SHAH Jehân, being informed that his brother Soltân *Parweis* and *Mohabet Khân* were advancing against him, and had already passed the river *Kalpi*, sent *Râjah Râhm*, *Beyrâm Bîk*, and *Abdol Khân*, to besiege *Elabâs*; the suburbs of which they destroyed. *Rustan Khân*, incensed at this provocation, sallied out with his troops: but, many of them being cut off, he was forced to retreat back to the castle, which he afterwards defended bravely against the rebels. In the interim, discord arose between *Abdol Khân* and *Râjah Râhm*; who soon after, repassing the *Ganges*, retired to *Banâres*, on the approach of Soltân *Parweis* and his forces; which first arrived at *Bakkeri*, and then at *Munikpûr*. While they were on the road between *Kalpi* and the province of *Râjah Bertzing*, *Mia Fehîm* attempted by force to rescue his lord *Khân Khânnâ*, who, on suspicion, had been confined by *Mohabet Khân*; but was by the keepers, after some slaughter of them, slain, with several of his associates. Hereupon all the effects of *Khân Khânnâ* were confiscated, his wives and children sent in custody to *Agra*; and himself, laden with chains, more closely imprisoned.

(I) *Herbert* says, he had with him 50,000 horse.

4. *Khân* At length, the prince arriving at *Elabâs*, was joyfully received
Jehân by *Rustan Khân* ⁿ.

Ghîr. *MOHABET Khan*, eager for battle, with the *Rājahs*
 and defeats *Ziffing*, *Jand*, and *Bertzing*, passed the *Ganges* with the greater
 part of the troops, in order to meet *Shāh Jehân* : who having
 raised considerable forces in *Pātan*, was come to *Fonek*,
 about ten kos from *Banâres* ; where the two armies, parted
 only by the river, cannonaded each other. Mean time *Beyrām*
Bik, advancing towards *Elabâs* with near 4000 horse, was
 met by *Mohammed Shâma* (K), at the head of the vanguard of
Soltân Parweis, on the bank of the river *Shawezi* (L) ; and,
 being slain in fight, had his head cut off. All this while the
 prince's army suffered much from *Shāh Jehân's* cannon, and
 could not pass the river : but, at length, being conducted over
 at a convenient ford, they encamped opposite to the rebels ;
 who did not long delay coming to a battle. For *Rājah Rhim*,
 a most gallant foldier, advancing forward with his troops,
 his brother ; gave the charge ; and with his war elephants so disordered
 the king's forces, that they were obliged to give way. And,
 had this brave commander been supported by *Abdol Khân* and
Derra Khân, they must have been overthrown : but those two
 generals, out of malice, would not stir to his assistance ; which,
 giving the *Soltân's* troops an opportunity to rally, they re-
 turned to the charge with such fury, that they wounded most
 of the *Rājah's* elephants, and restored the battle. On this
 occasion *Soltân Parweis* exposed himself to danger (M) at the
 head of his troops, fighting on his elephant. The prince's
 example gave such courage to his men that they fought like
 lions ; so that, at length, *Rājah Rhim* being slain, *Derra*
Khân was put to flight. *Shāh Jehân* endeavoured to restore
 the battle ; but in vain : upon which he was by *Abdol Khân*
 prevailed on, though much against his will, to quit the field,
 with 3 or 4000 horse. The troops of *Rājah Bertzing*, hav-
 ing taken possession of his camp, the soldiers plundered it of
 all the gold and silver ; of which they found a great quan-
 tity : but the elephants, horses, and other spoils, were re-
 served for the king's use.

ⁿ DE LAET, p. 260. HERBERT, p. 88, & seqq.

(K) In *De Laet*, *Ziama*. *Herbert* calls him *Shawma*.

(L) In *De Laet*, *Ziauzia*. In *Herbert*, *Shawezi*.

(M) *Herbert* says, the battle lasted very hot for five hours : that *Khurm* (or *Shāh Jehân*) was hurt in the arm, and *Par-*

weis wounded in the side by *Derra Khân* ; and that, but for the goodness of his armour, he had been killed. He also ascribes the success to the resolution and activity of *Mohabets Khân*.

SHAH

SHAH *Jehân*, after this defeat, fled with such haste, that in thirty-six days he reached the castle of *Rantas*; where he had placed *Rajah Ghalam*, one of the murderers of his brother Soltân *Khosraw*. Here leaving all his harâm, excepting *Affof Khân's* daughter, he, on the third day, fled towards *Pâtan*; most of his followers dispersing themselves. Mean time Soltân *Parweis* and *Mohabet Khân* followed him close, at the distance of forty or fifty kos. Being arrived at *Pâtna*, he wrote to *Darab Khân*, whom he had made governor of *Bengâl*, to meet him at *Rajah Máhl*. On the other hand, the Soltân, *Mohabet Khân*, and his father *Khân Khanna* invited that lord to join the king's forces. Shâh *Jehân*, after a short stay at that place, thinking *Darab Khân* had deserted his party, posted on to *Medenpûr*, and thence to *Ouja* (N). When the king's forces arrived at *Medenpûr*, and found Shâh *Jehân* had fled, *Bakker Khân* and other Omrâs were sent to pursue him (with 8000 horse), while Soltân *Parweis* passed on to *Rajah Máhl*; from whence he wrote into all the provinces, to seize *Darab Khân*, and bring him to the camp. These letters hastened the death not only of that Khân's children, who were with Shâh *Jehân*, but of their father also: for *Mohabet Khân* sending to him his son, and kinsman, son of *Shâh Nabar Khân*, gave secret order to *Mîr Khân*, who was their conductor, to put them all to death; which he did when they least expected it, and brought their heads to the prince. *Mohabet Khân*, the more to afflict *Khân Khanna*, had them shewn to him, and then sent them to the king.

In the year 1033, *Jehân Ghîr* sent for *Khân Zaw Khân*, and *flies to* son of *Mohabet Khân*, governor of *Kâbul*, and conferred on him the command of 5000 horse, with the government of *Bengâl*. At the same time *Mâlek Amber* (king of *Dekân*), marching with an army of 50,000 men, to drive the *Mogols* out of his borders, was met by *Lasker Khân*, *Mirza Manucher*, and *Ibrâhm Hossayn*, with 15,000 horse: but he defeated them with great slaughter; and, having taken them prisoners, with all their camp and treasure, confined them in the castle of *Delt abad*. Mean time Shâh *Jehân*, being hotly pursued by *Bakker Khân*, left *Ouja*, and, with 3000 horse and 300 elephants, fled to the borders of *Golkondâ*, where *Mâlek Amber* furnished him with money and all other necessities; after which he granted him refuge within his kingdom.

(N) Called in *De Laet*, p. 73, *Odee*; and, by *Herbert*, *Oudee*, *Oujea*, and *Odjea*; an ancient city, once the seat of the *Pâtan* kings, but now almost ruined. Not far from it are seen the ruins of the castle and palace of *Rânikand*, whom the *Indians*, says *Herbert*, hold to be the supreme God.

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

Besieges
Brampûr;

WHEN he had continued here for three months, he set out with *Abdol Khân*, *Derriah Khân*, *Mohammed Takkik*, and *Yâkût Khân*, whom *Mâlek Amber* had joined with 10,000 horse, and marched towards *Brampûr*. This city had been newly walled and fortified by *Râjah Rostang*, made governor by *Soltân Parweïs*; who, on the enemy's approach, sallied out with his forces; but, after a sharp conflict, was obliged to return. Hereupon *Abdol Khân* and *Derriah Khân* assaulted the walls, which were defended bravely almost the whole night by the citizens. However, in the interim, *Takkik*, forcing his way in through a breach, takes the castle: but the other two generals, vexed to see that the son of a merchant should accomplish what they had in vain attempted, refrained giving him assistance: so that the fortress was not only recovered by *Rostan Khân* and *Arset Khân*, but the brave *Takkik*, after receiving a wound in the eye, was taken prisoner, and all his soldiers slain.

retires
again.

THE king, or *Nûr Jehân Begum*, at the same time sent *Mîrza Arab Destoa Khân* to bring *Khân Khânna* up to *Lahûr*. Being thus taken out of the hands of *Mohabet*, much against the will of the latter, as soon as he arrived at court, he complained heavily against his late keeper, for having not only destroyed his children, but also disgracefully imprisoned himself, who had in so critical a juncture deserted the prince, and confiscated most of his effects. Mean while, *Soltân Parweïs*, having left *Pâtan*, with *Mohabet Khân*, *Khân Alem*, *Râjah Bertzing*, and the whole army of *Râspûts*, made what haste he could to *Brampûr*; which *Shâh Jehân* hearing of, he raised the siege; and, thinking it was in vain to attempt any thing farther, sent his brother the keys of the castles *Haffer* (O) and *Rantas*, and retired again to *Mâlek Amber* °.

Mohabet
Khân re-
called.

AFTER this, a misunderstanding arising between *Soltân Parweïs* and *Mohabet Khân*, on account of *Khân Khânna*'s accusations, the prince, swayed by bad counsel, wrote to desire the king to call that *Khân* to court. On the other side, the king, persuaded by the advice of his wife *Nûr Jehân*, and her brother *Afsof Khân*, as well as of *Khân Khânna*, and other enemies of *Mohabet Khân*, commanded him to repair to him without delay: and, on his making excuses, sent *Mîrza Arab Destoa Khân* to fetch him to *Lahûr*. Hereupon *Mohabet Khân*, obeying the

• DE LAET, p. 265, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 91, & seqq.

(O) Five kos from *Brampûr*, fortified castle in the province in the way to *Agra*. It is the strongest and in all respects best of *Khândîsh*.

king's

king's command, although much against his will, departed from *Brâmpûr*, and came to his castle of *Ratampûr* (P), seventy kos distant from *Agra*. At the same time the king made *Khân Jehân* governor of *Ahmed abad* in his room; and, soon after, that lord joined prince *Parweïs*. While these things were doing, *Shâh Jehân*, to soothe his father, sent him 100 of his best elephants, with his two sons, under the conduct of *Koja Jehân*; who arrived safely at *Agra*; where they staid for some time. At this juncture *Kâssef Khân*, being turned out of his government of *Agra*, which he had long enjoyed, the king conferred it on *Mozaffer Khân*, who was then at *Lahôr*: which disgrace his wife *Mowissa Begum*, sister of *Nûr Jehân Begum*, so highly resented, that, to restore him, she contrived a means which will be related presently.

At the same time that Soltân *Khosraw* was delivered to the custody of his younger brother, Soltân *Khurm*, or *Shâh Jehân*, the two sons of his brother *Dân Shâh* (who died of drinking at *Brâmpûr*) named *Shâh Etimor* and *Shâh Housseyn* (Q), were also put into his hands. These, when young, he delivered to the Jesuits, to be baptized, and bred in the Christian faith. Not that he favoured the Christian religion (R), but that he might render them odious to the *Mohammedans* while boys; and, with the same levity, draw them back from Christianity (S) at pleasure. After these young princes had been a long time in *Shâh Jehân*'s power, they made their escape. *Shâh Etimor*, when his uncle was defeated at *Elabâs*, fled to Soltân *Parweïs*; and, when he was obliged to retreat from before *Brâmpûr*, *Shâh Housseyn* took the opportunity to get away to *Rajah Rostan*. From thence they repaired to their grandfather; who received them with great honour and affec-

(P) *Herbert* writes, *Rantampûr*.

(Q) Their names were *Tey-emars* and *Hofrang*.

(R) Other authors relate, that when the young princes were grown up, after being under *Corfi* the Jesuit's tuition, who kept a school, for some years, they desired him to provide them with *Portuguese* wives; in which he not gratifying them, they delivered up their crosses, and other tokens of conversion, to the Jesuits: saying, on being asked, that the king had com-

manded them. Whence the Jesuits concluded, that the whole affair was only an artifice to get a woman for the king's use. *Roe's journal*, *Church. collect. Trav.* vol. i. p. 731, *Terry's voya. to India*, sect. 30. — This happened before the year 1616, as appears from *Sir Thomas Roe's* letters on the occasion.

(S) *Herbert* says, that, not daring to provoke the people farther, by shedding their blood, he took this method to render them incapable of possessing the throne.

tion,

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

tion, giving in marriage to the eldest his daughter *Bhar Banâ Begum*.

S E C T. III.

From Jehân Ghîr's Imprisonment by Mohabet Khân to his Death.

Abdol
Khân de-
ferts
Khurm.

MEAN while *Mohabet Khân*, who remained with his *Râspûts* (T) at *Rantipûr*, was by the king's mandate ordered to deliver up his castle and province to *Nûr Jehân Begum*, and his governor *Bakker Khân*, and remove into *Bengâl*, to command there as his viceroy. As this order was death to a man impatient of injuries, he wrote back to the king, that if he was falsely accused of great crimes by the betrayers of the kingdom, his reputation required, that above all things he should acquit himself before his majesty. About the same time an account was brought, that *Abdol Khân*, in a belief that, on *Shâh Jehân's* raising the siege of *Brâmpûr*, his affairs were become desperate, had deserted him; and, induced by the hopes of pardon given him by *Khân Jehân*, had returned to the king's party, and was honourably received by *Soltân Parweïs*.

Mohabet
Khân at-
tacked:
A. D.
1625.

IN 1035, *Mohabet Khân* set out from *Rantipûr*, with 5000 *Râspûts*, towards *Lahûr*; hoping to meet the king at *Kâbul*, whither he was making a progress. But *Nûr Jehân Begum* and *Ajof Khân*, being informed of his design, persuaded *Jehân Ghîr*, who had now passed the *Chunâb* (U), to command him to leave his men behind, and sending his elephants before, to repair to court only with his domestics. *Mohabet Khân*, who knew that this was a snare laid for his destruction, sent his son-in-law before with the elephants, and wrote back to *Jehân Ghîr*, that he was sensibly grieved his majesty should distrust his old slave: that he was ready to deliver his wives and children as pledges of his fidelity; but could not suffer himself, on any account, to be brought into the king's presence. As soon as his son-in-law arrived at court, he was first clothed in an ignominious habit, and then bastonaded on the soles of his feet; after which he was mounted bare-headed on an elephant, and carried through the camp by way

(T) *Mohabet Khân* must have been a *Râjah*, or *Hindû* prince; otherwise he could not have commanded *Râjahpûts*.

written *Tzimab* in *De Laet*. The *Ebun* is the same with the river *Jemna*, or *Jemni*, as before remarked.

(U) That is, the river *Chun*;

of

of derision. The *wekktl*, or *vaktl*, also of the *Khân* was lashed with whips. 4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

MEAN time *Mohabet Khân* arrived with his little army at the river *Behad* (or *Behat*), where he received a new order from the king, that he should repair to him, accompanied by no more than 100 of his retinue; that he should make all the haste he could, and leave his troops to follow him: but the hatred of the queen and *Affof Khân*, of *Eradet Khân*, *Fedi Khân*, *Koja Abdol Hassan*, and other great lords of the *Khorasân* faction, so far had influenced the mind of *Jehân Ghîr*, that *Mohabet* could obtain no justice at his sovereign's hands. In the interim, to hasten his destruction, which they were bent upon, they took the opportunity, while the king was asleep in his tent, to cross the river with a great army, in which were 50,000 horse, and fall on the forces of *Mohabet Khân*, consisting of no more than 5000 *Râspûts* (X). But, such was the valour of the leader, and fidelity of his soldiers, that, without any difficulty, they put to flight the king's troops; whereof above 2000 were slain, and many drowned in the river: among whom were some men of great note, as *Koja Shawâr Khân*, *Abdol Sâmek*, and *Abdol Gâllek*. his signal
victory:

MOHABET KHAN, making use of his victory, crossed the river with so much speed, that he seized the king yet sleeping in his tent; and, having killed such of the guards as resisted, put him on an elephant and carried him to his own tent. Guards were set on the tent of the queen. Soltân *Balokhi*, Soltân *Shehriar*, and the sons of *Dhân Shân*, were also taken prisoners. *Affof Khân* and *Fedi Khân* escaped by flight. *Eradet Khân*, and *Mohandas*, the Diwân of *Affof Khân*, were taken. All the king's treasure and wealth of the *Omrâs* was plundered by the *Râspûts*, while the camp was filled with nothing but confusion and noise. *Zâdok Khân*, who had fallen-out with his brother *Affof* before the battle, took part with *Mohabet Khân*, and had the government of *Lahûr* committed to his trust. In short, the face of affairs was of a sudden wonderfully changed: for the queen *Nûr Jehân Begum*, who but a little before was worshipped like a goddess, became now neglected, and deprived of her attendants. *Affof Khân*, with his son *Abontaleh*, viceroy of *Lahûr*, and the son of *Mîr Mîra*, who had fled toward *Attek*, were brought

(X) *Herbert* says, *Mohabet Khân* had 20,000 *Râspûts*; and that he marched in quest of the army of *Nûr Mâhl* (called also *Nûr Jehân*), consisting of 50,000 horse. The same author relates several particulars of this affair, which we presume he learned in *India*.

back

4. *Khân* back by the son (Y) of *Mohabet Khân*, and *Râro'ddin Kâli*
Jehân *Khân*, with 2000 *Hâddis* and *Râspûts*, to the *Khân*; who
Ghîr. was already, with the captive king, at that city. There they
 were loaded with irons, and from hence were all carried to
Kâbul: where *Eradet Khân* and *Mulâna Mohammed* were
 so severely as well as ignominiously treated, that the latter
 expired under his troubles P.

and all his
 court.

It has been observed above, that *Monnîza Begum*, wife
 of *Kassim Khân*, who was highly offended at her husband's
 being removed from the government of *Agra*, repaired forth-
 with to *Lahûr*, to the queen her sister, and from thence
 to *Kâbul*. But, when she saw that her sister had lost her
 power (Z), and *Mohabet Khân* swayed every thing, she ap-
 plied herself to him; and, as she was an old acquaintance of
 his, easily got her husband restored. *Mozaffer Khân*, who
 had enjoyed it no more than three days, being thus turned
 out again, he was ordered to bring the two sons of *Shâh*
Jehân, with *Koja Jehân* (their governor) to the king. This
 he readily performed; whereupon those young princes, with
Soltân Bolakhi, were, by *Mohabet Khân*, committed to the
 custody of a certain *Râspût*.

Khorm WHILE these things were transacting on one side, *Shâh*
defeated in *Jehân*, who had hitherto kept close in *Dekân*, now appears
Bengâl. again, and, with fresh forces, accompanied by the son of
Rajah Rhîm, marches through the province of *Rajah Râna*,
 towards *Azmîr*. This news gave some uneasiness to the
 king's troops, especially, because many *Rajahs* of the *Râspûts*
 deserted to him: and it was reported, that the prince him-
 self was hastening to *Agra*. But the son of *Rajah Rhîm*,
 whom he chiefly confided in, dying suddenly at *Azmîr*, and
 the *Râspûts* by degrees leaving him, he quitted the design of
 going to *Agra*, and turned towards *Tâtta*; which, at the
 earnest persuasion of *Derri Khân*, he besieged. But *Shartf*
Mâlek, who governed there for the king, sallying out with
 his forces, obliged them to withdraw. However, they soon
 returned to attack the city a second time: but the *Shartf*,
 making another sally, fell on the enemy with so much fury,
 that *Derri Khân* was slain, and *Shâh Jehân* forced to fly to
Bâkker.

P DE LAET, p. 270, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 94, & seqq.

(Y) Herbert calls him *Mirza* condemned to lose her head by
Bircwer; and says, he was the *Mohabet Khân* and his council;
Khân's third son. but that, at the king's request,

(Z) Herbert says, she was she was pardoned.

AT

AT the same time *Málek Amber*, king of *Dekán*, sends the captive *Omrás*, *Leskar Khán*, *Mírza Manucher*, and *Ibráhím Hoffeyn*, to *Soltán Parwaís*, at *Brampúr*; and twenty-six lak of rupees safely arrived at *Agra*, from *Zeyd Khán*, son of *Mohabet Khán*, governor of *Bengál*. The king, who now returned from *Kábul* to *Lahúr*, by the persuasions of the queen, gave permission to his guards to fall upon the *Ráspúts* belonging to *Mohabet Khán*, and sell those whom they took prisoners, to the people of *Kábul*. After this the king's party consulted among themselves in what manner to destroy *Mohabet Khán*, before his friends *Khán Alem* and *Rajah Raftang* should come to his assistance. At this consultation it was agreed, that *Ouriar Khán*, governor of *Bassower* and *Dessowa*, should, with all expedition, raise 5000 horse, and attack *Mohabet Khán* at *Attek*. *Koja Shera* was to furnish 5000 more: while the queen, squandering the treasure, to make friends and procure soldiers, at length assembled a considerable army: but still her brother *Affof Khán*, and the sons of *Sháh Jehán*, remained in *Mohabet Khán*'s custody. As for *Fedi Khán*, who fled from the battle into *Rukestán*, or the deserts of *Tombel*, after he had continued there a while with *Rajah Gomanow* (Z), he repaired to *Rajah Bertzing*, and then requested letters of safe conduct from *Soltán Parwaís*; who readily granted them.

AFTER the king had crossed the river *Attek*, at the place where the late bloody battle was fought, he desired *Mohabet Khán* to set *Affof Khán* at liberty; promising, on that condition, to build a mosque in the same place: but the *Khán* did not think fit to grant his request; however, he consented, that *Affof Khán* should be treated with less rigour than he had been. When they came to the river *Rheed* (A), the queen's forces began to appear on every side; and *Soltán Shehriyâr*, who had married the queen's daughter, in 1029 (B), was sent before to *Lahúr*, to secure the principal lords there. In his way he forced out of the hands of the *Ráspúts* *Soltán Bolakhi*, with the two sons of *Dhán Khán*; and being arrived at that city, fortified the castle, after turning out all the *Ráspúts*. Mean time the king proceeded on his way, hunting, to the river *Rheed* (or *Behed*); where *Ousber Khán* joined the queen with 5000 men: so that her army was now 20,000 strong.

ALTHOUGH *Mohabet Khán* was advised by his friends to be on his guard: yet, trusting in his troops, he despised the

(Z) Perhaps the *Rajah Gammon* of others. *bert*; or *Behat*, as others.

(A) Rather *Behed*, as *Her-* her first husband *Afkan Khán*.

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B b

danger.

A. D.
1619.

escapes.

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

danger. However, during his absence, the king sent for *Mirza Rostam Khân*, and told him, he judged that to be a proper time for him to make his escape. The queen, having been of the same opinion, *Jehân Ghîr* went a hunting, as usual, the next day : on which signal his *Omrâs* hastened towards him from all parts, with their forces ; which now amounted to 30,000 horse. Although *Mohabet Khân* was not in a condition to fight the king's forces, yet he durst venture to go to him into the court of justice (C) : but, when he saw the king look cold upon him, he went again with his people, and removed his camp half a kos from *Jehân Ghîr*'s. The same evening *Balant Khân* brought a threatening message from the king, commanding him to set at liberty *Affof Khân*, and the other *Omrâs* : but *Mohabet Khân*, still confiding in his soldiers, refused to obey. However, upon second thoughts, he afterwards sent to desire of the king, that he might first cross the river *Behed* ; promising then to send those lords to his camp. The queen was against granting the condition required ; earnestly pressing to have them taken out of his hands by force : but *Jehân Ghîr* thought the other the most prudent course.

Mohabet
Khân re-
sires.

MOHABET KHAN, finding the face of things intirely changed, and being in fear not only of losing his life, but of an ignominious punishment, sends for *Affof Khân*, and told him, that although it was now in his power to take away his life, yet he willingly spared him. He added, that he did not believe he would ever forget so great a benefit, or make any attempt against the life of a person who had preserved his. Then having taken an oath to that purpose from *Affof Khân*, he took off his chains with his own hands, put on him a royal vest, and, presenting him with several excellent horses, sent him to the king. He promised moreover, that as soon as he had passed the river *Aziknaw*, that he would dismiss his son and *Mir Mira*, with the brother-in-law of *Koja Abdol Hassan* : which he accordingly performed. The king was exceedingly pleased at *Affof Khân*'s return : on the contrary, the queen, his sister, asked him in a rage, how he came to be so very hasty, and not to wait, till she, with an armed force, came and rescued him out of the hands of his adversary ? *Affof Khân* pleaded the fear of his life, which at length pacified her. He likewise acknowledged to the king, that he thought himself under a perpetual obligation to *Mohabet Khân* for the favour he had received ; and that he had promised never to do him any hurt^a.

^a DE LAET, p. 276: HERBERT. p. 98.

(C) *Herbert* says, into the *leskar*, or camp.

J E H A N

JEHAN GHIR being returned to *Labâr*, the queen, 4. *Khân* who, still burnt with revenge, left nothing unattempted to de- *Jehân* stroy *Mohabet Khân*. With this intent she dispatched *Ahmed Ghir*. *Khân* (cousin-german to *Ibrahim Khân*) with *Zaffer Khân*, *Nâro'ddin Kâli*, and other *Omrâs*, with 10,000 horse; who *The queen's* intercepted the treasure of twenty-six laks of rupees, sent by *Saïd Khân* from *Bengâl* to his father *Mohabet Khân*, and *batred.* brought it to her. It was convoyed from *Agra* by 500 *Râf-pûts*; who, being arrived at *Cheban Chabad*, a walled town, for some time held out against the king's forces; of whom they slew no small number: but at length the besiegers, making a furious assault, took the place, and killed many of the defenders; the rest fled, and left the money in the hands of their adversaries. The queen, not content with this advantage, by large gifts, and larger promises, prevailed on *Khân Khâna*, though much against his will, being now broken with age, to command an army against *Mohabet Khân*; whose troubles were increased by the desertion of his younger son *Mirza Beyrewer*. This lord being sent with 3000 horse to *Norron*, in order to make war upon *Râjah Setterjing*, turned off to *Banger*, with design to seize his father's treasures, which were lodged in the castle of *Rantipûr*: but was prevented by the care of *Mozaib Khân*, who commanded there in his father's behalf.

MEAN time news arrived at *Labâr* from *Brâmpûr* of the *Soltân* death of *Soltân Parweïs*; which greatly surprised the king: *Parweïs* for this son, who never disobeyed his commands, was solely *dies.* beloved by him, and brought up in expectation of the crown. Being thus deprived of his only hope, he saw himself reduced to great straits. For *Shâh Jehân*, then in open rebellion against him, had brought many calamities on his kingdom; and *Soltân Shahriyar* was judged unfit to reign for want of conduct. Nor was the death of this prince less afflicting to *Mohabet Khân*, on account of the friendship which had subsisted between them. The *Khân* therefore, who was now deserted by his followers, looking upon his affairs to be in a very bad condition, bent his course towards *Jalor*, and retired to the castle of *Jirmol*, possessed by the *Râjah* of that name. As to his son *Mirza Beyrewer*, he was taken in his way to *Rantapûr* by *Râjah Rottang*, who resided at *Bondi*, and imprisoned by him.

SHAH Jehân, who hitherto had hovered about *Tâtta*, with *Dekân* 1000 horse and 40 elephants, passing through *Tesfel*, *Khobag- invades.* *beren*, and *Aklisseren*, at length arrived at *Nasser Tormet*, in the kingdom of *Dekân*; where he was kindly received by the

4. Khan
Jehân
Ghír.

son of *Mâlek Amber* (C), lately deceased, and furnished with new forces. Mean time, *Khân Khânnâ* had raised troops to go in pursuit of *Mohabet Khân*; but, when all things were ready for his march, he was seized by death in the city of *Dehli*, and was there buried. At the same juncture, *Takont Khân*, chief of the *Omrâs* at *Dekân*, for fear of the new king, with whom, when a prince, he had been always at variance, fled to *Khân Jehân*, governor of *Brâmpûr*. The *Khân*, encouraged by the desertion of this lord, as well as provoked by the *Dekân* king, who molested the frontiers of the *Mogols*; leaves the widow and son of *Soltân Parweis*, under the care of *Laskar Khân*, and with 40,000 horse, and 40 elephants, marching towards *Dekân*, arrives at *Ballagât*. There, by intercepted letters of *Koja Hifari* to *Abdol Khân*, he discovered, that the latter intended to desert to the king of *Dekân*: hereupon he confiscated his effects, and sent him in chains to *Brâmpûr*.

The Mo-
gols de-
feated.

AFTER this *Khân Jehân* pursued his march; and, being animated by the retreat of the *Dekânees*, penetrates into the heart of the kingdom; where he destroyed many towns, which had never before felt the rage of war. But, at length, the enemy, recovering their spirits, hemmed in his army in such a manner, that great numbers of them perished; partly by famine, and partly by the sword: so that he was compelled to make peace on very dishonourable conditions, and deliver up to the king of *Dekân* several towns of *Hindústân*, in order to obtain liberty of returning safe to the place of his residence.

Uzbek
ambassa-
dor.

THE same year, *Jehân Ghír*, by flattering letters, recalled from *Bengâl*, *Khânnâ Said Khân* (son of *Mohabet Khân*), and in his room appointed *Mogreb Khân*, to whom he gave the command of 5000 horse: but this lord being drowned, by the overturning of a boat, in less than six months, *Fayda Khân*, another commander of 5000 horse, was appointed to succeed him. At this juncture there arrived at *Lahûr*, *Sid Borka*, ambassador from the king of *Manaurwer* (D), having in his retinue *Kadi Abdolrahîm*, brother of *Kadi Kalawn*: who were both held in such great honour on account of their sanctity, that the people of *Manaurwer* (*Mawara'lnâhr*) and *Bokhâra*, *Samarkand*, and *Balk*, revered them almost to adoration, and they were far more rich than the king himself. There were sent to meet him *Koja Abdol Hassan*, and all the

(C) Herbert calls him *Mirza Mawara'lnâhr*, called at present *Alao'ddin*. Great *Bukhâria*.

(D) A mistake, doubtless, for

other

other Omràs of the court, excepting *Affof Khân*, who with great magnificence brought them to the king. Rich presents were mutually made on this occasion. The queen first sent *Abdol Rahim* a gold bason, and drinking-cup, studded with jewels, valued at a lak of rupees. On the other hand the Kadi presented the king and queen with 500 beautiful dromedaries, 1000 fine horses, carpets, porcelain, and other things of great worth. *Sid Borka* likewise brought, as a present from his king to *Jehân Ghîr*, 2000 horses, 1000 dromedaries, and other gifts, of greater price than had ever been offered at court during this reign.

THE queen, still resolved to be revenged, if possible, on *Mohabet Khân*, detached *Amîr Nûro'ddîn Kûli*, *Ahmed Bik Khân*, and other Omràs, with 15000 horse, in pursuit of them. But *Affof Khân*, either on account of the benefit received from him, or believing that the destruction of so great a commander would prove of bad consequence to the kingdom, persuaded *Amîr* to make slow marches : by which means *Mohabet Khân*, getting time to escape, fled first to *Jessmîr*, and from thence to *Râjah Râna*. However, his son *Khânnâ Seîd Khân* was kindly received at court by the king, and carried with him to *Kasbmîr* : for all this, when *Jehân Ghîr* was informed, that the *Khân* had taken shelter with *Râna*, he wrote to the *Râjah*, commanding him to send his adversary out of his territories. *Râjah Râna* at first paid no regard to the king's order : but when he found that *Jehân Ghîr* renewed his command, accompanied with threats, he writes to *Shâh Jehân*, who then resided at *Ghinîr* (a castle between *Dekân* and *Oudegherad*, on the borders of *Nizâm Shâh's* dominions), watching for an opportunity to take the field again, and in his letter recommends to him *Mohabet Khân*, suggesting, " of how great importance that lord would be to him in his then situation; he therefore advised him to forget those hostilities, which, by his father's command, he had committed against him; and send for a man who had received so many injuries from the queen. As to his fidelity, he assured the prince, it needed not be doubted, and that he himself would be his security." *Shâh Jehân* hesitated for some time, till at length *Mohabet Khân* himself wrote to him, and offered his service. The prince hereupon invites him to come; after which, having taken an oath to be true to him, he, with 500 *Râspâts*, repaired to *Ghinîr*, accompanied by *Wazîr Khân*, who carried with him 1000 new-raised horse; for *Deyria Khân* and other Omràs had deserted *Shâh Jehân's* party.

† DE LAET, p. 281, & seqq. HERBERT; p. 101, & seqq.

4. *Kbán*
Jehân
Ghîr:

Jehan
Ghîr dies:
Hej. 1037

his cha-
rafter:

acts of
cruelty:

MEAN time, the king, falling sick at *Kashmîr*, departed, in order to return to *Lahûr* by easy journeys; but, his illness increasing, he died at *Bimber* (E), in the year 1627. This is the account of *De Laet* and *Herbert*: but according to the eastern authors, made use of by Mr. *Frazer*, the name of the place, where he departed this life, was *Chirgarbisti*. This happened on the 27th of *October*, when he was aged 58 solar years, one month, and twenty-nine days; whereof he had reigned twenty-two years and six days: the last eight of which he had been afflicted with an asthma.

J E H A N Ghîr was a weak prince, and too much overruled by the beautiful *Nûr Jehân*, or *Nûr Mâhl*, which made the last ten years of his reign very uneasy to him, and unfortunate to the empire. She had been wife to *Shîr Afkan*, *Khân* of a *Turkmân* family; who came from *Persia* to *Hindûstân* in very indifferent circumstances. As she was exquisitely beautiful, of great wit, and an elegant poetess, *Jehân Ghîr* was doatingly fond of her. The *Omrâs*, who knew her mean original, were resolved to oppose all her schemes: but she persuaded the emperor to break through all rules, in order to advance her father, brother, and other relations, to the highest employments.

J E H A N Ghîr was reckoned of a gentle disposition (F); yet, whether owing to ill advice, wine, or some share of fault in his nature, he often gave very cruel orders. Happening to catch an eunuch kissing one of his women, whom he had given over to converse with, he sentenced the lady to be put into the earth, with only her head left above ground, exposed to the burning rays of the sun; and the eunuch to be cut in pieces before her face. She lived in this dreadful torment twenty-four hours, and till near noon the next day, lamenting her head so long as she could speak. Although he would often debauch with wine (G) himself, yet he would punish others severely, who were guilty of that vice. Some-

* *FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh. p. 20, & seq.*

(E) A town at the foot of the mountains of *Kashmîr*, towards *Hindûstân*. *Bernier*.

(F) *Ros* says, he had a choarful countenance, and was proud by custom, not by nature; for that at night he was very affable, and full of easy conversation. *Church. Collect.* vol. i, p. 730.

(G) One time *Sir Thomas Roe* had audience when he was in liquor; he spoke very kindly: but, being very drunk, fell at last to weeping, and into divers passions; yet kept him till midnight. *Roe's Journ. Church's Collect. Trav.* vol. i. p. 719.

times

times he would command persons to be whipped most unmercifully for trifles ; as he did one of his eunuchs for breaking a china cup, which he was ordered to take care of, and then sent him to *China* to buy another. At other times, in his capricious humours, he would condemn men to slavery, to have their limbs cut off, or to be put to death, without any just cause.

ON the other hand, he daily relieved many poor people, and behaved with great marks of duty to his mother ; whose palanki he would often help to carry on his shoulders. He often visited the cells of religious men, whom he esteemed sacred, and would speak with great reverence of Christ (H) ; but his parentage, poverty, and crucifixion, did so confound his thoughts, that he knew not what to think of them. Our author, who was at the court of this prince in 1618, tells us, that, a few years before, a juggler of *Bengâl*, a country famous, he says, for wizards and witches, brought an ape to shew the king, who was fond of novelties ; and, being told this animal could do several very strange things, sent for a company of boys, and gave a ring privately to one of them to see if the ape could find it ; which he did, by going to the boy who had it.

AFTER *Jehân Ghîr* had made some other trials, in which the ape performed his part with equal success, it came into his head to order the names of twelve prophets, or law-givers (I), to be written on scrolls of paper, and put all together in a bag, to see if the creature could draw out the name of the true prophet ; this done, the ape put in his paw, and pulled out the name of Christ. The experiment being made a second time, with new papers ; and the ape drawing out the name of Christ, as before, *Mohabet Khân* said it was some imposture of the Christians, although none were then present ; and desired, that he might make a third trial : his request being granted, he put in no more than eleven of those names, and reserved that of Christ in his hand. The ape hereupon was ordered to put in his paw again ; which he did, and drew it forth empty two or three times successively.

(H) *Roe* says, he was bred up without any religion, was never circumcised, and in short an atheist. that he made a religion of his own out of all others ; and went farther than his father *Akbar*, in assuming to be a greater prophet than *Mohammed*.

(I) As *Mohammed* and *Ali* for the *Musulmans* ; *Brama*, *Braman*, *Ram*, and *Permissar*, for the *Hindûs*, or *Indians* ; *Zerdûst* for the *Parsis* ; *Moses* for the *Jews*, and *Christ* for the *Christians* ; with three others, whose names did not come to our author's knowledge.

4. *Khân*
Jehân
Ghîr.

The king demanding a reason for this, was answered, that haply the thing which he looked for was not there. The animal was then bid to search for it; when drawing out the eleven scrolls, one after the other, he, in a seeming indignation, tore them; after which, running up to *Mohabet Khân*, he caught that lord by the hand, in which the name of *Christ* was concealed: and the scroll being thereupon delivered to him, he opened and held it up before the king, without renting it, as he had done the others. Upon this, *Jehân Ghîr* kept the animal, calling it *the divining ape*, and gave the owner a pension on the occasion. This relation our author had from persons, who, though strangers to one another, as well as of different religions, yet all agreed in the several circumstances of it.

Jesuit's
impostor :

A LITTLE before the year 1616, the Jesuits house at *Agra* having been burned, among others, it was pretended by one of them, named *Francisco Corfi*, who resided there, that his wooden cross, set on a pole near the side of his house, was not consumed. Upon this, he carried the cross to court, and reported the wonder to the king. Prince *Khûrm*, who was present, and no favourer of the Christians, deriding the Jesuit, said it was one of his fabulous miracles; and proposed to put it to the trial, by throwing the cross into the fire, with this condition, that if it did not burn, he, the king, and all the persons present, would turn Christians; but, in case it did, that the Jesuit should be burned with it. *Corfi*, not caring to put the matter to such a precarious issue, alleged, "that such an experiment would be to tempt God: "that possibly the Deity never designed the persons present "the infinite favour to make them Christians; or, if he "did, the time of manifesting it might not be come: that, "as in this case, God might not shew a farther miracle (or "grant that which was required) his religion might suffer "prejudice (K) thereby for ever after."

and pre-
tended con-
versions.

OUR author observes, that, although the Jesuits had liberty in those days to make converts in the *Mogol's* empire, and sent advice into *Europe* of mighty doings that way; yet that, in reality, they had baptised but a very few, and those only such as became profelytes to relieve their necessities.

* *TERRY's Voy. to Ind.* sect. 25, & 30. *ROE ap. Churchill's Collect. Trav.* vol. i. p. 731, & seqq.

(K) A very good reason, but it must be presumed God would not to the advantage of his religion; which, if from God, secure from harm.

JEHAN

JEHAN Ghîr had three sons and two daughters (L); 5. *Khân* 1. *Soltâna Nissa Begum*, or the lady-queen of women, born in 1586; 2. *Soltân Khoşro* (or *Khoşraw*), born in 1587; he died in 1622, and was father to *Soltân Davr Bukhsh*, or *Bolaki*. These two children were by the daughter of *Râjah Ravandas*, who poisoned herself in 1601; because the emperor did not take as much notice of her son, as he did of *Soltân Khârm*. 3. *Soltân Parvez* (*Parvêis*, or *Parweys*), that is, the victorious; he was born in 1589; his mother was the daughter of *Khojah Hassan*. 4. *Bahâr Banâ Begum*, or the lady blooming princefs, by the daughter of *Râjah Kessudas Rattor*, in 1590. 5. *Soltân Khârm*, or the joyful prince, by the daughter of *Râjah Oudejung*, in 1692; who afterwards succeeded his father, and took the name of *Shâh Jehân*.

Shâh Jehân.
Jehan Ghir's children.

JEHAN Ghîr had also *Soltân Jehân Dâr*, or the possessor of the world; and *Soltân Shehriyâr*, that is, the friend of the city; twins by a concubine, born in 1605. As this last was married to the daughter of *Nûr Jehân*, by her first husband *Shîr Afkân Khân*, she endeavoured to secure the empire to him; but without success, as we shall see presently.

C H A P. VII.

The Reign of Shâh Jehân.

S E C T. I.

From his ascending the Throne, to the civil War among his Sons.

AS soon as the breath was out of *Jehân Ghîr*'s body, *Nâr Soltân Jehân*, the widow-queen, sent her son-in-law *Shebriar Bolaki* before towards *Lahûr*, in order to ascend the throne, and did her utmost endeavours to gain the army to her party: but *Affos Khân*, joined by *Koja Abdol Hassan*, *Eradet Khân*, and other Omras, opposed his sister's design, and confined her. At the same time, to prevent tumults arising on account of

* FRASER, ubi supr. p. 21.

(L) *Terry*, sect. 28. says he had five sons and one daughter, whose names and their significations he mistakes: 1. *Soltân Kûbsurrâ*, the prince with the good face, to express his beauty: 2. *Soltân Perum*, or prince of the Pleiades; for *Parveis*: 3. *Soltân Karûm*, or prince of bounty: 4. *Soltân Shabar*, or the prince of fame: 5. *Soltân Tâkt*, or the prince of the throne, as born on his father's ascending the throne. This must be *Soltân Jehân Dâr*.

the

g. Khān
Shāh Je-
hān.

the interregnum, they, to blind the people, placed the crown on the head of the young Soltān *Bolakhi* (A); who suffered this ceremony to be performed much against his will. In the interim, letters were dispatched in haste to Shāh *Jehān*, in which they assigned reasons for what they had done, and intreated him to come with all expedition, and assume the throne. After which, they took measures for bringing to order Soltān *Shahriyār*; who, without the queen's assistance, could do nothing himself.

Shahriar
usurps the
throne.

THE prince, though 600 Indian miles distant, received these letters in six days time; upon the reception of which, being encouraged by *Mohabet Khān*, he set out with 7000 horse; and, by the way of *Surāt* and *Kāmbaya*, arrived at *Ahmed abād*; where *Saffi Khān*, the prince's enemy, was governor: but, as he then lay sick in bed, *Naarha Khān*, and the other Omrās, immediately deserted to Shāh *Jehān*. Mean while, *Affof Khān*, with king *Bolakhi*, proceeded to *Labār*; and *Shahriyār*, who had usurped the kingdom, being deprived of the queen's help, in a few days, distributed the treasures, both of the king and the Omrās, amounting to ninety lak of rupees, among the soldiers, in order to secure them to his interest. But all this did not avail: for, on the approach of *Affof Khān*, with an army, *Shīr Kōja* and *Amīr Btk*, his principal generals, whom he had sent before with 20,000 horse, basely deserted him. Upon this he fled to *Labār*, and fortified that city: but *Affof Khān* coming up with a greater force, the castle was taken, and *Shahriyār*, falling into the hands of the king's troops, was deprived of sight by means of poison.

Khurm
destroys
her.

MEAN time, Shāh *Jehān* proceeded on his journey; and, being joined by all the Rājahs, governors of provinces, and generals, his forces increased at length to 30,000. In the kingdom of *Nagor*, the most potent Rājah *Kessing* came to him of his own accord; as did Khān *Azem*, near *Azmīr*: and not far from *Agra* he was met by the Rājah *Jessing*, *Man-sing*, and *Zitterzing*, with several great lords. These happy omens seemed to secure the crown to him without dispute: but still despairing to possess the kingdom in peace long, as

(A) *Herbert* says, this was done at *Dehli*; that prince being then thirteen years of age. According to *Frazer*, Shāh *Jehān* being then at a great distance, and the three young princes, his sons, *Dara Shikōrah*, Soltan *Sujab*,

and *Aurang Zib*, in the hands of *Nūr Jehān*; *Afif Khān* and *Eradet Khān*, to disconcert her scheme, and protract the time till Shāh *Jehān* arrived, proclaimed Soltan *Daur Bukhsh*, or *Bolakhi*.

Shahriyār.

Shahriyâr, *Bolakhi*, and his uncle's sons (B) were alive, he sent *Râjah Bahâdr* (C) to *Lahûr*, with a cruel order to put those princes secretly to death. In eight days he got to that city by post; and the unhappy victims being delivered up to him by *Affof Khân*, he strangled them all by night, and buried them in a garden near the deceased king (D). *Shâh Jehân* being arrived at *Agra*, he repaired to a palace which he had built in a delightful place on the side of the *Jemna*; where he remained till the lucky day was come, on which he was to enter the castle, and sit in the royal throne; at which time he was saluted by the grandees by the name of *Soltân Shahâbo'd-dîn Mohammed* (E), and crowned with great magnificence.

FIFTY days after the coronation, came *Affof Khân*, with the dowager queen and her daughters; likewise all the rest of the late king's women, together with *Sadok Khân*, *Eradet Khân*, and *Mîr Gomley*, and delivers the royal treasures to *Shâh Jehân*; who, on the other hand, confers on *Affof Khân* the whole authority under himself, and loaded him with honours. But, while the king imagined he had surmounted all difficulties, and had firmly established his throne by the death of the innocent princes, new troubles arose in several parts of the realm; which made him very uneasy. For the *Uzbeks* broke into the province of *Kâbul*, with numerous forces. *Sheuf Almûk* endeavoured to keep the kingdom of *Tâtta* for himself: *Râjah Youk*, taking up arms, had the boldness to infest all *Hindûstân*, and the road leading to *Brâmpûr*, with his robberies: lastly, two counterfeit *Bolakhis* gave him no small vexation. So that the new king was obliged to assemble all his forces, augment them considerably, and sent bodies of troops into various parts of his dominions. In this state things continued till the end of the year 1628 b.

b DE LAET's *India Vera*, p. 288, & seq. HERBERT's *Voy*, p. 106, & seq.

(B) These were the three sons of Soltan *Daniel* (brother to *Jebân Gbir*) named *Gurstaft*, *Teyomars* (perhaps rather *Keyomars*) and *Hoyshang* (or *Hûshang*). *Frazer*.

(C) *Herbert* calls him *Bandor*.

(D) *Herbert* says, he was interred at *Sekander*, three kos from *Agra*. *Tavernier* relates these matters differently.

(E) *Shahâbo'ddîn* signifies the bright star of religion, as *Shâh Jehân* imports king of the world. He was born on Wednesday, the fifth of January, 1592, and sat on the throne in *Agrâ*, the first of February, 1628, being then 36 solar years and 28 days old; *Frazer's Hist. of Nadir Shâh*, p. 24.

ALTHOUGH

5. Khân
Shâh Je-
hân.

Peace re-
stored.

The Por-
tugueses
attacked.

Hughli
taken from
them.

ALTHOUGH the empire of *Hindûstân* was in the most flourishing condition that ever it had been, when Shâh *Jehân* ascended the throne; yet, by the distractions which ensued, it might have become a prey to its neighbours, in case it had been attacked. But *Persia*, on the west, was at that time governed by a weak, indolent prince. The *Uzbek Tatars*, to the north, were too much divided among themselves, to give the *Mogols* any disturbance: nor had they any thing to fear from the *Indian* princes, on the east; who, besides being separated by vast mountains and deserts, had neither power enough, nor genius, for war. It was this situation of the bordering kingdoms, which secured Shâh *Jehân* against invasions from without, and gave him an opportunity to suppress the troubles, which threatened his dominions from within.

As soon as the affairs of his empire were returned to a settled state, he resolved to make war against the *Portugueses*, who, before his reign, had been very formidable in the *Indies*; but of late were become contemptible, by the losses they had received from the growing powers of the *English* and *Dutch*. His chief motive to this war was the *Portugueses* refusing to assist him (F) in the time of his rebellion against his father; which gave him such a hatred to Christianity, whereto he was no friend before, that he made a vow to root it out. This prince, after the loss of a battle, being retired to a fortified place, some leagues from *Dâka*, *Michael Rodriguez*, who commanded the *Portuguese* troops at *Ougli* (or *Hughli*), made a visit to the Soltân, and endeavoured to comfort him under his affliction. Hereupon Shâh *Jehân* requested his assistance, with soldiers and artillery; promising, that if ever he ascended the throne, he would reward the services received from his nation. *Rodriguez*, instead of granting him the aid demanded, had the boldness to tell him, "that he should be ashamed to serve a rebel: and that to take up arms against his father, was taking up arms against God himself." The *Portuguese* commander did what was still more provoking; for he joined the party of Soltân *Parweis*; and the victories, which this prince obtained over his brother, were in no small degree owing to the *Portuguese* infantry, who fought under his orders.

It is said, that the Soltâna *Tâje-Mâhl* (G), wife of Shâh Je-

(F) *Bernier* says, the reason was their conniving at the *Portuguese* pirates of *Rakan*, and buying his subjects from them for slaves. Tom. ii. p. 125.

(G) *Manouchi*, or his editor, writes *Taige Mahal*. He likewise calls this monarch, corruptly, Shâh *Jaham*; writes *Cham*, or *Kham*, for *Khân*, and the like.

hân,

hân, helped much to incense him against the Christians in general, and the *Portugueses* in particular. She not only inherited her aversion to Christianity from her aunt *Nûr Jehân*, but was greatly exasperated against the *Portugueses*, for having given a retreat to two of her daughters, who had been converted by the missionaries to the *Romish* faith. The emperor, pushed on by the hatred of his queen, and his former oath, ordered *Kassim Khân* to lay siege to *Ougli*. That general, being arrived before the place, threatened to raze it to the ground, unless *Rodriguez* would pay him the sum which he demanded. The *Portuguese* commander, being in no condition to hold out against all the forces of the empire, which were sent against him, submitted at last to the *Mogol* general's demand, tho' much against his will; and, could he have foreseen what was to happen, would doubtless never have complied with the proposal: for *Kassim Khân* had no sooner received the money, than, instead of drawing off, he laid close siege to the town (H), and battered it furiously with his artillery; which is the principal force used in taking places in *Hindûstân*. The *Portugueses* made but an indifferent defence, and when they saw a breach opened in their walls, the fear of an assault obliged them to surrender at discretion. About five or six hundred of them were sent to *Agra*; among whom were some Jesuits and *Augustine* friars.

5. *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

OUR author takes it for granted, that this disaster was a *Their* judgment of heaven on the colony of *Ougli* for the sins of the *Portugueses*. Unluckily for them, the *Ganges*, which is scarce ever dry, had at that juncture so little water, that the barks which they had on the river, and might have secured their retreat, could not get out of port. Being arrived at *Agra*, several of them turned *Mohammedans* to preserve their lives; while others suffered death rather than renounce their faith (I). Not one of them had been left alive, if *Tâje Máhl* had not deceased before their arrival at that capital: for she

(H) *Bernier* owns, that the *Mogol* got from them all the money he could; but that the reason why *Ougli* was besieged, was the *Portugueses* being indiscreetly obstinate, in refusing what was demanded of them: but he does not mention what that demand was. Tom. ii. p. 125.

(I) *Bernier* mentions nothing of these martyrdoms. He says,

the handsome women were shut up in the harâm; and that the old women and others were distributed among the *Omrâs*: that the young lads were circumcised, and made pages; while most of the men renounced their faith, through the terror of threats to be thrown to elephants, or the allurements of promises. Tom. ii. p. 125, & seq.

had

5. *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

Jehan
Abad
built.

Shâh Je-
han's de-
bauchery:

had made a vow, that they should all be cut to pieces. No-body lamented her loss but Shâh *Jehân* himself; who owed the throne to her artifices and credit. In return for that benefit, he built her a sepulchre; which nothing in the *Indies* can equal for magnificence. The missionaries, after many fruitless attempts to make them renounce their religion (K), were released and sent to *Goa*, through the intercession of an *Armenian* and a *Venetian*; who were in great favour with Shâh *Jehân* ^c.

AKBAR had removed the court from *Dehli* to *Agra*, and *Jehân Ghîr* from *Agra* to *Lahûr*: but Shâh *Jehân* brought it back again from *Lahûr* to *Dehli* (L), and restored this ancient capital to its first lustre; building at a vast expence a new city, which he called *Shâh Jehân Abâd*, or the city of Shâh *Jehân*, and to which the old one serves as a suburbs. His principal care was employed about making two gardens in his palace; in which incredible sums were expended (M): and in this delicious place it was, that he forgot the warlike inclinations which possessed him in his youth, to give himself up intirely to pleasure; which had its continual round in musick and dancing, plays and entertainments. No person had a greater share in his graces, than a poet, who invented new feasts and diversions; for the emperor and his harâm delighted most in buffoon farces. Sometimes he pleased his eyes with the cruel sight of gladiators, who fought before him; and certain days of the week were set apart for the chace.

BUT Shâh *Jehân*'s principal pleasure was that of women; which he carried to a much greater height than any of his predecessors. Not content with a multitude of queens, concubines, and slaves; which are the three different classes of

^c *MENOUCHI's Hist. Gen. Emp. Mog. par Catrou, p. 214, & seqq. BERNIER's Mem. Emp. Mog. part ii. p. 125.*

(K) *Bernier* reckons the friers among those who renounced their faith; saying, indeed, that some of them persisted in it: and that the missionaries of *Agrâ*, who still remained in their houses, found means to get them conveyed away. *Tom. ii. p. 126.*

(L) This was on the 29th of *March*, 1647, being the 20th of his reign. *Frazer's Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 24.* So little do we find

in *European* authors relating to this prince, either before or after this remove, for ten years more; that is, till the time of the rebellion of his sons.

(M) The castle and palace which he built at *Dehli*, or *Shâh Jehân abâd*, with the gardens and other conveniencies on the banks of the river *Chun* (or *Jem. na*) cost above 50 laks of rupees, or 625,000 pounds. *Frazer, ubi supr. p. 25.*

women in the harâm, he took away the wives of the principal officers of his court. Those of *Jaffer Khân* and *Khalîl Khân* gave great scandal to the whole empire. They went every day to the palacé, contrary to the custom of the ladies in that country, one of them in the morning, the other in the afternoon; which gave occasion to the *Fakirs*, who always croud the entrance of the palace, to make the severest reflections. Shâh *Jehân*'s love for women made him lavish in his expences upon them, and magnificent in his apartments. It is reported, that he presented *Khalîl Khân*'s lady with a pair of slippers, whose value was scarce to be estimated. From thence afterwards he took occasion to pass a jest on her husband in a public assembly; but it is said that jest cost him dear, and caused *Khalîl* to desert afterwards to *Aureng Zib*.

5. *Khân*
Shâh *Je-*
hân.

THE famous gallery, which has been talked of so much in *Europe* for its immense riches, had its rise from the same vein of gallantry. This magnificent apartment was said to have been designed for a female dancer, sprung from the dregs of the people, and of no extraordinary accomplishments. But, however addicted to pleasure, Shâh *Jehân* never neglected to administer justice, with an exactness and care surpassing all his predecessors. He was, as it were, the *Solomon* of the *Mogols*; and they relate decisions of his, pronounced with so much wisdom, that the memory of them will never be lost in the *Indies*. He never pardoned corrupt judges, and took more than ordinary care to clear his dominions of robbers. Before his reign, the roads were so infested with them, that trade was greatly interrupted. The method which he took to deliver the empire from that plague, was to make the officers of justice responsible for all the robberies which were committed within their respective districts. Thus the warehouse of the *Dutch*, at *Surât*, having been broken open in the night, he obliged the governor to pay them the full value of the goods, which they had lost.

and excel-
lent go-
vernment.

THE justice which Shâh *Jehân* rendered to his people, *A gallant* somewhat lessened the contempt in which voluptuous indolent princes are usually held. However, they sometimes lost their respect for him. An *Omrâ* of his army having presumed to sit in his presence, contrary to the custom of the empire, the king deprived him of his employments. Next day the disgraced officer appeared in the hall of audience with the same confidence as he had done the day before. Then sitting down in Shâh *Jehân*'s presence, "Now, my lord," says he, "since I am no longer in your pay, I may use that freedom which belongs to every man who is independent." The emperor, far from being offended at the liberty which the *Omrâ* took.

Omrâ.

5. *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

took, praised his resolution ; and, restoring him to his posts, augmented his appointments. As this facility in the emperor to pardon often occasioned the courtiers to speak to him with too much freedom, so his faults at length drew on him the contempt of the people, and caused his own sons to rebel against him.

*Presump-
tuous Râ-
jah.*

THERE is a remarkable instance of want of respect to him, in one of the Râjah, or *Indian* princes, who, with their troops, mount the guard before the palace, every week in their turn. This Râjah, named *Amarfin*, having neglected to be upon duty on the day he was to serve, at length, by the persuasion of his friends, repaired to his post. Hereupon one of the secretaries of state reproached him, in the emperor's presence, for making slight of the service : which the Râjah taking as a great affront, he drew his poniard, and stabbed the minister to the heart, so near to Shâh *Jehân*, that his cloaths were stained with the blood. As so great a piece of insolence could not go unpunished, *Amarfin* was pierced with a thousand wounds : but his Râjapûts, with impunity, revenged their master's death, by putting to the sword all the people, whom they met-with about the palace and in the city ^d.

*Villainy of
astrolo-
gers :*

THE weakness of the government gave occasion to other Râjahs to act at pleasure. *Champet*, one of the most daring and powerful among them, refused to pay the tribute. As an example of this kind would prove, if followed, of the most dangerous consequence, it was advised by the astrologers, without whose opinion nothing is done at court, that Shâh *Jehân* himself should take the field against the rebel ; and, the more strongly to oblige him to pursue their counsel, declared, that, during such a month, the residence at *Debli* would prove fatal to the person who there held the first rank. The credulous emperor, to avoid this prediction, departed from the city with an army, and left the *Kutwâl* governor in his absence. *Sadul Khân*, who commanded the *Mogol* troops under his majesty, marched towards the territories of *Champet* ; who advanced to meet the enemy. The general, whom the emperor's presence had rendered somewhat fearful, perceiving the Râjah advantageously posted, judged it better to dislodge him by fraud, than attempt it by force. Pursuant to this resolution, he, by a messenger, not only promised him pardon for his offence, but also to augment his governments, provided he would retire out of the territories of his sovereign. *Champet*, confiding in the general's word, retired accordingly : but had no sooner quitted his post, than he found the *Mogols*

*to verify
predic-
tions.*

^d MENOUCI, ubi supr. p. 218, & seqq.

at his heels; and he must inevitably have been cut to pieces, with all his forces, if the impenetrable forests and craggy mountains had not protected him from the perfidy of the emperor. Shâh *Jehân* returned to *Dehli*, covered with shame, for having violated his faith, without gaining his point against the Râjah; who, as soon as the enemy had turned their backs, took the field anew, and pillaged the lands of the empire without opposition. However, he was pleased to think, that the expedition had preserved his life: for he found the Kut-wâl dead, whom he had left in his stead; the astrologers, to verify their prediction, having procured his physician to poison him; and by this piece of villainy established themselves more than ever in the favour of Shâh *Jehân*.

WHEN this prince grew old, his passions changed with his age, and avarice succeeded to prodigality, which surpassed all his other vices: for as soon as his officers, both civil and military, were grown rich by oppressing the people, he stripped them of their ill-gotten wealth, and enriched himself by the spoil. The better to secure the immense treasures, which he had hoarded up, he caused two large subterraneous vaults, supported by marble pillars, to be made under his palace; in one of which he kept his gold, and in the other his silver. Likewise, to prevent those precious metals from being carried away, he had them formed into huge wedges, of a bulk unfit to serve in commerce. Shâh *Jehân* spent great part of the day in these caverns, to feed his eyes with the sight of that prodigious heap of riches, under pretence of the cool which the place afforded. His covetousness became so great, that, to save the expence of maintaining his sons at court, suitable to their dignity, he gave them (N) governments to live on, without any appointments, but what they could draw from the people: and thus ran into the same error in politics, which had given so much inquietude to *Jehân Ghîr*: who, by bestowing distant provinces on his children, during his lifetime, put it in their power to rebel against him; and altho' Shâh *Jehân's* own conduct had verified this truth, yet avarice hindered him from taking warning by his father's indiscretion.

* *MENOUCHI*, ubi supr. p. 227, & seqq.

(N) So *Menouchi*; but *Bernier* says, he did this against his judgment; fearing, as they were all grown up, married, and making parties to secure the crown, that if he kept them still at court, they would cut one another's throats before his eyes.

5 *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

*his chil-
dren.*

Dara She-
kowh.

Saltân
Sûjah.

Aureng
Zib.

SHAH *Jehân* never had more than twelve children (O) by all his wives : for the *Mogols* make no scruple to prevent pro-lifickness in their women. Of these only four sons and two daughters grew to the estate of men and women. In regard all the intrigues of the court, and civil wars, which troubled the reign of this monarch, concern those princes and prin-cesses, as the true sources from whence they sprung, it will be proper to give our readers some account of each.

TRE eldest son was named *Dara Shekowh*, that is, *in pomp like Darius*. This prince was gallant in conversation, witty in repartees, exceeding civil and liberal ; but had so good an opinion of himself, that he thought nobody capable to give him counsel, and those, who offered to advise him, were sure to be treated with injurious language. He was besides easily fired, and in his passion would threaten and affront the great-est *Omrâs*. It is true, all passed over like a flash of lightening : but those insults generally leave stings behind, which are never to be drawn out. He pretended in private to fa-vour every kind of religion, in order to gain the professors to his interest ; particularly that of the *Indians*, to several of whose *Brâmmans* he gave considerable pensions ; which proved fatal to him in the end.

SOLTAN *Sujâh*, the second son, was much of his brother *Dara's* humour ; but more reserved in his conduct, and dex-terous in managing his affairs. He made friends under-hand by means of presents ; which he heaped on the principal *Omrâs* and *Râjahs* : but too much indulged his pleasures with women, among whom he spent whole days and nights in feasting ; which cooled the affection of many towards him. As the *Persians*, or their children, had the greatest power at the *Mogol's* court, and held the most important places, he, to gain them to his party, declared himself of the *Shiyâh* sect.

AURENG *Zib* had not the gallantry and surprising pre-sence of *Dara* ; for he appeared serious and melancholy : but was more judicious, and understood the world much better. To take off any suspicion of his aiming at the throne, he for a long time made profession to be a *Fakîr*, a kind of religious mendicant ; yet all this while he was making a party at court, but with such art and secrecy, that it could hardly be per-ceived. He had the address also to gain the affections and esteem of Shâh *Jehân*, who could not conceal it, and judged him capable of reigning. This gave no small jealousy to *Dara*,

(O) *Menouchi* says but seven ; because only seven were living other authors speak of no more, when the wars began.

who

who could not forbear saying sometimes ; *Of all my brothers, I fear none but this Namazi*, that is, *this bigot, this great praying man.* 5 Khân Shâh Jehân.

MORAD Bukhsh, or Bokhsh, that is, *the giver of desires, or wishes*, was the youngest and least judicious of the four brothers. He cared for nothing but mirth and pastime ; to drink, hunt, and shoot : yet he had some good qualities. He was very civil and liberal. He despised cabals ; glorying in it, that he kept nothing secret ; and boasting openly, that he trusted in nothing but his arm and his sword. In short, he was very brave ; and, had this bravery been accompanied with some share of conduct, he would have ascended the throne^f. Morad Bukhsh.

THE name of Shâh Jehân's two daughters were *Jehân Ara Begûm*, and *Royshn Rây Begûm*. *Jehân Ara Begûm*, or *the princess ornament of the world*, is the same who is called, by *Bernier*, and other *European* authors, *Begûm Sahib*. She was very beautiful, as well as a great wit ; and so passionately beloved by her father, that it was rumoured he was intimate with her ; and pleaded in excuse a decision of the *Mohammedan* doctors, that *a man might eat of the fruit of the tree, which he had planted*. But if this had been so, it is not likely that he would suffer a musician of the palace to be her favourite, wink at their meetings, and load him with benefits. However that be, her father placed great confidence in her, gave her charge to watch over his safety, and was swayed by her in the most weighty affairs. As she had great pensions, and received large presents from all quarters, so she was of a generous disposition. This princess always espoused the interest of her brother *Dara* ; which inclination to serve him was kept up by a promise which he had made, to marry her as soon as ever he came to the crown. Jehân Ara Begûm :

BUT neither this promise, nor her gallant within the palace, could restrain her inclinations from rambling abroad. It is said, that, having found means to introduce a handsome young man, of no great quality, into her apartment ; yet, as it was very difficult to conceal this from so many watchful and jealous eyes, the matter came to the ears of Shâh Jehân ; who resolved to surprise her, under pretence of a visit. The princess, seeing her father come so unexpectedly, had no more time than to hide the unfortunate gallant in one of the great caldrons made to bathe in. The emperor, who suspected it, after entertaining her for a pretty while, as he used ber gallantry.

^f FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 28, & seqq. BERNIER, ubi supr. part i. p. 10, & seq.

5 Khān
Shāh Je-
hān.

to do, at length began to find fault with her dishabille, and told her she ought to bathe oftener. At the same time, he, with a countenance somewhat stern, ordered a fire to be made under the caldron; nor would leave the place till the eunuch had brought him word that the unhappy lover was dispatched.

Another
instance.

SOME time after she took other measures, and chose for her steward *Nāzer Khān*, a young *Persian* lord, one of the handsomest and most accomplished Omrās in the whole court, of which he was the darling; inasmuch, that *Shāh Hest Khān*, *Aureng Zib's* uncle, proposed marrying him to the princess: but *Shāh Jehān* took that proposal very ill; and soon after, being informed of the intrigues carried on between that nobleman and his daughter, resolved to get rid of *Nāzer Khān*. This resolution he put in execution a few days after, by means of *betel* (P), which he gave him, by way of doing him honour. The young lord, little imagining that he had taken poison, left the assembly very jocund: but the drug was so strong, that he died in his paleki, before he reached his own house.

Royshan
rāy Be-
gum.

ROYSHAN RAY, or *Rusbn rāy Begum*; that is, *the princess of an enlightened mind*; called by our writers, *Raveherre-ra*, and *Rosbenara Begum* (Q); tho' she was not so beautiful and witty as *Begum Saheb*; yet she was handsome enough, as well as lively, and hated pleasure no more than her sister. As she was strongly attached to the interest of *Aureng Zib*, she was of course an enemy to *Dara*, and *Begum Saheb*. This was the reason that she had no great riches, nor any considerable share in the affairs of state. However, as she was in the haram, and wanted no spies, she could not but discover many important matters; of which she gave intelligence to her favourite brother^f.

^f BERNIER, ubi sup. part 1. p. 20. & seqq. *MENOUCHI*, p. 230.

(P) A regale given at visits to chew.

(Q) *Bernier* writes *Raveherre-ra*, if there be not some mistake in the printing, and *Menouchi Raxanara*, the x being used for the *English* sh. She was indeed the fifth of *Shāh Jehān's* children, but not younger than *Aureng Zib*, as *Menouchi* makes her. This au-

thor speaks also of a third, and youngest daughter, at the time of the rebellion, called *Mernisa Begum*. This seems to be the same with *Hūro'l Nissa Begum*, or the *princess most angelic of women*: but she was the eldest of all *Shāh Jehān's* children, and died some years before.

S H A H

SHAH *Jehân*, having determined, as before observed, ⁵ *Khân* to remove his sons at a distance from court, and one another, sent *Soltân Sujâh* viceroy into *Bengâl*; *Aureng Zib* into *Dekân*; and *Morâd Bukhsh* to *Guzerât*; giving to *Dara* the kingdoms of *Kâbul* and *Multân*. This last, being the eldest, and designed for the throne, stirred not from court; where he was permitted by his father to issue out orders, and sit on a sort of throne, a little lower than his; so that it seemed as if there were two kings in the realm. For all this great indulgence shewed to *Dara*, and the extraordinary submission paid by that prince, yet *Shâh Jehân* still harboured some diffidence; fearing, above all things, the *Morsel*: and as he thought *Aureng Zib* more fit for reigning, it was said that he always held a secret correspondence with him.⁶

Princes
provided
for.

AN account has been elsewhere given^h of the attempt made *Amîr* by *Aureng Zib* to surprise the king of *Golkonda*, by means *Jemla* of his general *Amîr Jemla*, who, to avoid the king's displeasure, had revolted from him; and of the peace, which was at last concluded between the two states; supposed to have been brought about by the intrigues of *Dara*, and *Begum Sahib*; from the apprehension, that, if *Aureng Zib* should conquer *Golkonda*, he would become too powerful. Pursuant to this peace, *Amîr Jemla* withdrew, with all his family, his effects, troops and artillery, marching with the prince towards *Dekân*. In the way they took *Bider* (or *Bedder*) one of the strongest fortresses in all *Viziapûr*; and, on their arrival at *Dawlet abad*, contracted so intimate a friendship, that they could not live a day without seeing one another twice. This union began to give a new face to affairs in all those parts of *India*; and laid the first foundations of the sovereignty of *Aureng Zib*.

AMIR JEMLA, who had the art to get himself called *foments a* often to court, always went with rich presents; and still *war* urged *Shâh Jehân* to make war against the kings of *Golkonda*, *Viziapûr*, and the *Portugueses*. To allure him the more effectually to take his advice, he presented him with that great diamond found in the *Golkonda* mines; which is esteemed matchless. The emperor, whether dazzled with the precious stones, or to have an army in the field, to be a check, as some thought, on *Dara*, listened to the counsel: for he observed this prince active to make himself potent, and to have ill-treated several of the prime *Omras*, because they did not approve of his measures; particularly the *Wazir Sado'llah Khân*, whom he caused to be poisoned, to the great affliction of *Shâh Jehân*, who passion-

⁶ *BERNIER*, p. 29, & seq. ^h See hereafter, book x. ch. 4. sect. 2.

5 *Khân*
Shah Je-
hân.

invades
Dekân.

ately loved him, and considered as the greatest statesman the *Indies* had ever produced. This Wazir being very powerful, *Dara* saw that he was in a condition to be arbitrator of the empire, in case his father should decease. Besides, being an *Indian*, some envious of his greatness, insinuated to the prince, that he entertained numerous troops of *Pâtans*, in divers places, with a design to make himself, or his son, king; at least to expel the *Moguls*, and restore the *Pâtans*.

DARA did all he could to hinder the sending an army to *Dekân*, as he saw it was to give strength to *Aureng Zib*: but when he found he could not prevail, he at length consented, on condition that his brother should remain at *Dawlat Abâd*; and *Amîr Jemla*, prosecuting the war by himself, should leave his family at court, as a pledge of his fidelity; which condition, at length, that general agreed to, on the emperor's promising, in a little time, to send to him his wife and children. Accordingly he set forward from *Agra*, with a very gallant army; and entering *Vizianpûr*, without stopping, besieged a strong place, called *Kaliân*¹.

S E C T. II.

Account of the Civil Wars, till Shâh Jehân's Deposition.

Shâh Je-
hân falls
sick.

THE affairs of *Hindustân* were in this situation, when *Shâh Jehân* fell dangerously ill (A). This prince, who, though past seventy years of age, was much addicted to venereal pleasures, took so strong a potion to invigorate nature, that it brought on a suppression of urine, which had like to have killed him. All the empire was soon alarmed at this news; and all the princes were quickly in motion, raising troops in their several governments, and writing letters to make friends. Some of these falling into the hands of *Dara*, he shewed them to the king, in order to incense him against his brothers: but *Shâh Jehân*, more afraid of the accuser than the accused, only took care to guard against them; and, 'tis said, even wrote to *Aureng Zib*; which *Dara* hearing of, resented with menaces.

¹ BERNIER, p. 42, & seqq.

(A) According to the *Indian* authors, as reported by *Frazer*, p. 29. Soltân *Dara Shikowh*, endeavouring to possess himself of the empire, confined his fa-

ther, *Shâh Jehân*, towards the end of the year 1656; which probably was in the time of his sickness: but then he could not be above 64 or 65 at most.

MEAN time Shâh *Jehân* lingering under his distemper, it was reported that he was dead ; which threw the court into great disorder, and caused the shops in *Agra* to be shut up for several days. On this advice, his sons no longer concealed their designs, but made open preparations for war, each in his own defence: well knowing that they had nothing for it, but the throne or death ; and that whoever should be conqueror, would rid himself of all the rest, as their father had before done of his brothers.

SOLTAN *Sujâh*, who had amassed great treasures in *Ben-gâl*, by ruining some Râjahs, and drawing great sums from others, first took the field, with a puissant army ; and, in confidence that all the *Persian* Omrâs were in his interest, boldly marched towards *Agra* ; giving out by the way, that *Dara* had poisoned his father, and he was resolved to revenge his death. Shâh *Jehân*, by *Dara*'s advice, wrote to inform the prince that he was better, and to forbid him to advance : but *Sujâh*, assured by his friends at court that the king's sickness was mortal, ceased not to continue his march ; pretending he knew his father was dead, and that, if alive, he was desirous to kiss his feet.

AURENG ZIB, at the same time, takes the field (B) in *Aureng Dekân* ; and altho' forbidden likewise to proceed, returns the same Answer as *Sujâh* had done. But his forces being small, and his treasury low, he made use of two artifices to put himself in a condition to march. First, he writes to his brother, *Morâd Bukhsb*, in *Guzerât*, a dissembling letter, importing, that as *Dara* was a *Kâfir*, or idolater, *Sujâh* a *Râsezi*, or heretick, and himself a *Fakîr*, there was none who could pretend to the succession, but he, *Morâd* : that therefore, if he would promise only to let him live quietly in some corner of his dominions, when he should come to the empire, there to spend his days in devotion, he would forthwith join him with his troops, and help him to gain the throne : that, in the mean time, he had sent him 100,000 rupees (C) ; and advised him to come, with all speed, to seize on the castle of *Surât*, where the treasure of the country was lodged. *Morâd Bukhsb*, who was neither very rich, nor powerful, was overjoyed at this proposal : and having, by

(B) As soon as *Aureng Zib* had notice that *Dara* had confined his father, he began to make preparations for war, in favour, as he gave out, of *Morâd Bukhsb* ; to whom he wrote from *Aureng abad*, in *Dekân*, to join him at *Eugene* (or *Eujin*), the capital of *Mâlwa*. *Frazer. Hist. Nadir Shâh. p. 29.*

(C) Or 50,000 *l.* a rupee being about half an *English* crown.

5 Khân
Shâh, Je-
hân.

the credit of his brother's letter, soon raised money and men, sent 3000, under the command of *Shâh Abbâs*, a valiant eunuch, to besiege *Surât*.



gains
Amîr
Jemla ;

AURENG ZIB's second contrivance was to draw in *Amîr Jemla*, who was still before *Kaliân*, to join in his measures. With this view, he sends his eldest son, *Soltân Mahmûd*, who had married the king of *Golkonda*'s daughter, to persuade the Amîr to repair to *Dawlet abad* : but *Jemla*, suspecting his errand, told him that he was assured *Shâh Jehân* was alive ; and that, besides, all his family being in the power of *Dara*, he could by no means assist *Aureng Zib*. This prince, not discouraged by the first repulse, sent his second son, *Soltân Maqum*, who backed his father's letter with so much dexterity, that the Amîr, no longer able to resist, pushed the siege of *Kaliân* vigorously ; and, forcing the garrison to surrender, with the choicest of his troops set out for *Dawlet abad*. As soon as he arrived, *Aureng Zib*, complimenting him with the title of *Bâba*, and *Bâba ji, Father*, and *Lord Father*, intreated him not to fail him, at this critical juncture, with his forces and money. To remove the objection about the danger of his family, he proposed putting him under a sham arrest, and confining him in the castle, that *Dara* might think the Amîr had no hand in the plot^a.

sets for-
ward ;

AMIR JEMLA having consented to this stratagem, he was formally arrested, and confined in a chamber. His army, alarmed at the detention of their general, ran to his rescue : but, as the whole was counterfeited, they were soon appeased ; and, by distributing money, back'd with great promises, in case of success, the troops both of the Amîr, and of *Shâh Jehân*, were induced to list under the banner of *Aureng Zib*. This done, the prince marched (D) towards *Surât*, where *Morâd Bukhsb* had met with greater resistance than he expected : but hearing in his march, that the governor had surrendered the place, he sent to congratulate his brother on the occasion ; acquainted him with the affair of *Amîr Jemla* ; and desired him to haste to join his army, which was advancing to *Agra*, by way of *Brâmpûr*.

joined by
Morâd ;

AFTER all, *Morâd Bukhsb* neither found so much treasure as he expected at *Surât*, nor had much reason to boast of taking the place : which, tho' defended with no regular forti-

^a BERNIER, p. 49. & seqq.

(D) *Aureng Zib* set out from *Auring abad* the 4th of Feb. 1658, with 25,000 horse, having sent his son *Soltân Mobammed* (*Berniers's Mahmûd*) before him, on the 24th of January.

fications,

sications, opposed his forces for above a month; and would never have been reduced by him, but for the *Dutch*, who cast the besieged into such a consternation, by blowing up part of the wall with a mine, that they immediately surrendered (E). However, this success, being wholly ascribed to the valour of *Morád Bukhsb*, by the people of those countries, greatly promoted his affairs (F). Yet the eunuch *Sháh Abbás*, a man of good sense, as well as courage, advised him not to confide too much in the specious promises of *Aureng Zib*, nor be too hasty to join him; but rather to fortify *Surát*, which was a very good post, and see what turn things were likely to take, before he proceeded any further. But that prince, blinded with an excessive ambition to reign, and having neither much forces nor treasure, was prevailed on, by his brother's continual letters, and protestations of sincerity, to haste to the place of rendezvous, where he was received with all outward demonstrations of joy and affection.

THE two armies, being thus joined, set forward together; *march to-* and, during the whole march, *Aureng Zib* treated his bro- *towards* ther with the utmost respect; never addressing him, either in *Agra*. public or private, but with the title of *Hazeret*, that is, *King*, and *Majesty*. This behaviour took-off all suspicion from *Morád Bukhsb*, who never reflected on the late expedition against *Golkonda*; and that he, who discovered so much eagerness to conquer a powerful kingdom, was not of a temper to live and die a *Fakír*. The news of this conjunction of the two brothers alarmed not only *Dara*, but *Sháh Jehán* himself, who knew the subtil genius of the one, and courage of the other. It was to no purpose to write to them to turn back, and that he was in a way of recovery. They answered, as *Soltán Sujáh* had done before, on the same occasion; and said the letters were counterfeited by their brother *Dara* ^b.

WHILE *Sháh Jehán* is in the greatest anxiety, to see his *Sujáh de-* children going to destroy one another, without having it in *feared*

^b BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 62, & seqq.

(E) On the 20th of December, 1659, the mine threw down part of the wall; yet the city held out still for above 40 days. *Tavernier Trav. Ind.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 109.

(F) When *Morád*, who was then at *Ahmed abad*, squeezing

money out of the people, heard that *Surát* was taken, he got a throne, and was proclaimed king there of all *Hindústán*, coined money, and appointed governors of cities. *Tavern. Trav. Ind.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 109.

his

5 *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

by Soley-
mân She-
kowh.

his power to prevent it, preparations are made by *Dara*, to oppose the two armies, which were in full march, on different sides, to *Agra*. As that of Soltân *Sujâh* was most advanced, the first care was to detach troops to oppose him. The command of these was given to *Soleymân Shekowh*, eldest son of *Dara*, a prince about twenty-five years of age, handsome, and of good parts, generous, and beloved of all, especially his grandfather, who considered him as his successor, rather than *Dara*. Yet as Shâh *Jehân* was desirous that matters should be accommodated, rather than come to extremity, he gave the young prince, for his companion, an antient Râjah, named *Jesseyn*, with secret orders not to fight, if it was possible to avoid it; and to advise *Sujâh* to retire. but this prince, fearing lest *Aureng Zib* should get possession of the capital before him, and his nephew being urged, by a desire of signalizing himself, there was no possibility of restraining the two armies, which, as soon as they came in fight, towards *Elabâs*, began to cannonade each other. The first onset was very sharp and obstinate on both sides: but at length *Soleymân Shekowh* pressed *Sujâh* with such vigour, that he put his troops into disorder; and at length obliged him to fly. So that if *Jesseyn*, and the *Pâtan Delil Khân*, who followed the Râjahs measures, had seconded the prince, 'twas thought the whole army would have been overthrown, and *Sujâh* himself in danger of being taken: but *Jesseyn* conforming himself to the emperor's orders, the Soltân had time to retreat, leaving behind some of his artillery. As this defeat gave great reputation to *Soleymân Shekowh*, it lessened that of Soltân *Sujâh*, and exceedingly cooled the inclinations of the *Persians* towards him.

Soleymân
turns back.

PRINCE *Soleymân*, who had received advice, that his uncles, *Aureng Zib*, and *Morâd Bukhsb*, were advancing towards *Agra*; well knowing that his father *Dara* had no great stock of prudence, but many secret enemies, after he had pursued Soltân *Sujâh* for a few days, turned back, with a resolution to make what haste he could to the capital. This certainly was the wisest course which could be taken; and could he have gotten thither time enough, in all probability *Aureng Zib* would never have ventured a battle against such very unequal forces as he must then have had to deal with. But *Dara's* bad fortune would not permit things to happen conformably to the wishes of the prince, his son.

Aureng
Zib ad-
vances;

MEAN time, *Aureng Zib* having, to the great surprize of the court, crossed the river of *Brâmpûr*, and all the difficult passages between the mountains, some troops were sent in haste

haste to the river *Eujenes* (G), under the command of *Kâssef* 5 *Khân Khân*, a renowned general, but not much inclined to *Dara*; *Shâh Je-* and *Jessom seyn* (H), a potent Râjah, not inferior to *Jessseyn*, *hân*. and married to the daughter of that Râjah *Râna*, who was so puissant in the time of *Akber*. Before their departure, *Shâh Jehân* gave them the same orders as he had done to *Jessseyn*, when he sent him with *Soleymân Shekowh* against Soltân *Sujâh*; nor did they fail in their march to send several times to *Aureng Zîb*, and *Morâd Bukhsb*, to persuade them to turn back, altho' to no purpose: for the princes detaining the messengers, advanced the faster; and appeared, with their forces, on a rising ground, not far from the river, much sooner than was expected.

As the *Eujenes* was then fordable, it being the time of the great heats, and the army of the confederate princes much fatigued with the march, *Aureng Zîb* play'd upon the enemy with his cannon, to prevent their passing the river; which if they had done, they might easily have routed the tired troops: but they were content, according to their orders, to remain by the river-side, and hinder the other from crossing it. This, however, they could not do; for *Aureng Zîb*, after he had let his army rest for two or three days, commanded them to pass the river, under cover of all his artillery, which began to play. *Kâssef Khân*, and the Râjah, did not fail to answer them with theirs. The combat was obstinately maintained at first by the extraordinary valour of *Jessom seyn*; for *Kâssef Khân*, tho' a famous warrior, gave no great proof of his courage on this occasion. Nay, some accused him of treachery, in having ordered the powder and ball to be buried by night in the sand; for after two or three discharges, there was no more to be found.

For all this, the confederate army was much embarrassed by rocks in the middle of the river, and the high banks

* BERNIER, p. 73, & seqq.

(G) Rather *Eujin*, on which stands the city of that name, the capital of the province of *Malwa*. It may be pronounced *Vjin*, *Oujin*, *Aujin*.

(H) *Frazer* says the two brothers at *Eugene* defeated *Kâssef Khân*, and the *Mâha Râjah Jessvint sung*. *Mâha Râjah* signifies the great prince, in

the *Sanskerrit*, or *Brâhman* language; a title given by the *Mogols* to the Râjahs of *Marwar*, of the *Rattar* family. The capital of their country is *Juhdpûr*, 176 kofs (or 264 miles) distant from *Debli*. The *Rajapûts* of *Marwar* are reckoned the best soldiers in *India*. *Frazer. Hist. Nadir Shâh*, p. 30.

5 *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

Magnani-
mous wo-
men.

Dara en-
raged.

on the other side ; but at length *Morâd Bukhsh* cast himself into the stream, with so much resolution and force, that there was no resisting him. He passed over, and with him a good part of the army, which made *Kâssef Khân* to give back ; and put *Jessam seyn* in great danger of his person : for presently he found the whole body of the enemy upon him ; and but for the extraordinary bravery of his *Râjapûts*, who were almost all killed about him, he must have been a dead man. Out of 8000, or more, not above five or six hundred remained ; insomuch, that he durst not return to *Agra*, after so great a loss. On the other hand, his wife refused to admit him, after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was near the castle, notwithstanding the brave resistance he had made, instead of sending an officer to console him, she ordered the gates to be shut, and not to suffer this infamous man to enter ; adding, “ that he was not her husband ; “ and that she would never see him : that the son-in-law of “ the great *Râna* could not have had so low a soul ; but would “ have imitated the virtue of the illustrious house into which “ he was ingrafted : in a word, would either have van- “ quished or died.” A moment after, she commanded a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself ; saying, “ that they had abused her ; and that *Jessam seyn* must “ needs be dead.” Then returning to her first temper of mind, she fell into a passion, and broke out into a thousand reproaches against him. She continued in the transports for eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband : till, at last, her mother brought her, in some degree, to herself ; assuring her, that as soon as the *Râjah* had a little refreshed himself, he would raise another army, to fight *Aureng Zîb*, and repair his honour at any rate.

WHEN *Dara* was informed of what had happened at *Eugenes*, he fell into such a rage against *Kâssef Khân*, that had he been present, it is thought he would have cut off his head. He was likewise so transported against *Amîr Jemla*, whom he considered as the principal cause of the misfortune ; that had not *Shâh Jehân* pacified him, by representing the improbability of the case, it is thought he would have killed his son *Mohammed Amîr Khân*, or sent his wife and daughter to the market-place of prostituted women. Mean time, the victory swelled the hopes of the two confederate princes to no small degree ; and *Aureng Zîb*, still more to animate his soldiers, bragged openly, that he had 30,000 *Mogols* at his devotion, in *Dara's* army ; and the sequel shewed, that there was some foundation for what he said. The army rested for a few days on the banks of that sweet river ;

river; during which time *Aureng Zib* wrote to all his friends, and tried to get intelligence from the court. After this he marched on towards *Agra*, but slowly, that he might have time to take proper measures at this juncture^d. 5 *Kbân*
Shâh Je-
nân.

SHAH Jehân, perceiving the resolution of the two princes, would fain have prevented the last decisive battle, for which he saw *Dara* was preparing; but knew not how to compass it. As he was in this son's power, he was obliged to commit to him all the forces of the empire, and command all officers to obey him. His army consisted of little less than 100,000 horse, and 20,000 foot, with 4000 pieces of cannon (I); besides an incredible number of servants, victuallers, and other followers of camps, who are often put by historians among the number of combatants. Altho' this army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as *Aureng Zib* had with him, consisting at most of 35,000 or 40,000 men, tired with long marches; yet scarce any body prefaged well for *Dara*, as they knew the chief *Omrâs* had no affection for him; and that the troops, which he could most confide in, were with his son *Soleyman Shekowh*. *His great*
army.

FOR this reason, his friends, and *Shâh Jehân* himself, advised him not to hazard a battle, at least till his son arrived with his troops. What was still more prudent, the emperor offered, infirm as he was, to be carried into the field, to interpose his authority for accommodating matters. This, doubtless, was a very good expedient: for the two princes would never have dared to fight against their father; and if they had, they must have smarted for it: since all the *Omrâs*, as well as foldiers, however averse to *Dara*, had a great affection for the emperor, and would have fought resolutely in his defence. But *Dara* was deaf to all proposals of that nature: as he had the king, the treasure, and, in short, all the power then in his own hands, he was resolved not to give it up, or share it with his brothers (one already defeated, and the other two, in his opinion, not far from ruin) as he must have done in case of an accommodation. *Slight's ad-*
vice.

RESOLVING likewise to have all the glory of this preceived victory to himself, he ordered the army immediately to take the field, without waiting for his son. When he went to take leave of his father, the emperor embraced and blessed *The armies*
meet.

^d BERNIER, p. 85, & seqq.

(I) 'Tis in the original fourscore thousand; perhaps it ought to be but 400.

him;

5 Khân
Shâh Je-
hân.

him; but bid him, if he lost the battle, take heed of ever coming into his presence. This made no impression on *Dara*, who, taking horse, seized the passage of the river *Tehembel**, about twenty miles from *Agra*; where he fortified himself, and expected his enemy: but the subtil *Fakîr*, who knew by his spies that the passage there was very difficult; instead of attempting it, prevails on *Champer*, a rebellious *Rajâh*, mentioned before, to let him pass thro' his territories, to a place where the river was very shallow. Then breaking up his camp in the dark, only leaving some tents to amuse *Dara*, he marched, night and day, thro' the woods and hills, conducted by the *Rajâh* himself, with such expedition, that he was on the other side of the *Tehembel* before *Dara* knew any thing of the matter. This obliged *Dara* to quit all his fortifications, to follow his enemies; who advanced, with great diligence, to gain the river *Jemna*, there to post themselves securely, and expected their brother: in effect, they encamped at *Samongher*, now called *Fateh abad*, or, the place of victory, five miles short of *Agra*. Shortly after, *Dara* arrived, and pitched his tents nigh the bank of the same river, between the capital and the army of his competitors. During the three or four days which were spent without action, Shâh *Jehân* wrote several times to acquaint *Dara* that *Soleymân Shekouw* was near at hand; and advised him to wait his coming: but that prince answered, that, before three days were past, he would bring *Aurang Zib*, and *Morâd Bukhs*, bound hand and foot, to the foot of the throne.

Order of
battle.

IMMEDIATELY after this, he began to draw up his forces in order of battle. He caused all his cannon to be placed in the front, and chained together, to shut the passage to the cavalry. Behind the artillery he ranged light camels, carrying each a small piece, the size of a double musket, with a man behind to manage it; and behind the camels stood the greater part of the musketeers. The rest of the army (consisting of several nations, armed with bows and arrows, swords and half-pikes) were divided into three bodies. The right wing was committed to *Khalîl'ollah Khân*, with 30,000 *Mogols*, under the great *Bakhs* (K), or master of the horse,

* BERNIER, p. 95, & seqq.

(K) This post was given him in place of *Daneşmend Khân*; who not being well affected by *Dara*, because staunch to Shâh *Jehân*, resign'd. He was af-

terwards our author *Bernier's* Aga.

* Rather perhaps *Tchembel*, in *English* characters, *Chembel*.

with

with 30,000 *Mogols* under his command: the left wing ⁵ *Khân* was given to *Rustam Khân Dakni*, a very renowned commander, in conjunction with the *Rajâhs Shatresfal* and *Ramsfeyn* ^{Shâh Jehân.} *Rowtla*. On the other side, *Aureng Zib*, and *Morâd Bukhsb*, ranged their forces in much the same order; only in the midst of the troops of some *Omrâs* certain field-pieces were concealed, according to the method of *Amir Jemla*, and with no bad effect. There were likewise in both armies men placed here and there with *Bans*, a kind of grenado, fastened to a stick, which may be cast a great way thro' the cavalry; whose explosion terrifies the horses, and even kills sometimes. All this cavalry wheel about very easily, and draw their arrows surprisingly quick (L); one archer being able to shoot six, before a musketeer can discharge his piece twice. They likewise keep very close in troops, under their respective officers, especially when going to fight hand to hand. However, our author does not think that this way of drawing up an army is to be compared with the *European* manner, when well executed.

THE signal being given, the artillery began to play, and the arrows to fly thro' the air, when a sudden storm of rain ^{*The fight begins.*} interrupted the combat. As soon as the tempest was over, the cannon began to roar afresh; and then it was that *Dara* appeared: who, mounted on a proud elephant of *Seylân*, commanded the engagement to be general; and advanced himself, in the center of the cavalry, directly towards the enemy's artillery. The confederate forces gave him a very warm reception, killed a great number of men about his person, and put into disorder not only the main body, which he commanded, but also the other bodies of horse which followed him. But as he still kept his ground, without giving back, and made signs with his hands for his troops to advance, the disorder soon ceased, and they began to move forward again: yet they could not reach the enemy, without receiving another volley; which caused a greater disorder than the first. However, the prince still persisting in his resolution, and encouraging his soldiers to stand the brunt, they rallied again; and pressing vigorously forward, without loss of time, forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains, and, entering their camp, routed their camels and infantry.

IN short, *Dara* overthrew every thing which he met with *Aureng* on that side, and opened a passage for the horse, which ^{*Zib's distress.*}

(L) However, our author lost in the air, or broken on the ground, than hit. p. 113.
execution, more of them being

followed

5 *Khadu*
Shâh Je-
hân.

followed him: then it was that the enemy's cavalry facing him, a fierce combat began on both sides, first with arrows, and then with swords. But at length *Dara* pushed his way, with so much vigour, that the enemy, no longer able to withstand him, turned their backs, and fled. *Aureng Zib*, who was not far from them, seeing this great disorder in his troops, without being able to remedy it, caused the main body of his best cavalry to advance, to try if he could make head against his victorious brother: but it was not long before this body also was forced to retreat, in great confusion, in spite of all which *Aureng Zib* could say or do to hinder it. On this occasion the resolution of the prince was seen: for altho' he saw that almost his whole army was in a flying posture, and *Dara*, notwithstanding the roughness of the ground, seemed ready to rush in upon him, when he had scarce 1000 (M) men standing; yet, for all this, he lost no courage, but called to his captains, saying, *Courage, my old friends, God is! What hope is there in flying? God is!* And, to shew he was determined not to stir from the place where he was, ordered chains to be fastened to the feet of his elephant; which would certainly have been done, but that they all declared their resolution to live and die with him^f.

Dara suc-
cessful.

MEAN time *Dara*, tho' still at a good distance, endeavoured to advance upon *Aureng Zib*, in order to encounter him; as the only means to assure him of the victory. But while he was retarded in his march, as well by the difficulty of the way, which was full of holes, as the resistance he met with from those disordered squadrons of the enemy's horse, which covered all the high and low grounds through which he was to pass, he perceived that his left wing was in great disorder. At the same time he was informed, that *Rustam Khân*, and *Shatresale Rajâh*, were killed; that indeed *Ramskyn Rowtla* had forced his way thro' the enemy, but, having advanced too far, was now hemmed in by them, and in great danger. *Dara*, on these bad tidings, changed his design of making towards his brother, that he might go succour his left wing; and this it was which saved *Aureng Zib* from inevitable ruin.

Morâd
Bukhsh's
bravery.

WHEN *Dara* got up with his recoiling troops, he renewed the battle, and, at last, routed those of the enemy; yet not

^f BERNIER, p. 107, & seqq.

(M) Our author was told by some, that there was not half the number.

so totally, but that there still remained something which resisted and stopped him. Mean time, *Ramsfeyn Rowtlé* pushed on so vigorously, that he wounded *Morád Bukhsh*; and came so near, that he began to cut the girdles of his elephant, in order to make him fall down. But the undaunted prince, all wounded as he was (N), and pressed by the *Rajapûts*, who were round about him, knew so well to take his time; that altho', besides defending himself, he was to cover with his shield a son scarce eight years old, sitting by his side, yet he sent an arrow shot so luckily at *Ramsfeyn Rowtlé*, that it made him fall dead to the ground.

DARA soon heard the sad news of this accident: but, *Khalil's* as at the same time, he understood also that *Morád Bukhsh* *treachery.* was in imminent danger, from the *Rajapûts*, who fought with fury to revenge their master's death; he resolved to rush thro' the opposing squadrons, and put an end to the battle on that side, by overpowering with numbers the half-spent prince. But here again his bad fortune interposed, and hindered him to make sure of the victory: for *Khalil'ullah Khân*, who commanded the right wing (which was able alone to have defeated the whole army of *Aureng Zib*), to revenge an affront given him by *Dara* (O), not only stood idle all the while of the battle, under pretence that he had orders not to fight, excepting in the last extremity; but at the time when he saw *Dara* turning to fall on *Morád Bukhsh*, with a few men, rode hastily up towards the former; and cried out, "God save your majesty, you have obtained a victory—come down from your elephant, and take horse; what remains more to be done, than to pursue these runaways?"

DARA, blinded by these flattering words, as if the advice had been true and sincere, descended from his elephant, and took horse. But I know not, faith our author, whether there passed one quarter of an hour before he perceived the *Khân's* treachery. As soon as the army, who always had their eyes on the prince, beheld him no more on his elephant, they imagined he had been slain by some secret enemy about his person; which surmise seized them with such a panic, that, to escape the hands of *Aureng Zib*, they all disband and fly. A sudden and strange revolution! *Aureng Zib*, by holding out firm for one quarter of an hour, upon his elephant, beholds the crown of *Hindûstân* upon his head; and *Dara*, for having come down a little too soon, sees himself hurled from

(N) *Tavernier* says he was shot in his body with five arrows.

(O) It is said by others, to have been given by *Shâh Jehân* himself. See before, p 383

5 Khân
Shâh Je-
hân.

the throne. Thus fortune takes pleasure, adds *Bernier*, to make the gain or loss of a battle, and the decision of a great empire, depend upon nothing &.

~~~~~  
by an over-  
fight.

*AURENG ZIB*, encouraged by this wonderful success, did not fail to improve it by all the art and courage which he was master of. *Khalilullah Khân* is presently with him, offering his service, and troops. The crafty *Fakir* receives him with joy: but, to keep up appearances, carries him to *Morâd Bukhsh*, whom, at the same time, he extols for his valour, ascribing to him all the honour of the victory; and, styling him king, pays him the submission of a subject. Mean while, he labours night and day for himself, writing letters continually, to gain the *Omras*; by which means, and the interest of *Shâh Hesh Khân*, his uncle, the subtlest pen in *Hindûstân*, and an old enemy to *Dara*, for an affront received, his affairs were much advanced.

Flies to  
Agra.

IN the interim *Dara* hastes to *Agra*; and tho' *Shâh Jehân* was dissatisfied with his conduct, yet he sent an eunuch to tell him, "that he was troubled for his misfortune; that his affairs were not yet desperate, since there was a good army with his son *Soleymân*; that he should go to *Dehli*, where he should find money, horses, and elephants; and that he knew how to chastise *Aureng Zib*." *Dara* was then so dismayed and sunk with his misfortune, that he had not power to speak to the eunuch, or courage to depute any one to his father: but after sending several times to his sister, *Begum Sahib*, went away at midnight, taking with him his wife, daughters, and grandson, *Sepe-shekowh*, attended by no more than three or four hundred persons.

Soleymân  
Shekowh

WHILE *Dara* was on his way to *Dehli*, *Aureng Zib* left nothing undone to improve the advantages he had already gained. As he knew that his brother could yet place some hopes in the victorious army of *Soleymân Shekowh*, he wrote letters upon letters to *Râjah Jesséyn*, and *Delil Khân*, the chief generals of that young prince, to assure them that *Dara* was quite undone; that his whole army had submitted to him; that he had sent orders every-where to seize him; that *Shâh Jehân* could never recover; in short, that if they understood their own interest, they would become his friends, and, seizing on *Soleymân Shekowh*, bring him to the camp. *Jesséyn* was much perplexed how to act on this occasion. He feared to lay hands on a royal person, which was always attended with mischief; besides, he knew that prince *Soleymân* would rather die, than suffer himself to be taken in that

& *BERNIER*, p. 117, & seqq.

manner.

manner. Therefore, after consulting with *Delil Khân*, he <sup>5</sup> *Khân* went to the prince's tent, who had sent for him, on the news of his father's defeat; and shewing him *Aureng Zib's* letters, told him that he ought not to trust in *Delil Khân*, *Dawd Khân*, or the rest of the army; and therefore had best retire to the mountains of *Serenâgher*, there to remain with the Râjah of that country, till he saw how things went.

THE young prince, perceiving by this discourse of *Jes-fies alsh. Jeyn*, that he had no more reason to trust in him than the rest, immediately departed, with a good number of *Man-sebdârs*, and others, who were his friends, leaving the army in a great surprize. The Râjah, not content with distressing him in this manner, was so mean as to send some troops, under-hand, to fall on his baggage: who besides took an elephat laden with rupis of gold (P), which caused many of his followers to abandon him; and this desertion induced the people of the country to attack his men, for sake of plunder. However, at length he arrived with his wife and children at *Serenâgher*, whose Râjah (Q) received him with great honour; and promised to assist him with the utmost of his power. Let us now return to see what is doing at *Agra*<sup>b</sup>.

THREE or four days after the battle of *Semongher*, the *Aureng Zib advances,* victorious princes advanced to a little garden near the gate of the capital, a small league from the fortrefs; whither *Aureng Zib* sent an eunuch to salute the Shâh *Jehân*, with protestations of affection and submission. He likewise expressed sorrow for what had passed; but laid all the blame on the ambition, and evil designs, of *Dara*. Shâh *Jehân*, no less a dissembler than his son, whose secret passion for reigning was known to him, yet declared to the eunuch, "that he was well satisfied with *Aureng Zib's* proceedings, and pleased "at his success." But, instead of causing himself to be carried thro' the town, and assembling all his Omrâs, which might still have been done, he goes about to outwit *Aureng Zib*, him who was his master in craft; and attempting to draw him into a snare, is taken himself. With this view

<sup>b</sup> BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 139, & seqq.

(P) According to *Tavernier*, seized; and then the prince *Soleymân* went with the Râjah *Rowp* into the territories of this latter, to levy men, carrying with him five millions of rupis *Jessyn.* (Q) *Tavernier* calls him *Nakti Râna.*



5 *Khân*  
Shâh Je-  
hân.

he sent an eunuch also to this son, to let him know " that  
" he was sensible of the ill conduct, and incapacity, of *Dara*;  
" that he passionately wished to embrace him, *Aureng Zib*,  
" for whom he had always a particular affection; and there-  
" fore desired he would come and see him, to advise what  
" was proper to be done at the present juncture."

seizes the  
capital;

*AURENG ZIB* knew very well that his father was not  
to be trusted on this occasion; especially as *Begum Sâheb*, his  
enemy, as well as sister, was continually about him: and  
it was reported, that several of those lusty *Tartarian* women,  
who serve in the harâm, were armed, to set upon him as soon  
as he should enter. But altho' he was resolved not to hazard  
a visit to Shâh *Jehân*, yet he spread a rumour that he in-  
tended to go see him the next day. Instead of performing his  
promise, which he put off from time to time, he made it his  
business to sound the chief *Omrâs*; which he did to so good  
purpose, that at length, having concerted the proper mea-  
sures, he sent Soltân *Mahmûd*, his eldest son, to the fortress,  
under pretence of waiting on Shâh *Jehân*, in his name:  
but that daring prince was no sooner entered, than he fell  
upon the guards at the gate; whilst a great number of men,  
who were ready at hand, rushed in with fury, and made  
themselves masters of the wall.

imprisons  
his father

SHAH *Jehân*, astonished to find himself fallen into the  
trap, which he had prepared for his son, sent to Soltân *Mah-*  
*mûd*, promising, on the *Korân*, to make him king, in case  
he would serve him on this occasion. And certainly, if *Mah-*  
*mûd* had laid hold of the offer, and Shâh *Jehân* taken the  
field, nobody doubted that all his great *Omrâs* would have  
followed him; and that *Aureng Zib*, if he had dared to  
fight against his father, would have been abandoned by all  
the world; nay, possibly, by *Morâd Bukhsb* himself (R).  
However that be, Soltân *Mahmûd*, whether fearing to be  
detained, or to play tricks with his father, would never  
hearken to any thing, nor enter into the apartment of Shâh  
*Jehân*; answering, " that he had no orders to wait on him:  
" but was commanded to bring his father the keys of all  
" the gates of the fortress; that so he might with safety  
" come and kiss his majesty's feet."

in the pa-  
lance.

SHAH *Jehân* was near two days before he could resolve  
to deliver up the keys: but finding that all his people, who  
were upon guard at the little gate, disbanded by degrees,

(R) Perhaps this is carrying years, waged war against his  
the supposition a good deal too father; and even sought to  
far; since Shâh *Jehân*, for many meet him with his forces.

and

and that all his power was gone, he surrendered them (S) ; <sup>5 Khân</sup> with an order to tell *Aureng Zib*, "that he should come forthwith, if he was wise, for that he had most important matters to say to him." But *Aureng Zib* was too cunning to commit so gross a mistake : instead of that, he made his eunuch, *Etbar Khân*, governor of the fortress ; who presently shut up Shâh *Jehân*, together with *Begum Sâheb*, and all his women ; causing divers gates to be walled up, so that the emperor might not be able either to write, or speak, to any-body, without permission.

MEAN time, *Aureng Zib* wrote to his father a short letter, <sup>under pressure</sup> which he shewed to every-body before he sealed it. Wherein he told him, "that, for all the great protestations of affection, which he had made to him, and contempt expressed for *Dara*, yet he knew, from good hands, that he had sent him two elephants, laden with rûpîs of gold, to renew the war ; that therefore, in reality, it was not he, but *Dara*, who had imprisoned him, and was the cause of all his misfortunes ; that if it had not been for *Dara*, he would have waited on him the first day of his arrival, and paid him all the dutiful respect which he could have looked for from a son ; that for the rest, he begged pardon for what had happened, and desired his majesty would have a little patience ; promising, that as soon as he had disabled *Dara* from executing his evil designs, he would come himself, and open the gates to him."

CONCERNING the supply of money mentioned in the letter, our author had been told by some, that Shâh *Jehân* sent it to *Dara*, the same night on which he left *Agra* ; that it was discovered to *Aureng Zib* by his sister, *Rawshnara* (or *Râshn ray*) *Begum*, who had also imparted to him the plot for setting on him with the *Tartarian* women ; and that this prince had intercepted some letters of Shâh *Jehân* to *Dara*. On the contrary, others affirmed there was no such thing ; and that the letter was contrived only, in some measure, to justify his proceedings against his father. However that was, as soon as Shâh *Jehân* was shut up, almost all the *Omrâs* <sup>of assisting Dara.</sup> *The Omrâs* were in a manner necessitated to go and make their court to the two confederate princes. 'Tis certain, not one of them had the courage or gratitude to make the least attempt in

<sup>1</sup> BERNIER, p. 140. & seqq.

(S) *Tavernier* says, he, at first who opposed him ; but not one enraged, attempted to escape, of his servants offered to help and killed some of the guards, him.

D d 3

behalf

5 *Khân*  
Sháh Je-  
hân.

behalf of their king, who had raised them from the dust, and even slavery itself, to advance them to riches and honour : excepting some few, as *Danishmend Khân*, and others, who joined with neither side, all the rest declared for *Aureng Zib*. Necessity, as we have said, drove them to this : for they having no lands to subsist of themselves, but only pensions, which the *Great Mogol* can take away at pleasure ; so that they may be ruined in an instant, without having credit to borrow one farthing.

*Resolves to*  
*seize*

*AURENG ZIB* having thus made himself sure of Sháh *Jehán*, and all the *Omrás*, took what sums of money he thought fit out of the treasury : then leaving his uncle, Sháh *Hesh Khân*, to govern the city in his absence, went away, with *Morád Bukhsh*, to pursue *Dara*. The day on which the army was to march out of *Agra*, the friends of this last prince, especially his eunuch, *Sháh Abbás*, who knew that excessive cringing is usually a sign of imposture, counselled him, that since he was acknowledged as king by every body, and even *Aureng Zib* himself, he should let his brother go in pursuit of *Dara*, and stay with his troops about *Agra* and *Dehli*. If he had followed this advice, 'tis certain he must have greatly embarrassed *Aureng Zib* (if not intirely frustrated his designs) ; but confiding entirely in his fair promises, backed by oaths on the *Korán*, he never would suffer the least suspicion to enter his breast.

*Morád*  
*Bukhsh*

WHEN they arrived at *Matúra*, three or four days journey from *Agra*, *Morád's* friends endeavoured again to persuade him to be on his guard ; assuring him, that some mischief was upon the anvil ; that they had notice of it from several quarters ; and desired that he would forbear going to visit his brother, only for that one day. But the prince was deaf to all precautions (T) ! and, as if urged, rather than dissuaded, by the advice of his friends, went that very night to see *Aureng Zib*, and even stayed to sup with him. As soon as he was come, his brother, who expected him, and had already laid the plot with *Mír Khân*, and three or four more of his most intimate commanders, was profuse of his compliments and submissive behaviour, so far as gently to wipe the sweat and dust off his face with a handkerchief.

(T) According to *Tavernier*, *Morád Bukhsh*, perceiving his error in trusting his brother too much, sent to him for half of the treasure which he had seized, that he might retire to Gu-

zerát : but was still deluded by fair promises ; and went, at his invitation, to the entertainment, although he believed it would be the last day of his life.

MEAN

MEAN time the table is served : they sup, and then, as usual, fall into conversation. At length there is brought a huge bottle of *Shirâz* wine (U), with some of *Kâbûl*, for a debauch. At the sight of which, *Aureng Zib*, who affected to appear very regular and exact in observing the law of *Mohammed*, riseth from table; and having respectfully intreated his brother to be merry with the officers present, withdrew, as if to repose himself a little. *Morâd Bukhsh*, who loved a glass of wine very well, plied it so heartily, that at length he grew drunk, and fell asleep. As this was the thing which they all looked for, some of his servants, who were in waiting, were ordered to withdraw, under pretence of letting their master take his rest without noise. When they were gone, his sabre and poniard were taken from him; after which, it was not long before *Aureng Zib* came himself, and awaked him, by hitting him roughly with his foot<sup>k</sup>.

WHEN the prince began to open his eyes a little, his treacherous brother throws off the mask, with this surprising reprimand : “ What means all this, saith he; what a shameful and odious thing it is, that a king, as you are, should have so little share of discretion, as thus to make himself drunk ! what will the world say both of you and me ? Take this infamous man, this drunkard, continued the hypocrite, tie him hand and foot, and throw him into that room, there to sleep out his wine.” This order was no sooner given, than it was executed : for five or six persons immediately seized him, and, without regarding his complaints and outcries, fettered his hands and feet. However, this affair could not be managed so secretly, but that some of his people, who were about the palace, came to have tidings of it ; and, making a tumult, would have entered forcibly, had not *Allah Kûli*, one of his chief officers, and master of his artillery, who had been gained before-hand, threatened, and made them draw back.

WITHOUT delay, emissaries were sent through the whole army, to calm this first commotion ; which otherwise might have proved dangerous. These men made the soldiery believe, “ that what had happened was nothing like what had been reported : that the whole matter was, *Morâd Bukhsh* had gotten very drunk ; and having in that condition railed at every body, and even *Aureng Zib* himself, it was thought necessary, for fear he should do any mischief, to keep

<sup>k</sup> BERNIER, p. 153, & seqq.

(U) *Shirâz*, capital of *Pârs*, or proper *Perfiâ*, famous for excellent wine, of great strength.

5 Khān  
Shāh Je-  
hān.

“ him apart : but that the next day they should see him abroad, after he had slept off the fumes of the wine.” Mean time the presents walked about all night among the chief officers of the army : their pay was immediately augmented ; and they had great promises made them. In short, as there was scarce any one who had not for a long time before expected some such event, it was no great wonder to find almost every thing quiet the next morning : so that the night following this poor unhappy prince was shut-up in a little close house, such as used to be placed on the back of elephants to carry women in ; and, without any stir or noise, conducted to *Selimajer*, a little old fortress at *Dehli*, situated in the middle of the river.

pursues  
Dara ;

AFTER all had been thus pacified, excepting the eunuch *Shāh Abbās*, who gave a good deal of trouble, *Aureng Zīb* received the whole army of his brother into his service, and went after *Dara* ; who marched apace towards *Labūr*, with an intent to fortify himself in that city, and draw thither all his friends. But *Aureng Zīb* followed him so briskly, that he was forced to retreat from thence to *Multān* ; which he also abandoned for the same reason. His indefatigable enemy pursuing him, though in the great heats, with so much eagerness, that he often advanced almost alone two or three leagues before his army, drank bad water, and slept under a tree, with his head resting on his shield, like a common soldier. It is thought, that if *Dara*, at his departure from *Labūr*, had cast himself into the kingdom of *Kābul*, as he was advised, he would there have found above 10,000 warriors, designed for a guard against the *Aughāns* (or *Afghāns*), the *Persians*, and the *Uzbeks* ; and that the governor *Mohabet Khān*, one of the most potent Omras, as well as the most antient, in all *Hindūstān*, who never had been a friend to *Aureng Zīb*, would probably have embraced his party with all that militia. Besides, being then, as it were, at the gate of *Persia*, and the country of the *Uzbeks*, he might have drawn assistance from both those regions, as *Humayūn* had formerly done. But *Dara*, instead of following that good advice, went towards *Sindi*, and entered the fortress of *Tatta Bākar*, that strong and famous place seated in the midst of the *Indus*.

returns to  
Agra :

*AURENG ZIB*, glad to find that his brother had taken this route, rather than that of *Kābul*, was content to send after him 7 or 8000 men under *Mīr Bāba*, his foster-brother, and turn back himself for *Agra* : as well for fear lest, in his absence, some of the *Rājahs* should attempt to free *Shāh Jehān* from his confinement, as that *Soleyman Shekewh*, or *Soltān Sujāh*, should approach too near that capital.

IN

IN his way to *Lahûr* he had a great escape: for being, according to custom, advanced some miles before his army, of a sudden, he beheld the Râjah *Jesseyn* coming against him, accompanied with 4 or 5000 of his *Râjapûts*; and, knowing him to be zealous for Shâh *Jehân's* interest, was sufficiently surprised, as he now had it in his power to strike a master stroke, and, by seizing the rebel son, draw the father out of prison. Nor is it known whether this Râjah had not some such design; for he had marched with such extraordinary speed, that *Aureng Zib* thought him still at *Dehli*. But what may not resolution and presence of mind effect? The prince, without any alteration in his countenance, marches directly towards the Râjah; and, as far off as he could see him, makes signs with his hands for him to approach; and calls to him aloud, flattering him with the title of *Râjah-ji* and *Bâba-ji*, Lord Râjah and Lord Father. When *Jesseyn* was come to him; "I expected you, said he, with great impatience: the work is done: *Dara* is lost: he is all alone. I have sent *Mir Bâba* after him, from whom he cannot escape." Then, taking off his necklace of pearls, he put it about the neck of the Râjah; and, the sooner to get rid of him handsomely (for he wished him far enough); "Go, said he, with all the expedition you can to *Lahûr*, and wait till I come: for my army is somewhat tired; and I fear that otherwise something sinister may happen there. I make you governor of the place, and put all things into your hands. For the rest, I am extremely obliged to you for what you have done with *Soleymân Shekowh*.—Where have you left *Delil Khân*? I shall find my revenge of him—Make all possible dispatch—*Salâmed Bâsbed*. Farewell!"

*DARA*, being arrived at *Tâtta Bâkar*, strengthened the place with a good garrison of *Pâtans* and *Sayeds*. He had for cannoneers several *Franghis*, as *Portugueses*, *Englisb*, *French*, and *Germans*, who had followed him on the great promises he had given them, in case his affairs prospered. He staid there only two or three days: then, leaving a dexterous eunuch for governor, with the greater part of his treasure, which he had still plenty of, he marched away with 2 or 3000 men only, descending the *Indus* towards *Sindi*; from whence, crossing the territories of the Râjah of *Kâche* (X), he arrived at *Ahmed abâd*, capital of *Guzerât*. The governor

<sup>1</sup> *BERNIER*, p. 160, & seqq.

(X) *Tavernier* calls him the Râjah of *Kach-nagara*. *Kuch-naggen*, as *Hamilton* names it, is a province and town in *Guzerât*, towards the *Indus*.

5 *Khân* *Shâh Navâz Khân*, father-in-law to *Aureng Zib*, whether  
 Shah Je- surprised, or for want of courage, though he had a strong  
 hân. garrison, instead of opposing *Dara*, thought best to tem-  
 porize, and received him honourably. In short, he managed  
 him afterwards with so much dexterity, that this indiscrete  
 prince trusted himself to his power, and communicated to  
 him his designs. He even shewed *Shâh Navâz* the letters  
 which he received from *Jessom Seyn*, and other friends, who  
 were preparing to come to him : although every body told  
 him, and his correspondents warned him by letters, that his  
 competitor's father-in-law would betray him.

Aureng  
 Zib  
 marches

to Ka-  
 jowh.

HOWEVER, *Aureng Zib* was greatly surprised when he  
 heard that *Dara* was in *Ahmed abâd*, where he knew the dis-  
 contented party, which was very numerous, would resort to  
 him, as well as his friends. On the other hand, he saw it  
 was not safe for him to follow his brother into the countries  
 of *Jessyn*, *Jessom Seyn*, and other Râjahs; lest, by remov-  
 ing too far from *Agra* and *Shâh Jekân*, Soltân *Sujâh*, who  
 had already passed the *Ganges* at *Elabâs*, with a strong army,  
 should advance on that side; or, at least, *Soleymân Shekowh*  
 should descend from the hills with the Râjah of *Serenâgher*.  
 In this perplexity he at length concluded it best to leave *Dara*  
 for a time, and march against his brother *Sujâh*. This Soltân  
 was come to encamp at a village called *Kajowh* (Y), on the  
 side of a great talab, or reservatory of water; and *Aureng Zib*  
 posted himself by a small torrent, a mile and a half short of  
 him. Being impatient to end this war, he, at break of day,  
 went and attacked *Sujâh* with an effort scarce to be imagined.  
*Amîr Femla* likewise, who arrived on the day of battle from  
*Dekân*, fearing *Dara* no longer, because his family was more  
 in safety, did on this occasion also employ all his vigour,  
 courage, and dexterity. But, as Soltân *Sujâh* was very well  
 fortified in his post, and had a fine train of artillery, advan-  
 tageously placed, it was not possible for *Aureng Zib* to force  
 his camp, and drive him from those waters : on the contrary,  
 he was repulsed himself several times, which threw him into  
 great perplexity.

against  
 Soltân  
 Sujâh :

SOLTÂN *Sujâh*, in defending himself only in his post, with-  
 out coming out into the plain, acted very prudently : for he  
 knew that *Aureng Zib* could not stay long where he then was ;  
 and that the hot season would oblige him to turn back to the  
 torrent, for the conveniency of water ; in which case he re-  
 solved to fall upon his rear. *Aureng Zib* also foresaw the

(Y) According to *Frazer*, the battle of *Kejowg*, near *Agra*, was against *Dara* ; who, after his  
 defeat, fled towards *Labûr*.

same thing; and that was what made him so pressing in the affair. But behold a more troublesome accident happened: *Shâh Jehân*, at this very juncture, he received advice that *Râjah Jeyn-Seyn*, who in appearance was in his interest, had fallen upon his rear, and plundered his baggage, with the treasure which was left behind at the torrent. This news astonished him much; and the more when he saw that it had thrown his army into disorder. Yet he loses not his judgment for all this: and being aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he resolves, as in the battle with *Dara*, to bear up the best he could, and at all events stand his ground<sup>m</sup>.

MEAN time the disorder increased among his troops; which *Sujâh* observing, presseth him vigorously. He who led *Aureng Zib's* elephant being killed with an arrow, he guides the animal himself, as well as he can, till another could be found to supply the leader's place. Arrows rain upon him; and he returns many himself: but at length his elephant begins to be frightened, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to such a desperate pass, that one foot is out of the seat, as if he meant to cast himself to the ground. And no man knows, what in that distress he might not have done, if *Amîr Jemla*, who was not far off, and like a great man as he was, doing actions beyond imagination, had not called to him, with his hand raised up, *Dekân kow? Dekân kow? Where is Dekân? Where is Dekân?* (Z). This seems to have been the greatest extremity to which *Aureng Zib* could well be reduced. It now seemed as if fortune had quite abandoned him, and that there was no possibility for him to escape. But his good luck is still superior to all difficulties: *Soltân Sujâh* must be routed; and *Aureng Zib* be king of *Hindûstân*.

FOR one of *Soltân Sujâh's* chief captains, named *Allah Verdi Khân*, seeing the whole army of *Aureng Zib* in confusion, runs towards the *Soltân*, and begs that he would stay no longer in so great danger upon his elephant; saying, in the words of *Khalîl'ollah Khân* to *Dara*, on the same occasion, "Come down, in the name of God; mount on horseback: God has made you sovereign of the *Indies*: let us pursue those runaways: let not *Aureng Zib* escape us!" Some said this officer had been gained: others, that it was not

<sup>m</sup> BERNIER Mem. Emp. Mog. part i. p. 170, & seqq.

(Z) This seems to have been *Dekân*, on occasion of some word among the forces (who exploit or exploits done in that had been with *Aureng Zib* in country.

through



5 *Khân*  
*Shâh Je-*  
*hân.*

through treachery, but mere flattery, that he acted. However that be, Soltân *Sujâh*, not more considerate than *Dara*, commits the same fault; and, like him, suffers by it. For he was no sooner come down from his elephant, than his army, not seeing him, was struck with terror, believing some treason had been acted, and that he was either taken or slain. Hereupon they disbanded, without more ado; and the defeat was so great, that the Soltân had difficulty enough to save himself.

*Confusion*  
*at Agra.*

*JESSOM SEYN*, on this unexpected turn of fortune, perceiving it not safe for him to tarry there, marched off with all diligence, with the spoil he had gotten, to *Agra*, thence to pass on to his own country. Mean time news had reached the capital, that *Aureng Zib* had not only lost the battle, but that Soltân *Sujâh* was bringing both him and *Amir Jemla* prisoners to the city. So that *Shâh Hest Khân*, the governor, and uncle to *Aureng Zib*, seeing *Jessom Seyn*, whose treachery he had heard of, at the gates, and, despairing of his life, laid hold of a cup of poison, and had actually drank it, if his women had not hindered him. In short, the certainty of this defeat was so firmly believed for two whole days, that if *Jessom Seyn* had laid hold of the opportunity, and acted vigorously, he might have delivered *Shah Jehân* out of prison. Instead of that, he thought of nothing but to get off himself, with all the speed he could: yet *Aureng Zib* was so much afraid he would attempt something in his father's behalf, that, after a short pursuit of the vanquished army, he turned back with all his forces for *Agra*; where he staid a good while to settle his affairs.

*Sujâh re-*  
*inforced.*

In the interim he received intelligence, that Soltân *Sujâh*, who had lost but few men in the late route, for want of further pursuit, had raised great forces in the lands of the *Râjâhs*, on both sides of the *Ganges*, on the credit of his being rich, as well as very liberal; and had fortified himself in *Elabâs*, that important passage of the river, which with its fortress is the first entrance into *Bengâl*. On this occasion he meditated with himself what he had to do. He considered that he had about him two persons, Soltân *Mahmûd*, his eldest son, and *Amir Jemla*; both very capable indeed to serve him, but therefore liable to grow too assuming, as he found the first already began to be, for having seized on the fortress of *Agra*: and he had no reason to expect otherwise of the *Amir*; who, besides the merit of his great services, courage, and riches, passed for the first mover of affairs, and the ablest man in all the *Indies*, as well in civil as military matters. These things would certainly have perplexed an ordinary genius, but

but *Aureng Zib* found a way to get rid of them in so handsome a manner, that neither of them found any cause to complain.<sup>a</sup> Sháh Jemla.

THE course he took was to send them both against Soltán *Sujáh*, with a puissant army; letting the *Amír* know, that, as an earnest of his acknowledgements, he conferred the government of *Bengál* on him, and his son, for their lives: and that, as soon as he should defeat his brother *Sujáh*, he would make him Míro'l Omrá, or prince of the Omrás; which is the most honourable place in all *Hindústán*. To Soltán *Mahmúd*, his son, he only said these few words: "Remember that thou art the eldest of my children; that it is for thyself thou goest forth to fight: and that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not *Sujáh*, who is our greatest and most powerful enemy." In this manner he dismissed them both, with rich vests, horses, and elephants, gallantly harnessed, after he had obliged them to leave, as pledges of their fidelity, *Mohammed Amír Khán*, only son of *Amír Jemla*, under pretence of education; and Soltán *Mahmúd's* wife, daughter to the king of *Golkondá*, on a suggestion that her following the camp would be very inconvenient.

SOLTAN *Sujáh*, who always feared that the Rájahs of the *advances* *Lower Bengál*, whom he had ill treated, would be raised against him, and dreaded nothing more than to have to do *against* with *Amír Jemla*, no sooner heard of his march, than, apprehending that the passage to *Bengál* would be obstructed, he raised his camp at *Elabás*, and went down the *Ganges* to *Benáres* and *Patna*. From thence he proceeded to *Mojer*, a small town, seated on that river, and commonly called the key of *Bengál*; being a kind of streight between the mountains and the woods. There he fortified himself, causing a trench to be dug (A) from the river to the mountains, there to attend *Amír Jemla*, and dispute the passage with him. But he was strangely surprised when he was informed, that the troops which slowly descended along the *Ganges*, were only to amuse him: for that the *Amír* himself and Soltán *Mahmúd* were advancing apace through the mountains, whose Rájahs they had gained, with all the flower of the army, towards *Rájah Máhl*, in order to intercept him.

ON this advice *Sujáh* quitted his fortifications at *Mojer*, and made such haste, that, although he was obliged to follow the *Rájah* *Máhl*.

<sup>a</sup> BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 178, & seqq.

(A) *Bernier* saw this trench in his passage that way some years after.

5 Khân  
Shâh Je-  
hân.

windings which the river makes to the left, he arrived at *Râjah Mâhl*, and had time to fortify himself there also, before the *Amîr* arrived : because the latter, having heard this news, quitted his former route, and bent his course towards the left hand and the *Ganges*, there 'to wait for his troops, which were marching, with the body of the artillery and the baggage, along the river. As soon as they were come, he proceeded to attack Soltân *Sujâh*; who defended himself very well for five or six days : but observing, that the *Amîr's* cannon, which played incessantly, ruined all his works, made only of sandy earth and faggots: finding likewise, that without them he could make no great resistance in that place, and that the rainy season was begun, he retired by favour of the night, leaving behind two large pieces of cannon. As *Amîr Jemla* put off the pursuit till next morning, for fear of some ambush in the dark, very luckily for *Sujâh*, at day-break, there began to fall rain, which continued for more than three days: so that *Jemla* found himself not only hindered from pursuing the enemy, but obliged to continue at *Rajah Mâhl* all winter; the excessive rains in that country rendering the roads so troublesome in *July, August, September, and October*, that the armies cannot possibly march<sup>o</sup>.

Soltân  
Mahmûd  
revolts.

By this means Soltân *Sujâh* gained time not only to retire to whatever place he thought fit, and fortify himself, but likewise to procure out of the *Lower Bengâl* a good many pieces of artillery, as well as some companies of *Portugueses*, who had retired thither (B) on account of the plenty of provisions: for he courted the missionaries who were in that province, promising to build churches for, and enrich them, all. Mean time Soltân *Mahmûd*, for the reasons above-mentioned, grew very imperious; and not only pretended to an absolute command of the army, requiring *Amir Jemla* to follow his orders, but, from time to time, also let fall insolent expressions with reference to his father, as if he was obliged to him for the crown. He likewise threw out words of contempt and even threats against the *Amîr*, which caused a great coldness between them: till at length *Mahmûd*, understanding that his father was much dissatisfied with his conduct, and fearing *Amir Jemla* had orders to seize his person, he went away, accompanied with a very small number of followers, to Soltân *Sujâh*, to whom he made great promises, and swore fidelity.

<sup>o</sup> BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 187, & seqq.

(B) There were then 8 or 9000 families of them, either native *Portugueses* or *Mestizes*.

FOR

FOR all this, his uncle *Sujâb*, who feared the snares of *5 Khân Aureng Zib* and *Amir Jemla*, could not trust him; but al-ways had an eye upon his actions, and never gave him any considerable command: which so disgusted the prince, that, some months after, he left Soltân *Sujâb*, and returned to the *Amir*; who received him well enough, assuring him, that he would write in his behalf to *Aureng Zib*, and do his utmost to heal the breach. Our author had it from many hands, that the escape of Soltân *Mahmûd* was an artifice of *Aureng Zib*, who did not matter hazarding his son, to try to destroy his brother *Sujâb*; and besides, was pleased to think, that whatever was the event, he should have a specious pretence to imprison him. However that be, he afterwards shewed himself much dissatisfied with *Mahmûd*; and wrote him a severe letter, in which he enjoined him to return to *Dehli*, but at the same time took care that he should not come so far: for he had no sooner crossed the *Ganges*, than he met with troops, which stopped him; and, putting him into a small chair (as *Morâd Bukhsb* had been served) carried him to *Gualiyâr*; where at length he died in his confinement.

Shâh Jehân.  
Sent to  
Gwali-yâr.

*AURENG ZIB* having by this means freed himself from no small perplexity, at the same time let his second son Soltân *Mauzm* know, that "the affair of reigning was so delicate a thing, that kings ought to be jealous even of their own shadows:" adding, "that if he did not behave discretely, the like disaster might happen to him, as had befallen his elder brother: in short, that he ought to think *Aureng Zib* was not a man who would suffer the same injury to be done to him which Shâh *Jehân* did to his father *Jehân Ghîr*; and which he had lately seen done also to Shâh *Jehân*." This warning *Aureng Zib* thought proper to give, though there seemed to have been no occasion for it; since, as our author observes, no slave could be more tractable than Soltân *Mauzm*: neither did *Aureng Zib* himself ever appear more careless of greatness, or more given to devotion, than he. However, he adds, that many thought he only dissembled his ambition, as his father had done before him.

HERE we think proper to close the reign of Shâh *Jehân*; during whose time the empire flourished exceedingly, comprehending no fewer than twenty-three provinces; five of which, *Balkh*, *Kandahâr*, *Bidlukhsbân*, *Tellengana*, and *Baglâna*, were added by him. The revenues arising from them all amounted to 27,500,000 pounds; and the number of his

5 *Khân*  
Shâh Je-  
hân.

Remark-  
able pas-  
sage.

forces, as paid out of those revenues, was, in 1647, full 911,400, horse and foot<sup>9</sup>.

THE kings of *India*, by an antient and barbarous custom, are heirs of the effects belonging to those who die in their service. On this occasion two things happened in Shâh *Jehân's* reign worth relating. The first is of *Neyknâm Khân*, one of the most antient Omrâs of the court, who had, in the space of forty or fifty years service in considerable offices, amassed great store of wealth. When this lord found himself near death, reflecting on that unreasonable custom, which often reduces both the widow and her children to beggary, he secretly distributed all his treasures among indigent knights and poor widows. After this he filled his trunks with old shoes, rags, bones, and other rubbish; then locked and sealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to the king. Upon his death, the trunks were brought before Shâh *Jehân*, when he was in the assembly; and, by his command, opened before all the Omrâs: but when he saw what was in them, he was so provoked, that he rose in great fury and went away.

Another.

THE second passage is this. The son of a rich *Baniyân*, or *Hindû* merchant, who died in the king's service, being very extravagant, and his mother refusing to supply him with money, he, by the persuasion of others, complained to Shâh *Jehân*; and was so silly as to discover the value of his father's effects, amounting to 200,000 rupis (or 25,000 pounds). The king, who coveted this treasure, sent for the widow, and commanded her in the open assembly to send him 100,000 rupis, and let her son have 50,000; giving orders at the same time to put her away. The old woman, though no less surprised at this command, than vexed to be so hastily thrust out without liberty of speaking, yet lost not her judgment; but, with a loud voice, declared, that she had something of moment to impart to the king. Hereupon, being brought in again, she said; "God save your majesty! I am sensible that my son has some right to demand of me the goods of his father, as being of the same flesh and blood with us, and therefore our heir; but I would gladly know, in what manner your majesty stands related to my deceased husband, so as to intitle you to his effects." Shâh *Jehân*, who could not forbear laughing at this home piece of raillery, ordered her to be dismissed, without demanding any thing from her<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 26.  
supr. part ii. p. 93.

<sup>1</sup> BERNIER, ubi

SHAH *Jehân* had by two of his wives seven sons and five daughters: all of whom, excepting one of the females, were by the empress *Mehd Alia*, daughter of *Afsh Khân*; whose first name was *Ardumond Bânu Begum*, or the noble princess. *Shâh Jehân's children.*

*HUR al nissa Begum*, or the most angelic of women; born in 1612. She died before her father was deposed.

*JEHAN Ara Begum*, or the princess ornament of the world; born in 1614.

*SOLTAN Dara Shekowh* (C), or the Soltân in pomp like *Darius*; born in 1615.

*SOLTAN Sujâh* (D), or the valiant Soltân; born 1617.

*ROYSHN Ray Begum*, the princess of an enlightened mind; born 1617.

*SOLTAN Aureng Zib* (E), the ornament of the throne; born 1618.

*SOLTAN Amyad Bukhsb*, or the giver of hopes; born 1620; died before the revolution.

*SURIA Bânu Begum*, the shining princess; born 1622; died before the revolution.

*SOLTAN Morâd Bukhsb* (F), the giver of desires, or wishes; born 1624.

*SOLTAN Lowtfallah*, the favour of God; born 1627; died before his father's deposition.

*SOLTAN Dowlet Afza*, increase of fortune; born 1628; died before the revolution.

By a daughter of *Mazuffer Hosseyn Mirza*, grandson to *Shâh Ismael*, king of *Persia*, *Shâh Jehân* had a daughter, named *Parhîz Bânu Begum*, or the abstinent princess; born in 1611. She died young.

FRASER, ubi supr. p. 26, & seqq.

(C) He had two sons, *Spleymân Shekowh*, august, or in pomp-like, and *Soleymân Sepeb Shekowh*, of military pomp, like *Soleymân*.

(D) This prince had two sons; *Zeyno'ddin Mohammed*, the ornament of religion; and *Bullind Akbar*, of high stars, or great fortune.

(E) *Aureng Zib's* sons will be mentioned at the end of his reign.

(F) *Morâd Bukhsb* had one son, *Yezd*, or *Yezid Bukhsb*; that is, God's gift.

6 Kbán  
Aureng  
Zib.

## C H A P. VIII.

~ The Reign of Mohio'ddîn Aureng Zib, sixth  
Emperor.

## S E C T. I.

*From his Advancement to the End of the Civil Wars.*

As as  
king.

A. D.  
1658.

Dara de-  
seried at  
Ajmir;

WHILE matters were transacted in *Bengál*, as before related, *Aureng Zib* kept moving to and fro about *Agra*. At length, having sent *Morád Bukhsh* also to *Gwalíyár*, he went to *Dehli*, and there assumed the regal power (A), giving orders in all affairs relating to the state. But his thoughts were chiefly employed on contriving how to lay hold of *Dara*, and get him out of *Guzerát*; which at length his good fortune effected. *Jessom seyn* having, as hath been said, retired to his own country, and made the best of what he had taken in the battle of *Kajowh*, raised a strong army, wrote to *Dara* to haste to *Agra* as soon as he could, and promised to join him with his forces. *Dara*, who had also by this time set on foot a considerable number of troops, though for the most part new-raised ones, leaves *Ahmed abád*, and marches with great speed to *Azmír*, seven or eight days journey from *Agra*; in hopes many of his old friends would not fail to come in to him, when they saw him approaching the capital, in conjunction with that *Rajah*. But *Jessom seyn* having in the interim been dissuaded from his purpose by *Jesseyn*, who, in his letters, after laying before him the inconveniences and dangers which were likely to attend his enterprize, told him; that if he would leave *Dara* to himself, *Aureng Zib* would bestow on him the government of *Guzerát*; which, being near his own lands, made him perfectly secure against any surprize. In short, this *Rajah* acted his part so well, that *Jessom seyn* returned home, whilst *Aureng Zib* approached with his

(A) According to *Frazer*, p. 30, presently after the battle of *Kejcul*, *Aureng Zib* entered the castle of *Agra*; and, on the 20th of July 1658, sat on the throne, and was proclaimed emperor, in the town of *Eaxabád* (or *Az-xabád*), two measured kos and half from *Dehli*; having first con-

fined his brother *Morád Bukhsh*, notwithstanding he had sworn by the *Korán* to be true to him. After this he sent his father from *Dehli*, to be confined at *Agra*, 44 kos distant. However, his reign does not commence till a year after, as will be observed in its place.

whole

whole army to *Azmîr*, and encamped in sight of *Dara's* troops.

6 *Khân*  
*Aurêg*  
*Zib.*

defeated,  
and flies.

THIS unhappy prince, thus abandoned and frustrated of his hopes, considers, that it was impossible to return back safe to *Ahmed abâd*, which was a march of five-and-thirty days, through the lands of *Râjah's* friends of the two before-mentioned, and in the height of summer, when water would fail him, he resolved to give battle at all risks; though the match was very unequal, and *Shâh Navâz Khân*, who was along with him, betrayed all his secrets to his competitor. The fight began between nine and ten in the morning, in which *Dara's* artillery were loud enough, but, it was said, carried nothing but powder. It is needless to recite the particulars of this battle, which was rather a rout than an engagement: for the attack was scarcely begun, when *Jessèyn* appeared near *Dara*, and sent him word to fly instantly, unless he had a mind to be taken: so that the prince, quite surprised, was forced to run away with such precipitation, that he had not time to put up his baggage, or get off with more than his wife and family. Nor could he possibly have escaped, if that *Râjah* had endeavoured to prevent him: but he always preserved a respect to the royal family; or rather he was too politic to venture laying hands on a prince of the blood<sup>a</sup>.

WE must not omit, that *Shâh Navâz Khân* was punished for his perfidiousness, being killed in the fight: some say by *Dara* himself; others, more probably, by some of *Aurêg Zib's* army, for fear he should discover the letters which they had written to that prince. However that be, the unhappy *Dara* was forced, in the hottest time of summer, accompanied only by 2000 men, and without tents, to cross those countries of the *Râjahs*, extending almost from *Azmîr* to *Ahmed abâd*. In his march he was harrassed by the *Kowâzîs*, who are the country people, and the greatest robbers. These followed him night and day, rifling and killing his soldiers: so that if any man stay'd but 200 paces behind the rest, he was stripped naked, and murdered on the least resistance. For all this *Dara* made shift to get near *Ahmed abâd*: but when he expected to enter, the governor, whom he had left in the castle, having been wrought on by letters from *Aurêg Zib*, denied him entrance.

THREE days before this, our author *Bernier* met the unhappy prince; who, having no physician with him, obliged him to follow in his train, and one night did him the favour

<sup>a</sup> *BERNIER's* mem. emp. Mogol, part i. p. 200, & seqq.



6. *Khân*  
*Aureng*  
*Zib.*

to make him come into the *Karavân Serrak*, where he was, for fear the *Kowlis* should murder him. When the ladies heard the answer of the governor of *Ahmed abâd*, they broke out into lamentations enough to pierce the hardest heart. All was in the utmost confusion. Soon after *Dara* came forth, half dead ; now speaking to one, then to another, even of the meanest foldiers ; whom he found all astonished, and ready to abandon him. He was obliged to march away that instant, departing with tears in his eyes, accompanied by 500 horse at most, and two elephants, said to be laden with money. As he had not authority enough to procure the author any beast of carriage, he was obliged to leave his physician behind.

*Aureng*  
*Zib*  
*baffled.*

AFTER innumerable hardships, in passing the deserts, and the loss of most of those who followed him, besides several of his women, he reached the *Rajah of Kacheh* ; who at first received very kindly, and promised to assist him with all his forces, provided he would give his daughter in marriage to his son : but *Jessyn* having soon brought off this *Rajah* also, *Dara*, apprehending his person in danger, sets out from thence for *Tâtta Bakar*. Mean time the war continued in *Bengâl* : which being under the conduct of an experienced general, and at a great distance, did not disquiet *Aureng Zib* so much as the neighbourhood of *Soleymân Shekowh* ; who continually alarmed him with rumours, as if he was coming down with the *Rajah* from the mountains, which are no more than eight days journey from *Agra*. To draw this thorn out of his foot, *Aureng Zib* employs the *Rajah Jessyn* to ply him of *Serenâgher* with letters ; promising great things if he would deliver up the young prince, and threatening war in case he refused. The *Rajah* answers, that he would rather lose his estate than be guilty of so unworthy an action. Hereupon *Aureng Zib* marches to the foot of the mountains (B), and attempts to widen the passage, by cutting the rocks : while the *Rajah* laughs at his vain efforts to ascend inaccessible hills, where stones would be sufficient to repel the forces of four *Hindûstâns* ; so that he was constrained to return as he came<sup>b</sup>.

WHEN

<sup>b</sup> BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 206, & seqq.

(B) *Frazer* says, that on the Sunday, 2d of January 1659, *Aureng Zib* set out for *Bengâl* ; where, at a place called *Kwra*, he defeated his brother *Sujâh*,

and obliged him to fly. But *Bernier* mentions no expedition of *Aureng Zib* to *Bengâl*, or any where else, excepting this, during the remainder of the war ; which

WHEN *Dara* arrived within two or three days journey of *Tatta Bakar*, he received news that *Mir Bâba* had, after a long leaguer, reduced the place to the last extremity; a pound of rice and meat being sold for more than a crown. Yet the brave governor still held out, and extremely incommoded the enemy by frequent sallies; deriding the attempts of the general, as well as the threats and promises of *Aureng Zib.* On the news of *Dara's* approach he redoubled his endeavours, and by sending spies into the enemy's camp, to spread reports of the prince's being at hand with considerable forces, so terrified them; that, had he advanced even with that handful of men, the army would have disbanded, and part gone over to him: but, believing it impossible to raise the siege with so few soldiers as accompanied him, he was for passing the *Indus*, and getting into *Persia*. This would have been a very difficult task, not only on account of the deserts and little water in those parts, but also because on the frontiers there are many *Rajahs* and *Pâtans* of no great generosity, who acknowledge neither the *Persian* nor the *Mogol*. However, when these strong reasons could not divert him from that design, a weak one urged, by his wife (C), did; namely, that if he took this last course, he must expect to see her and his daughter slaves to the king of *Persia*.

IN this perplexity *Dara* remembered that there was there-  
about a certain *Pâtan*, of some power, named *Jon Khân*, whose life he had saved twice, when *Shâh Jehân* had ordered him to be cast under the feet of an elephant, for having often rebelled. To this man therefore he resolves to go, and obtain succours to raise the siege of *Tatta Bakar*; after which, taking thence his treasure, he proposed to bend his course for *Kandahâr*, and so cast himself into the kingdom of *Kâbul*; in hopes of being assisted by *Mohabet Khân*, who had obtained the government by his favour. But his grandson, *Sepe Shekôh*, yet but very young, threw himself at his feet, and in-

6. *Khân*  
*Aureng*  
*Zib.*  
~~~~~  
Dara near
Bakar;

which in that province was carried on by *Amîr Jemla*. The same author adds, that, on the 15th of *May* the same year, being then forty solar years, six months, and twenty-three days old, he was proclaimed a second time; and ordered, that the beginning of his reign should be dated from the 1st of *Ramadân*, *Hejrab* 1069, which answers to the 12th of *May* 1659.

(C) According to *Tavernier*, before he got to *Jon Khân's* habitation, he received the news of the death of his most beloved wife, who died on the road, of thirst; which almost distracted him. On this occasion he put on a dress of coarse linen, much the same with that which he appeared in afterwards at *Debli*.

6 *Khân* treated him, for God's sake, not to enter the country of that
 Aureng *Pâtan*. His wife and daughter did the same; remonstrating,
 Zib. that *Jon Khân*, being a rebel and revolted governor, would
 infallibly betray him: that he ought not to be so anxious on
 raising the siege, but rather endeavour to gain *Kâbul*; which
 was not impracticable, since it was not likely that *Mîr Bâba*
 would quit *Tâtta Bakar* to follow him. But *Dara*, hurried
 by his evil destiny, always maintained that *Jon Khân* would
 never be so base as to betray him, after all the good he had
 done him; and accordingly set forward to prove, at the price
 of his life, that no trust is to be placed in a wicked man.

who be- trays him: THIS robber, who imagined that the prince had numerous
 troops following him, at first gave both him and his soldiers
 the most hospitable reception that could be: but, when he
 found that the two or three hundred men, whom *Dara*
 brought with him, were his whole forces, he quickly shewed
 what he was. Whether instigated by letters from *Aureng*
Zib, or tempted by some mules, said to be laden with gold;
 one morning, when every-body thought himself perfectly se-
 cure, this traitor, who in the night had gotten together many
 armed men, fell upon *Dara* and *Sepe Shekowh* (D), killing
 some of their followers, who stood up to defend themselves;
 and, having overpowered them, he first took care to seize
 on the burdens with which the mules were loaded, and
 all the jewels of the ladies. Then he caused *Dara* to be
 bound fast upon an elephant, with an executioner behind
 him, who had orders to cut off his head, in case he should
 offer to resist, or any attempt to rescue him; and in this
 strange manner he was carried to *Tâtta Bakar*, and delivered
 into the hands of *Mîr Bâba*; who caused him to be con-
 ducted, accompanied by the traitor, to *Labâr*, and thence to
Dehli c.

carried through Dehli: WHEN this unhappy prince was at the gates of *Dehli*, it
 was debated whether he should be made to pass through the

c BERNIER, ubi suprà. p. 217, & seqq.

(D) According to *Tavernier*, *Dara*, awaked by a noise of their
 seizing his son, could not re-
 frain venting his passion on *Jon*
Khân, in these terms; *Finish*,
infamous and ungrateful villain,
as thou art, finish the work thou
hast begun; we are become vic-
tims to bad fortune, and Aureng
Zib's unjust ambition: but re-
member, that I only deserve death
for having saved thy life: for no-
ver prince of the royal blood had
his hands tied behind him before.
Jon Khân, in some measure,
 moved by these words, caused
 the young prince to be un-
 bound, and only set guards over
 him and his father.

city or not. Many were against it; alleging, that it would be a great dishonour to the royal family, and that some might attempt to save him: others maintained, that it was absolutely necessary, that he should pass through the town, to shew the power of *Aureng Zib*; and take away all hopes from those who still favoured his interest, by convincing every body that he was actually in his brother's hands. This opinion, therefore, being followed, he was put on an old dirty elephant, with a pitiful seat, and his grandson *Sepe Shekown* at his side; both dressed in dirty vests, and turbans of coarse linen. In this wretched condition, our author saw him pass through the principal streets of *Dehli*; all the shops being crowded with spectators, who wept bitterly: while the lower sort of people, by whom he was much beloved, exclaimed against the tyranny of *Aureng Zib*, who had already imprisoned his father, son, and brother. They also, with some *Fakirs*, reviled and threw stones at the infamous *Jon Khân*, who rode by his side: but not one man had the boldness to draw a sword in his behalf, although he was but very slightly guarded.

AFTER the prince had been led in this ignominious manner through the city, he was put into a garden called *Hayder abâd* (E): while *Aureng Zib*, being informed how the people had lamented *Dara*, and cursed the *Pâtan*, called another council, to deliberate whether it was better to send him to *Gwaliyâr*, as had been concluded before, or put him to death without more ceremony. Some were of opinion, it was sufficient, that he should be carried under a strong guard to that fortress; and on this *Daneşmend Khân* (F), although *Dara*'s old enemy, insisted much: but *Rusbn Ray Begum*, in hatred to this brother of hers, urged *Aureng Zib* to dispatch him out of the way; and not run the hazard of keeping him in prison. Of the same mind were all his old enemies, *Khalîl'ollah Khân*, *Shâh Hest Khân*, and especially a certain medical parasite, who, having fled from *Persia*, was first called *Hakim Dawd* (or Doctor *David*); but afterwards, being become one of the great Omrâs, was named *Takarrub Khân*.

THIS upstart lord boldly rose up in a full assembly, and cried out, that it was expedient for the safety of the state to put him to death immediately; and the rather, because he was a *kâfir*, or idolater, without religion: adding, that he would take the sin of it on his own head. Of which imprec-

(E) According to *Frazer*, he was sent to *Khefrabâd* (fifty-two measured kos from *Dehli*) where he was murdered by *Aur-
Zib's* order, the twenty-eighth of *August*, 1659, in the night.

(F) Afterwards *Bernier's* Aga.

6. *Khân*
Aureng
Zib.

is mur-
dered.

Jon Khân
 slain.

*Bakar sur-
rendered.*

cation he soon after felt the smart : for, falling into disgrace, he was treated like an infamous fellow, and died miserably. However, *Aureng Zib*, swayed by the reasons which were given, commanded that *Dara* should forthwith be put to death, and *Sepe Shekowh* sent to *Gwaliyâr*. The charge of this execution was given to a slave, called *Nâzar*; who, having been bred up by *Shâh Jêhân*, had formerly received some ill treatment from *Dâra*. This slave, accompanied by three or four more to assist him, went presently to the garden; where *Dâra* was himself then dressing some lentils, with *Sepe Shekowh*. The prince no sooner saw *Nâzar*, than he cried out, *My dear son. behold those who come to kill us!* laying hold at the same time of a knife; which was all the arms that were left him. One of these butchers immediately seized on *Sepe Shekowh*: the others fell on the arms and legs of *Dâra*, throwing him on the ground, and holding him down, till *Nâzar* (G) cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortress to *Aureng Zib*, who commanding it to be put in a dish, and water to be brought, had the face washed clean from the blood, that he might see if it was *Dâra's*: which being done, he fell a weeping, and said, *Ab! unfortunate man! Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Humayûn.*

AT night the daughter of *Dara* was brought into the haram; but afterwards sent to *Shâh Jêhân* and *Begum Sabeh*, at their request. As for that prince's wife, she had poisoned herself before this at *Lahûr*, to avoid the misery which she saw falling on her family. *Sepe Shekowh* was sent to *Gawliyâr*. A few days after, *Jon Khân*, by *Aureng Zib's* order, appeared in the assembly; where having received some presents, he was dismissed: but, when he was near his own lands, he met with a more proper reward for his villainy; being killed in a wood^d.

MEAN.time, *Tâtta Bakar* was surrendered, in obedience to an order which had been obtained from *Dara*; and all the conditions which the governor demanded were agreed to: but with an intention not to be kept. For as soon as the valiant and faithful eunuch arrived at *Lahûr*, he was cut in pieces, with the few men who accompanied him, by *Khaiss'ollah Khân*, the governor. The reason for non-observance of the capitulation was intelligence which arrived, importing, that

^d BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 226, & seqq.

— (G) *Bernier* observes, that it had been made away with, as was not known what became of *Jon Khân* had been. this *Nâzar*; suggesting, that he

he

he had secretly conveyed abundance of gold into the hands of the *Franghis*, or *Europeans*, and all the rest who came with him out of the fortrefs, under pretence of accompanying him as far as *Dehli*, to *Aureng Zib* (who often expreffed a defire to fee the man, who had fo gallantly defended himfelf); but in reality with defign to go directly to *Soleymân Shekowh*.

THIS prince was now the only one who remained of the family of *Dara Shekowh*; nor would it have been eafy to draw him from *Serenâgher*, if the Râjah had been fteady to his firft declarations: but the death of *Dara*, and perfuafions of Râjah *Jeffeyn*, joined to the threats of *Aureng Zib*, who had actually excited the neighbouring Râjahs to make war upon him, at length prevailed on him to confent to their demands. *Soleymân*, being informed of this agreement, fled through the midft of thofe horrid mountains and frightful deferts, towards *Great Tibet*: but the Râjah's fon, foon purfuing and overtaking him (H), caufed him to be affaulted with ftones. The poor prince was hurt, and, being feized, was carried to *Dehli*; where he was imprifoned in *Serenâgher*, that little fortrefs where at firft *Morâd Bukhsh* had been confined. *Aureng Zib*, careful, as in the cafe of *Dara*, to convince the people that it was no sham, commanded *Soleymân* to be brought before him, in prefence of all the grandees of the court. At the gate, the chains were taken off his feet; but thofe which he had about his hands, and feemed gilt, were left on.

WHEN this proper young man, fo handfome and fo gallant, was feen to enter, many of the *Omrâs* could not hold their tears; and all the great ladies of the court, who had leave to fee him come in, fell a weeping. *Aureng Zib*, who appeared himfelf to be touched with his misfortunes, began to fpeak very kindly; telling him, “that he had nothing to fear: that “no hurt fhould be done him: that, on the contrary, he “fhould be well treated; and therefore ought to chear up “his fpirits: that he had put his father to death for no other “reafon, than that he was a *kâfir*, and a man without religion.” Hereupon the young prince returned his uncle the falem, and bleffed him; letting fall his hands to the earth, and then lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the uſage of the country: but told him, with refolution

(H) *Tavernier* ſays, that *Nak-ti-Raja*, to ſave his oath, would not ſeize *Soleymân*: but a party of *Jeffom Seign's* men, on notice given, ſurprized him as he went

a hunting; and took him, after all his attendance had been ſlain, and he had ſlain nine of the party himſelf.

6. *Khân*
Aureng
Zib.

Soleymân
Shekowh

taken-and
imprison-
ed.

6 *Kbân*
Aureng
Zib.

enough, " that if he was to drink the powst (I), his desire " was to die off-hand ; being very willing to submit to his " fate." In answer to this, *Aureng Zib* promised him publicly, " that he should drink none of it ; bidding him rest " satisfied as to that matter, and not entertain any melancholy thoughts about it." Having spoken these words, his nephew once more repeated the salem ; and, after answering to several questions, which had been put to him in the name of *Aureng Zib*, touching the elephant loaded with rupees of gold, which was taken from him when he went to *Serenâgher*, he was sent to *Gwalyâr* (K) to the rest.

Morâd
Bukhsb.

NOTWITHSTANDING these sugar words and fair promises of *Aureng Zib*, it is said, that not only *Soleymân Shekowh*, but his son *Sepe Shekowh*, and the grand-child of *Morâd Bukhsb*, were dispatched by the powst. As to *Morâd Bukhsb* himself, he was made away by a more violent death. For his brother, perceiving that the generality of people had an inclination to him, and that verses were dispersed about in praise of his valour and courage ; apprehended, that, if he took him off privately by the powst, his death would be doubted of, which might give occasion one time or other to some commotion : he therefore thought it safer to get rid of him in a more open manner ; and this he contrived to do under a shew of justice. For *Morâd Bukhsb*, when he was at *Ahmed abâd* making preparations for war, having, among other violences, to procure money (L), put to death a very rich *Sayed*, one of *Mohammed's* kindred, in order to get his estate ; the children of the *Sayed*, were set on to make their complaints in a public assembly, and demand the head of that prince, in satisfaction for the blood of their father. Hereupon their petition was granted without any other form or process : nor did one of the *Omrâs* interpose in the affair, not so much on account of the great veneration in which the *Sayeds* are

put to
death.

(I) This powst is nothing but poppy expressed, and infused one night in water. This is the potion which is given to those princes, whose lives are spared. It is the first thing which is brought them in the morning ; and they would rather let them starve for hunger, than give them any thing to eat till they have drank a large cup-full. It emaciates them exceedingly, and kills them insensibly : for by

degrees they lose their strength and understanding ; growing quite torpid and senseless.

(K) According to *Frazer*, *Aureng Zib* sent his son *Soltân Mohammed* and *Soleymân Shekowh* to *Gwalyâr*, on the fourteenth of *January*, 1661.

(L) He borrowed, or took by force from those who scrupled to lend him, great sums of money, from all the rich merchants.

held,

held, as because every-body understood that *Aurēng Zīb* himself was at the bottom of it. In short, an order being issued out for the purpose, they went to *Gwaliyār*, and took off the unfortunate *Morād's* head *.

THERE now remained no other thorn in the foot of *Aurēng Zīb*, excepting his brother *Soltān Sujāh*, who all this while held out in *Bengāl*: but *Amir Jemla* was reinforced, from time to time, with so many troops of all sorts, that, being at length hemmed in on all sides, he was obliged to fly to *Dakka*, which is the last city of that province towards the sea; and now comes the conclusion of this whole tragedy. The prince, being destitute of ships, and not knowing whither to fly, sent his eldest son *Soltān Banka* to the heathen king of *Rakan* (M), or *May*, to know if he would give him leave to make that country his place of refuge only for some time, and do him the favour, when the monsoons, or season winds, should come, to furnish him with a vessel to carry him to *Mekka*; intending from thence to pass into some part of *Turky*, or *Persia*. The king of *Rakan* sent answer, that he should be very welcome, and have all possible assistance from him.

WITH this answer, and some galleasses, manned with *Franghis*, that is, fugitive *Portugueses*, and other straggling *Europeans*, who had put themselves in the service of this king, and did nothing but ravage the lower (or maritime) *Bengāl*, *Soltān Banka* returned to *Dakka*; where the prince, his father, embarking with his wife, his three sons, and his daughters, set sail for the kingdom of *Rakan*. When they landed, they were well enough received; and furnished with whatever that country afforded, at the expence of the king. At the end of some months, the monsoons began to blow; but no news of the ship which was promised him, although he demanded it at his own charges; for as yet he wanted neither rupis of gold and silver, nor precious stones. His misfortune was, that he had too great plenty of them; for his riches were, in all appearance, the cause of his ruin; or at least contributed not a little to it. These barbarous kings, says our author, have no true generosity, nor much regard for the faith they give. To get out of their hands likewise, one must either be stronger, or else have nothing to tempt their avarice.

MEAN time, the king of *Rakan*, instead of furnishing *Soltān Sujāh* with the vessel, began to shew much coldness, and

* BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 236, & seqq.

(M) Called also *Arakan*, or *Arrakan*, and *Arrakam*.

complain,

6. *Khân*
Aureng
Zib.

complain, that he did not come to see him. The prince, either thinking it beneath him to pay the king a visit, or rather fearing to be seized on, if he went to the palace, and delivered up to *Amîr Jemla*, who had already offered great sums of money for that purpose, never would go thither himself, but only sent his son *Soltân Banka*; who, as he drew near the palace, threw rupis both of gold and silver among the people. Being introduced to the king, he presented him with store of embroideries, and curious pieces of gold-smith's work, set with precious stones of great value. He apologized for his father, as being indisposed; and besought him, in the Soltân's name, to remember his promise of the vessel. But for all this *Soltân Sujâh* could not obtain his request. On the contrary, five or six days after, the king of *Rakan* sent to demand his daughter in marriage (N); which being a thing he could never resolve to comply with, the king became highly offended.

Sujah's
desperate
attempt :

As the prince now saw it was high time to take care of himself, and the season was near spent without any hopes of his getting to *Mekka*, he undertook an action, which may serve as an instance of what despair is capable of attempting. Although the king of *Rakan* is a heathen, yet there are in his dominions great numbers of *Mohammedans*; who either retired thither to settle, or had been made slaves of, and carried thither, by the *Europeans* before-mentioned. These *Mohammedans Soltân Sujâh* gained under-hand, and with them, joined to two or three hundred men, remaining of those who had followed him from *Bengâl*, resolved on a certain day to attack the palace; and, killing all the royal family, cause himself to be proclaimed king of *Rakan*. This seems to have been a romantic project; and yet our author had been informed by *Mohammedans*, as well as *Portugueses* and *Dutchmen*, who were then present, that the thing was practicable enough. But the day before the stroke was to be given, the design was discovered; which broke all the prince's measures, and quite ruined his affairs f.

flies from
Rakan :

FOR, finding it no longer safe for him to stay in *Rakan*, he resolved to attempt escaping into *Pegu*; which was a thing quite impracticable, on account of the vast mountains and forests, which were to be crossed. However, the unfortunate prince set out with his family and some of his people :

f BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 244, & seqq.

(N) *Tavernier* says, the prince demanded and obtained the king's daughter in marriage.

but

but he was immediately pursued, and with so much diligence, that he was overtaken the same day on which he fled. *Soltân Sujâh* defended himself with great courage, and killed an incredible number of the *Rakan* soldiers: but was so overpowered by the multitude, that he was obliged to quit the combat. *Soltân Banka*, who was not so far advanced as his father, defended himself also like a lion: but at length he was taken, all over bloody with the wounds he had received from the stones which were poured upon him, and carried back with his two little brothers, his sisters, and mother.

WHAT became of *Soltân Sujâh* himself could never, with any certainty, be known: the common report was, that he got to the top of the mountain, with one woman, an eunuch, and two other persons: that he was hit by a stone on the head, which struck him down; but that, rising again, the eunuch wrapped his turban about the wound, and that afterwards they escaped through the midst of the woods. However, our author observes, that he had heard the relation told three or four different ways, even by persons who were on the spot. Some affirmed, that he was among the dead; but not with certainty known: and *Bernier* saw a letter from the chief of the *Dutch* factory (at *Rakan*), confirming the same. This was what gave rise to so many alarms at *Dehli*. One time he was landed to join the kings of *Golkondâ* and *Viziapûr*: another time he was seen with two ships, carrying red colours (O), off *Surât*. Next he was at *Shîrâz*, in *Persia*, and soon after at *Kandahâr*, ready to enter the kingdom of *Kâbul*. But the same author gave more credit to the report of his being slain: not only as it was confirmed by the letter of the *Dutch*, but because both an eunuch of his, with whom he travelled (P), and the great master of his artillery, assured him, that he was no longer in being; although they made a difficulty to say any more concerning him.

AFTER this last action, *Soltân Sujâh's* whole family was put in prison at *Rakan*; where they were treated roughly enough. However; some time after they were set at more liberty, and received a milder entertainment; which was increased by the alliance made by the king, who married the *Soltân's* eldest daughter. Mean time, some of *Soltân Banka's* domestics, in conjunction with several of the *Mohammedans*, formed a second plot like the first: but, on the day appointed for putting it in execution, one of the conspirators, who was half drunk, beginning to act before the time, blasted the whole design.

(O) The livery of the kings of *Pegu* and *Siam*.

(P) From *Bengâl* to *Messipatan*.

Yet

6 *Khán*
Aureng
Zib.

Yet our author takes notice, that it was very difficult to know the truth of this affair also, since he had heard forty different accounts of it. What is certain, is, that the king was at length so exasperated against the unfortunate family of *Sujáh*, that he commanded it should be quite extirpated. *Soltán Banka* and his brothers had their heads cut off with blunt axes, and the women were mured up between stone walls; where they were starved to death. In short, not one escaped the slaughter; excepting that daughter whom the king had made his wife.

Aureng
Zib's con-
duct.

THUS ended this civil war, which the lust of reigning had kindled among those four brothers, sons of *Sháh Jehán*, after it had lasted five or six years; that is, from about 1655 to 1660, or 1661, which left *Aureng Zib* in peaceable possession of this powerful empire². On this occasion, our author observes, that, although most of his readers will judge the ways taken by this prince to obtain the empire, to be very violent and horrid: yet that if they consider the custom of the state, which leaving the succession undecided, for want of being settled by law on the eldest son, exposeth it to the conquest of the strongest; and at the same time lays every paunce of the blood under a sort of necessity, either to reign by destroying all the rest to secure himself, or else to perish for the security of others. These things considered, he is apt to believe, that *Aureng Zib's* conduct will not appear in so bad a light: however, he is persuaded, that those who attend to his history, will not take him for a *Barbarian*: but for a great and rare genius; for a statesman, and a great king³.

S E C T. II.

Occurrences from the End of the civil Wars, to the Death of Sháh Jehán.

Ambassa-
dors ar-
rive

THE wars being ended, the *Uzbek Tatars* sent ambassadors to *Aureng Zib*, whom they had seen fight in their country, when yet a young prince; *Sháh Jehán* having sent him to command the succours, which the *Khán* of *Samarkant* had desired of him against the *Khán* of *Balk*. They considered likewise, that he could not but remember the affront which they put upon him, when on the point of taking the city of *Balk*, the enemy's capital: for the two *Kháns* agreed together, and obliged him to retreat; alleging, that he might

² *BERNIER*, ubi suprà. p. 251—258.
174, & seqq.

³ *Ibid* part ii. p.

make himself master of their whole dominions, as *Akber* had formerly done by the kingdom of *Kashmīr*. Whatever their motives were, the two Khāns sent their ambassadors to offer their service, and congratulate him upon the happy commencement of his reign. *Aureng Zib* was too judicious not to see, that, the war being at an end, this offer was out of season; and that it was nothing but fear, or the hope of obtaining some considerable present, which had brought these ambassadors. For all this, he received them honourably at their first audience, at which our author was present; commanding a serapah, or habit from head to foot, to be given to each: but they were obliged, at entering, to make the slavish obeisance of the country; and to deliver their letters into the hands of an Omrā, although they were so near the throne, that *Aureng Zib* might have taken them himself.

THEIR presents consisted of lapis lazuli, camels, horses, some loads of fresh fruits; as apples, pears, grapes, and melons; several more of dried fruits, as prunes of *Bokhāra*, aprieots, raisins without stones, and two other sorts, both black and white, very large and very good. *Aureng Zib* expressed much satisfaction at the presents; and, in dismissing them, intimated, that he should be glad to see them often. They were extremely covetous and nasty, laid up the money allowed for their maintenance, and lived a miserable life, very unworthy of ambassadors: yet they were dismissed with great honour and rich presents, after above four months stay^a.

BEFORE their departure, *Aureng Zib* fell desperately ill of a violent and continued fever, which sometimes deprived him of his understanding. His tongue was seized with such a palsy, that he almost lost his speech, and the physicians despaired of his recovery: so that for some time it was believed he was dead, and that his sister *Rausbn ray Begum* concealed his death out of design. It was already hinted, that the Rājah *Jessom Seyn*, governor of *Guzerāt*, was on the way to deliver Shāh *Jehān*: that *Mohabet Khān*, who had at length obeyed the orders of *Aureng Zib*, was advanced from *Kābul* to *Labār* with three or four thousand horse, for the same end; and that the eunuch *Atbar Khān*, who kept the deposed monarch, would have the honour of his deliverance. At the same time interest was making for the succession. On one side, *Soltān Mauzm*, by bribes and promises, laboured to gain the Omrās; so far as that one night he went disguised to Rājah *Jessom*, intreating him, in the most respectful manner, to engage in his behalf. On the other hand, *Rausbn ray Begum*, with *Teday Khān*, and

6 Khān
Aureng
Zib.

from
Great
Bukhāria.

^a BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 1, & seqq.

6. *Khân Aureng Zib.* many Omrâs, declared for the young prince *Soltân Akber*, though but seven or eight years old. Both parties pretended their design was only to release *Shâh Jehân* (which the people every moment expected), although none of them had any such thing in their thoughts : nor indeed had any of them reason to wish for his restoration, excepting *Jessom Seyn*, *Mohabet Khân*, and some others, who had hitherto done no great matters to his disadvantage.

his great resolution : BUT although *Aureng Zib* was very sick, yet he gave orders in all affairs; and although he advised *Soltân Mauzm* to open the gates to *Shâh Jehân*, in case he should die, yet he took care that *Atbar Kh'*, should be incessantly written to, in order to keep a strict watch over his father. The fifth day, in the height of his sickness, he was carried into the assembly of the Omrâs to shew himself. The like was done on the seventh, ninth, and tenth day of his illness. What is almost incredible, on the thirteenth, after a swooning fit, which occasioned a rumour thro' the whole city that he was dead, he sent for two or three of the chief Omrâs, and the Râjah *Jessseyn*, to let them see that he was alive; and, being raised up in his bed, called for ink and paper to write to *Atbar Khân*: he likewise sent for the great seal from his sister, fearing she had already made use of it to serve her designs^b. The cause of this sickness was probably owing to his rigid diet: for at the time that *Aureng Zib* ascended the throne he would not eat any wheaten bread, nor meat, nor flesh: but fed on barley bread, herbs, and sweet-meats (A), by way of penance for his crimes. This made him very thin and meagre.

fondness for Soltân Akber: As soon as he had recovered his health, he sought to get out of the hands of *Shâh Jehân*, *Begum Sâheb*, the daughter of *Dara*; in order to marry her to *Soltân Akber*, his third son, on purpose to give him the greater right to the empire. This he designed him for: as he had many powerful relations at court, and was born of the daughter of *Shâh Navaz Khân*, and consequently of the blood of the antient sovereigns of *Musbat*; whereas *Mahmûd* and *Mauzm* were sons only of *Râji-*

^b BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 14, & seqq. part ii. l. 2. c. 7.

^c TAVERNIER, Trav.

(A) The same author observes further, that, in 1665, all the time of the comet's appearance, he drank nothing but water, and ate millet bread; which so impaired his health, that it had like to have cost him his

life. Besides he always lay on the ground, with only a tiger's skin under him; from which time he never was perfectly well. *Tavern. Trav. Ind.* l. ii. c. ix. p. 124.

fourtuiz,

powtuis, or daughters of *Rājahs*. But it is scarcely to be believed, with what fierceness this proposition was rejected by the three parties; the young princess threatening to kill herself, rather than marry the son of him who had murdered her father. He had no better success with *Shāh Jehān*, in his application for certain jewels, to finish an addition which he had made to the famous throne (B) then in being; for the deposed emperor threatened to beat them to dust, rather than let him have them. However, at length, he obtained both his requests, by the kind treatment and great respect which he paid his father.

FOR although *Aureng Zib* caused *Shāh Jehān* to be secured with the greatest strictness, yet he left him in his old apartment with *Regum Sahib*, and his other women. He allowed him also his singers, dancers, cooks, and the like, with certain mollahs to read the korān to him; for he was become very devout. He had likewise, as formerly, the diversion of seeing beasts fight, and other fights. But what softened him most was the obliging letters, full of respect and submission, which *Aureng Zib* often wrote to him; consulting him as an oracle, and expressing a thousand regards for him. He was likewise incessantly sending him some engaging present: all which so gained on his father, that he answered his letters, and sent him some of the jewels, which he had before refused. He even consented, that the daughter of *Dara* should be delivered to him; in short he granted him at length that pardon and paternal blessing, which he had so often refused.

THE *Dutch*, to gain credit themselves in the country, and intimidate the governors of the sea-ports, resolved to send an ambassador to *Aureng Zib*. They pitched on Mr. *Adrican*, chief of their factory at *Surāt*, a person of integrity and good sense. Although *Aureng Zib* seemed to despise the *Franghis*, or *Christians*, yet he received him with honour; bestowing embroidered serapahs, or a full suit, on him, and some of his train. He gave him another at his last audience, and a very rich one for the general of *Batavia*; with a poniard adorned with jewels. The presents of the *Dutch* consisted of scarlet cloth, looking-glasses, with *Chinese* and *Japan* curiosities: among which was a paleki, and a takt-ravan, or field-throne,

(B) According to *Tavernier*, jewels was the reason that *Aureng Zib*, when he ascended the throne, had no more than one jewel on his bonnet; for it cannot be called a crown.

5 *Khân* of admirable workmanship. About the same time, what
Shâh Je- seems almost incredible, *Didar Khân*, one of the chief eu-
hân. nuchs of the harâm, though cut close, fell in love with the
 beautiful sister of an *Hindû* scrivener, who lived near a house
 where the eunuch often retired to divert himself. The neigh-
 bours at length beginning to rally the scrivener on the occa-
 sion, he threatened both his sister and her lover to kill them,
 if they continued their correspondence. Soon after, finding
 them in the night lying together, he dispatched the eunuch
 outright, and left his sister for dead. The whole harâm, wo-
 men and eunuchs, did their utmost to get the scrivener put to
 death; but *Aureng Zib* was content that he should turn
Mohammedan.

The king's MEAN while this prince was informed, that his sister *Rauslin*
clemency. *ray Begum* had given access, at different times, to two young
 gallants into the harâm; yet shewed no resentment to either
 her or the young men. They were both found wandering in
 the garden, deserted by those intrusted to conduct them out:
 and being brought before *Aureng Zib*, the first said he got-in
 over the wall; the other confessed he entered by the gate.
 They were ordered to go-out the same way they came-in: but
 the eunuchs, exceeding their commission, threw the first
 headlong from the wall, and killed him.

Other em- PRESENTLY after the *Dutch* embassy, there arrived several
bassies. others, almost at the same time; viz. from the Sharif of
Mekka, the king of *Yamman*, or *Happy Arabia*, and the
 prince of *Barah*; whose presents were in horses: lastly, two
 others from the king of *Habash* (or *Ethiopia*). To the three
 first no great regard was paid; their appearance and equipage
 was so miserable, seeming to come only to get presents, and
 sell their merchandize, under pretence of being ambassadors.
 The *Ethiopians* fared better, though they deserved it as little.
 They were ordinary merchants, with a wretched retinue, and
 mean presents; consisting of twenty-five slaves, nine or ten
 of them very young, for making eunuchs of (a design very be-
 coming a Christian prince!); twelve horses, a mule beautifully
 streaked and speckled, two huge elephant's teeth, and a very
 large ox horn full of civet. As *Sevaji* sacked *Surât* just after
 their landing, they lost the little which they brought for their
 subsistence, and were obliged to beg provision of the gover-
 nor, who also sent them up to *Dehli*; where their half-naked
 train passed for beggars. Yet, by our author's speaking in
 behalf of their king to his lord, they were admitted to audi-
 ence by *Aureng Zib*; who honoured them with serapahs, gave
 them money for themselves, and a rich present for their sove-
 reign. They engaged to employ their interest with the king
 for

• BERNIER, part ii. p. 21, & seq. 99, & seq.

for rebuilding a mosk; and requested a korán, and some other religious books, in their master's name; which seemed as odd from a Christian ambassador, as one of them was, as from a Christian king^d.

WHILE these *Ethiopians* were at *Dehli*, *Aureng Zib* assembled his privy council, to consult about the education of *Soltán Akbar*, which he had much at heart. After this there arrived a *Persian* ambassador, who was received with great respect. He made his salute after the *Persian* mode, and delivered his letters into *Aureng Zib*'s own hands. The presents were very rich, and acceptable to the *Great Mogol*; who gave the ambassador considerable donatives, and assigned him a place among his chief *Omrás*. Notwithstanding all these tokens of honour, the *Persian* *Omrás*, at the *Great Mogol*'s court, gave out, that their king had reproached him in his letters with the death of *Dara*, and imprisonment of *Sháh Jehán*, as actions unworthy of a brother, a son, and a mussulman: they reported also, that *Sháh Abbás II.* had twitted him with the word *Alem Ghír*; or conqueror of the world; which *Aureng Zib* had caused to be engraven on his coin. Our author, indeed, cannot think that the king of *Persia* would have ventured, in such a manner, to provoke so victorious a prince as *Aureng Zib*; and yet afterwards believes, either that there must have been some offensive expression in those letters, or else that the ambassador must have some-how displeased *Aureng Zib*. Because two or three days after he had dismissed him, that prince caused a report to be spread, that the ambassador had ordered the hamstrings of the presented horses to be cut; and being yet on the frontiers, made him return all the *Indian* slaves, whom he carried along with him, amounting to a prodigious number.

ABOUT this time, the death of the king's chief astrologer, who happened to be drowned, brought those of the faculty into disgrace; for people could not imagine how the man, who foresaw the fate of others, should be ignorant of his own. And yet this sort of impostors, practising on the credulity of the people, have found means to make themselves as necessary a set of men in the *Indies*, as the clergy or the lawyers^e.

AFTER *Amír Jemla* had driven *Soltán Sujáh* out of *Ben-gál*, he sent to intreat leave of *Aureng Zib* to remove his family into this province, that he might end his days in the company of his wife and children: but *Aureng Zib* feared if he had his son with him, that he might aspire to the

^d TAVERNIER, p. 32-49.^e Ibid. p. 58-89.

5 *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

crown, or at least make himself independent in *Bengâl*, where he had then a strong army at his devotion. At the same time considering that it might be dangerous to disoblige him, he sends to him his wife, and all the children of his son; creates the *Amir* himself a *Mîr'omra*, which is the greatest degree of honour that a favourite can be raised to; and makes *Mohammed Amir Khân* the great *Bakshis*: a dignity like our great master of the horse, the second or third post in the state, but such as obliges the possessor to be always at court. The *Amir* perceiving *Aureng Zib's* dexterity, thought it best to rest content with the honours he had received; and, at the same time, be always on his guard, that since he could attempt nothing against *Aureng Zib*, *Aureng Zib* should not be able to attempt any thing against him.

Broader
Achem.

THUS matters stood between them for near a year: when *Aureng Zib*, well knowing that a great captain cannot be long at rest; and that if he be not employed in a foreign war, he will at length raise a domestic one, proposed to *Amir Jemla* to make war on the rich and potent *Rajah* of *Asbam* (C), whose territories are situated to the north of *Dâkka*, upon the gulf of *Bengâl*.

WE are told by a certain author, that before the expedition of *Amir Jemla*, the kingdom of *Asem* (or *Asbam*) was not known. It had been at peace above 500 years before; and 'tis thought guns and powder were first invented here: which discovery passed from *Asem* into *Pegu*, and thence to *China*. 'Tis certain, that the *Amir* brought from this country several pieces of iron cannon, and store of excellent powder, round and small, both made in *Asem*. When the king dies, all his beloved wives poison themselves, to attend him in the other world.

The country
described.

ASEM is one of the best countries in all *Asia*; for, besides all sorts of provisions, it produces mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, and iron. Silk is plenty there, but coarse: there is also a silk, made by little round creatures, formed at the foot of trees, which is very glossy, but frets presently. Gum-lak is here in great store of both kinds, especially that of a red colour, which grows under trees, and with which they paint their calicoes. When the red juice is drawn out for that purpose, the remaining substance serves to varnish cabinets, and make wax. Altho' all necessities of life are so

f BERNIER, p. 107, & seqq.

(C) *Tavernier* calls it *Asem*; pital was formerly a city of the others *Azem*; and says the same name. *Trav. Ind.* c. 17.

plenty

plenty in *Asen*, yet dogs flesh is in most esteem, and the ⁵ *Khân* greatest delicacy at feasts. It is sold in the towns every month, *Shâh Je-* on market-days. Altho' there are abundance of vines, the *hân.* inhabitants never think of wine, but dry the grapes to make their *agua vita*. They have no salt, but what they get out of the ashes of the leaves of trees, especially that called *Adam's fig-tree*; whereof also they make a lye for washing their silk, which thereby becomes as white as snow.

THE king requires no subsidies of his subjects; his revenues arising out of the mines, which are his property, and wrought by slaves. The people live at their ease, have each four wives, and commonly an elephant to carry them. They are well complexioned; only the more southerly they live, the more swarthy, and not so subject to wens in their throats: but the women are flat-nosed. In the south parts they go naked, excepting a cloth to cover their privities, and a blue cap hung about with swines teeth. They wear gold in their ears, and bracelets of coral, amber, and shells, which, at the burial of friends, they fling into their graves ².

BUT to return to the war: *Amîr Jemla*, who, in all appearance, had before designed the same expedition, readily undertook it. He embarked at *Dakka*, with a powerful army, upon a river which comes from those parts (D): and having proceeded about 100 leagues north-east, arrived at *Azo*, a castle (E) which the *Rajah* had many years before wrested from the kingdom of *Bengâl*. This place he retook in fifteen days; and then in twenty-six more marched still northward, over land, towards *Shamdâra*, which gives entrance into *Asbam*. There a battle was fought, in which the *Rajah* being worsted, retreated to *Gherghon* (F), his capital city, four miles from *Shamdâra*.

THE *Amîr* pursued him so closely, that he gave him no time to fortify himself, arriving there in five days time. This constrained the *Rajah* to fly towards the mountains of the

2 BERNIER, Trav. Ind. c. 17.

(D) *Tavernier* says it comes from *Chiamay*:—but neither the situation, nor name of that lake, is with any certainty known, or mentioned by later travellers.

(E) According to *Tavernier*, the tombs of the kings and royal family of *Asen* are at this town; for they do not burn their dead, as in other parts. Great wealth

was found here, in the vaults of the chapels of the great *Pagod*, where the tombs are. Trav. Ind. c. 17.

(F) *Tavernier* says, the name of the city where the king keeps his court is *Kennezoof*, 25 or 30 days journey from that which was formerly the capital, and bore the same name.

5. *Khân*
hân.
Shâh Je-

kingdom of *Lâjâ*, and abandon *Gherghon*, which was pillaged as well as *Shamdâra*. They found vast riches in that city, which was very large and fair, well traded, and the women exceeding beautiful. Mean time, the rainy season arriving sooner than usual, which laid the country under water, and the Râjah's people having carried away all the provisions of the fields; the *Amîr's* army was greatly distressed, without being able either to advance or retreat, for the mountains on one side, and the deep roads on the other: besides, the Râjah had caused the way to be dug up as far as *Shamdâra*. This obliged the general to abandon his design, and, when the rains were over, to return; which he did, after suffering extremely from the roads, want of victuals, and the pursuit of the Râjahs. He designed, however, to renew his attempt the next year: but at *Azo*, where the flux began to rage in his army, he fell sick, and died; which put an end to the just apprehensions of the *Great Mogol*. For on this occasion, those who knew the state of affairs, said, '*Tis this day that Aureng Zib is king of Bengâl*'; and he could not forbear to express something like it himself: for he said publicly, to *Mohammed Amîr Khân*, *You have lost your father, and I the greatest and most dangerous friend I had*. However, he caressed this son, and promised to be a father to him; in which he kept his word: for he confirmed him in his post of Great Bakshis, augmented his pension to 1000 rupis a month, and left him heir of all the *Amîr's* estate, which, by the custom of the country, fell to himself

Amîr
Jemla
dies.

Expedition
against

THE government of *Bengâl*, and command of the army in that country, with the title of *Mîro'l Omra*, which *Amîr Jemla* possessed, the king gave to his own uncle, *Shâh Heft Khân* (G), who had so much contributed to his advancement by his eloquence and address. This lord was first made by him governor of *Agra*, when he left that city to meet *Soltân Sujâh* at *Kajowh*, and afterwards governor of *Dekan*, and general of the army there. As soon as *Shâh Heft Khân* was settled in *Bengâl*, he resolved to deliver the country from the *Portuguese* pirates, who had for a long time been a plague to that country; and then to attack the king of *Rakan* (or *Arrakan*) according to the order of *Aureng Zib*; who had a mind to be revenged on that prince (not so much for harbouring those execrable vermin, as) for his cruelty toward *Soltân Sujâh*, and all his family^h.

^h BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 11, & seqq. 131.

(G) He was son of the famous *Asf Khân*, father-in-law of *Shâh Jibân*.

IN order to set this matter in a proper light, our reader is to know, that, for many years before, the kingdom of *Rakan* had been the refuge of all the runaway *Portugueses* from *Goa*, *Kochin*, *Malakka*, and other places which they had in the *Indies*, as well as of their slaves, and other *Europeans*. They consisted of such as had abandoned their monasteries, had been twice or thrice married, murderers, and the like, who led in that country a most horrible life, butchering one another, and assassinating their own priests, who sometimes were not better than themselves. The king of *Rakan* kept them as a guard of his frontiers against the *Mogol*, in the port called *Chatigon* (H) (which he had taken from *Bengál*), giving them lands, and liberty to live as they pleased. Their usual trade was robbery and piracy; they not only scoured the sea-coasts, but entered the rivers, especially the chanel of the *Ganges*; and often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, surprised and carried away whole towns and villages of people, with great cruelty, and burning all which they could not carry away. Hence it is, saith our author, that there are seen in the mouth of that river so many fine islands quite deserted, which were formerly very populous.

AFTER they had done all this mischief, they had the impudence to go and sell the old people, whom they could make no use of, in the very country from whence they had taken them; so that those who had escaped by flight, bought to-day their fathers and mothers, who had been made slaves of yesterday. The rest of their captives they made rowers of, and such Christians as they were themselves; or else sold them to the *Portugueses* belonging to other parts of the *Indies*; and even to those of *Ogowli* (or *Hugli*) who settled there by favour of *Jehán Ghôr*, on promise to keep the bay of *Bengál* free from pirates. This trade was carried on towards the isle of *Galles*, near cape *Palmas*, where these *Corfsairs* waited for the *Portugueses*, who filled their ships with slaves at an easy rate; this infamous rabble bragging that they made more Christians in one year, than all the missionaries through the *Indies* did in ten. They were these pirates who made *Sháh Jehán* at last to vent his passion not only against the jesuit

(H) *Chatigon*, as *Bernier* writes it, and *Xatigam* as the *Portugueses*. Its true name, according to *Hamilton*, is *Chittagong*. It stands at the mouth of the eastern branch of the *Ganges*; is a poor place, in the hands of the *Mogols*; altho' the descendants of the *Portugueses* are the domineering lords of it. *New Account of East Ind.* vol. ii. p. 22. and 25.

5 *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

missionaries at *Agra*, most of whose church (I) he caused to be pulled down; but also against the *Franghis* of *Owgli*, for conniving at the pirates, and filling their houses with slaves, who were his natural subjects (K).

seize Sun-
diva.

THESE miscreants, some time before the desolation of *Owgli*, offered the viceroy of *Goa* to put the whole kingdom of *Rakân* into his hands for the king of *Portugal*: but he refused to send the succours demanded by one *Bastian Gon-salvo*, who was their captain, and had married one of the king's daughters. This the viceroy did, as they say, not thro' detestation of the treason, but out of arrogance and jealousy, that *Bastian* should have the honour of doing such an exploit. About the same time these pirates seized on the island of *Sundiva*, commanding, in some measure, the mouth of the *Ganges*; in which isle a certain *Augustin* frier, a very famous man, acted the king for many years. Having taken a course, God knows how, says our author, to rid himself of the commander of that place, these fame robbers, who carried *Soltân Sujâh* from *Dâka* to *Rakan*, as before related, found means, by the way, to open his coffers, and rob him of good store of jewels; which they sold privately at *Rakan*, for a small matter, for want of knowing the value of them. In short, their depredations were so great in *Bengâl*, that they for many years obliged the *Great Mogol* to garrison the passes every-where, and keep a great militia on foot at land, as well as a fleet of galleasses at sea, to oppose their courses: but they only laughed at the *Mogol* soldiery, and were become so daring at sea, that four or five of their gal-leasses would set upon fourteen or fifteen of the others, which they actually worsted and took, or run aground¹.

Pirates re-
volt to

THIS was the condition of the pirates, when *Shâh Hesh Khân* entered upon the government of *Bengâl*; and this lord knowing that it was impracticable to pass any forces, either horse or foot, from *Bengâl* to *Rakan*, on account of the many chanel and rivers upon the frontiers; considering also, that those pirates would hinder him to transport his army by sea, he resolved to engage the *Dutch* in his design; and for that purpose sent an officer to *Batavia*, to persuade the general to join with him in subduing the kingdom of *Rakan*,

¹ BERNIER, p. 118, & seqq.

(I) It was fair and large, built as well as that of *Labûr*, by *Jebân Ghîr*, with a great steeple over it, and a bell, whose

sound might be heard all over the city.

(K) See more of these affairs, vol. vii. p. 29, & seqq.

The general of *Batavia*, judging this a proper means to de-⁵ *Kbáb*
stroy the *Portuguese* power in the *Indies*, and enlarge their *Sháh Je-*
own, dispatched two men of war for *Bengál*, to favour the *hán.*
transportation of the *Mogol* troops: but before those men of
war arrived, *Sháh Heft Khán*, having equipped a great num-
ber of galleasses, and many large vessels, for the same service,
sent to acquaint the pirates with his design upon *Rakan*; pro-
mising, in case they abandoned the service of the king, and
took part with *Aureng Zib*, that he would distribute among
them as much land in *Bengál* as they desired, and give them
double the pay which they then had. On the other hand,
he threatened, in case they refused his offers, utterly to spoil
and ruin them.

THE pirates, whether for fear of the *Mogol* general, or *Sháh Heft*
the king of *Rakan*, one of whose officers they had about that *Khán.*
time assassinated, were one day struck with such a panic, that
they shipped themselves, all at once, in forty or fifty of their
galleasses, with the utmost precipitation, and wafted over
to *Bengál*. *Sháh Heft Khán* received them with open arms,
and gave them considerable pay: then, without letting them
cool, carried them with him to attack the island of *Sundiva*,
which was fallen into the hands of the king of *Rakan*, and
afterwards *Chatigon*, both which he took. About the same
time the two *Dutch* ships arrived: but *Sháh Heft Khán*, ima-
gining that he should now be able to compass his design,
without their assistance, put off, with thanks and compli-
ments, the captains of those vessels, who were not well pleased
at being so duped. As to the pirates, when he had served
his purposes with them, he never minded to perform the
large promises he made. Knowing that they were in his power,
and unable to help themselves, he let them go whole months
without pay, considering them as traitors and infamous men,
who were to be used at discretion; and in this manner did
Sháh Heft Khán put an end to that rabble.

AURENG ZIB was very jealous and strict over his *Soltán*
children. He sent his eldest son *Soltán Mahmúd*, as hath been *Mauzm's*
said, to *Gwaliyar*; but, according to report, did not make *exploits.*
him drink the powst, or stupefying potion. Nor was he well
satisfied, for a time, with his second son, *Soltán Mauzm*,
who afterwards came to the throne; although he always was
a pattern of reservedness and moderation. Whether it was
to try his courage, or that he thought him too forward in
making a party in his late sickness; he one day, in a full
assembly, ordered him to go kill a lion, which, descending
from the mountains, had made great havock in the plains:
and when the master of the hunt called for those large and
strong

5 Khan
Shâh Je-
hân.



strong nets used in this dangerous game, the king told him, that when he was prince, he did not look for such formalities. It was *Mauzm's* good fortune to succeed in this enterprise, without losing more than two or three men, and having a few horses wounded; altho' he was in some small danger himself, the wounded lion having leapt up to the head of his elephant. After that, *Aureng Zib* expressed much affection to him, and gave him the government of *Dekan*; but with so little power and income, that he had not much to apprehend from him^k.

Great of-
ficers ad-
vanced.

It has been already observed, that *Mohabet Khân* had been received into favour by *Aureng Zib*. This prince unwilling, as he said, to lose so brave a commander, and one who had stuck so close to his benefactor *Shâh Jehân*, not only pardoned him, but removed him from the government of *Kâbul* to that of *Guzerât*, in place of *Jessom seyn*, whom he sent to make war in *Dekan*. However, this favour of *Aureng Zib* was probably owing to some considerable presents which the Khân made to *Rusbn ray Begum*, in conjunction with others presented to the Great Mogol himself, consisting of many excellent *Persian* horses and camels, besides 15,000 or 16,000 rupis of gold. As *Aureng Zib* did not ruin all those who were against him, or not of his party, in the late wars, so he did not fail to reward such as had faithfully served him: for, besides his uncle *Shâh Hest Khân*, on whom he conferred the government of *Bengâl*, he gave to *Mîr Khân* that of *Kâbul*; to *Khalîl'o'llah Khân*, that of *Labâr*; to *Mîr Bâba*, that of *Elabâs*; to *Lasker Khân*, that of *Pâtna*. He appointed the son of *Ala Verdi Khan* (L) governor of *Sendi*; *Fazel Khân* he made *Khâneh Samman*, that is, great steward of the house royal; *Danešmend Khân*, governor of *Dehli* (M); and *Dianet Khân*, governor of *Kashmîr*^l.

Seva ji
declared a
Râjab.

'Tis true, that *Nejabâd Khân*, who had behaved well in the battles of *Semongher* and *Kajowch*, was dismissed; but that was, because he had the presumption to upbraid the king with the services done him. As to what concerns the *Râjâhs Jessen* and *Jessom seyn*, this latter was suspected of holding intelligence with *Seva ji*, who had plundered

^k BERNIER, p. 131, & seqq.

^l Ibid. p. 146, & seqq.

(L) Who was of *Soltân Sujab's* party.

(M) This was the lord by whom *Bernier* was retained as physician. As he was always

employed in studies, and foreign affairs, he was dispensed with from attending twice every day in the assembly of *Omrâs*, without having his salary retrenched.

Surât

Surât (N): for which reason *Aureng Zib* called him away from *Dekan*; but, instead of going to *Dehli*, he went to his own territory. In his place the king sent *Jesscyn*, accompanied by his son *Soltân Mauzm*, who yet was vested with no power. This Râjah presently besieged the principal fortrefs of *Seva ji*; and, no less by his dexterity in treating, than by force, prevailed on that lord to surrender, before it came to extremities. This done, he drew *Seva* over to the *Mogol* interest, against *Viziapûr*; on which, *Aureng Zib* declared him a Râjah, and gave the pension of a considerable *Omrâ* to his son. Some time after, at the instigation of that monarch, he went to *Dehli*, on the faith of *Jesscyn*.

BUT *Aureng Zib* being prevailed on, by the persuasion of his uncle *Shah Hest Khân*'s wife, to arrest him, he found his pavilions, one evening, beset by three or four *Omrâs*: however, he made shift to get away in the night. This escape made a great noise at court: and as every-body accused the eldest son of *Jesscyn* to have assisted in it, the Râjah left *Dekan*, to secure his estate, by advice of his friends; keeping night and day on his guard, for fear the *Great Mogol* should lay hold of the pretence to seize his lands: but when he was at *Brampûr* he died. For all this, *Aureng Zib*, far from expressing any resentment to his son, condoled with him for his father's death, and continued his pension: which confirms, says our author, what many said, that *Seva ji*'s escape was with the consent of the king himself, that he might avoid the resentment of the ladies of the court.

AURENG ZIB, being now engaged in no foreign broils, began to think of recovering *Kandahâr*, which has of late ages been the subject of grievous wars. *Akber* took it from the *Persians*; and *Shâh Abbas I.* recovered it from his son, *Jehân Ghîr*: afterwards it returned to *Shâh Jehân*, by means of the governor *Alî Merdân Khân*, who, to avoid the malice of his enemies, surrendered it to him, and went to live at his court. The city was besieged, and retaken afterwards, by the son of *Shâh Abbâs* (O), from the same prince, who twice attempted to regain it, but without suc-

(N) This was in 1664; in which year, we are told by *Frazer*, that *Aureng Zib* went against the Râjapûts; and that his son *Soltân Mohammed Akber* revolted from him, and joined them; that the king pursued him into *Dekan*; but that the prince found means to get by sea to *Persia*. Yet *Gemelli* says, this revolt happened in 1680; as will be observed afterwards.

(O) *Shâh Sefi*.

5 Khân
Shâh Je-
hân.

cess. The first time it escaped, thro' the misunderstanding among the *Persian* Omrâs, at the court of the *Great Mogol*; for they behaved very slackly, and would not follow *Râjah Rowp*, who had already planted his standard on the wall towards the mountain. The second time it was saved by the jealousy of *Aureng Zib* himself, who commanded at the siege: for after a large breach had been made in the wall by the cannon, which was served by *English*, *Portugueses*, *Germans*, and *French*, he would not enter it; that it might not be said to have been taken in the time of his brother *Dara*, who first proposed the siege, and was then at *Kâbul*, with his father *Shâh Jehân*.

Aureng
Zib's at-
tempt.

THIS prince, a little before the war among his sons, would have besieged it the third time, had he not been diverted by *Amîr Jemla*, who persuaded him to turn his arms towards *Dekân*. In this he was seconded by *Alî Merdân Khân* himself; who, on that occasion, told him, that he could never expect to take it, unless he had another traitor there, such as he was. However, *Aureng Zib* prepared to make a new trial, as above-mentioned; urged thereto either by the offensive letters of the king of *Persia*, relating to his proceedings against his father and brothers, or by the ill treatment given by that monarch to his ambassador, *Tarbiat Khân*. But hearing of the king of *Persia's* death, he turned back; saying, as was reported, that he would not meddle with a child, a new king. This reason, however, our author does not think probable; because *Shâh Soleymân*, who succeeded his father, was, in his opinion, about twenty-five years of age^m.

BERNIER does not inform us what that treatment was which *Shâh Abbâs II.* gave to the *Mogol's* ambassador: but we have an account of it from another traveller, of the same time, who relates it in the following manner.

Mogol
ambassa-
dor,

SOME months before the death of *Shâh Jehân*, *Aureng Zib* sent an ambassador into *Persia*, who was magnificently received and caressed for a month: but on the day when he delivered the presents, the king divided them among the officers of his house, only keeping one diamond, which weighed sixty carats. A few days after, *Shâh Abbâs* sent for the ambassador, who, having dropp'd some expressions against *Ali*, his majesty asked him what his name was? He answered, that *Shâh Jehân* had given him that of *Bauhek Khân*; that is, *Lord of a free heart*; and honoured him with one of the chief employments at court. Then thou

^m *BERNIER*, p. 148—157.

art a villain, replied the king, with an angry countenance, ⁵ *Khân* to desert thy sovereignty in his necessity, after thou hadst received so many favours from him, to serve a tyrant, who keeps his father in prison, and has murdered all his brothers. *Shâh Jehân.* How dares he, continued the Persian, to take upon him the title of *Alem Ghîr*, or, Conqueror of all the world, who never conquered any thing; but possesses all he has by treachery and parricide? Hast thou been one of those who counselled him to shed so much blood, to be the executioner of his brothers, and to keep his father in prison? Thou art not worthy to wear a beard: and with that, immediately ordered it to be shaved off; which is the greatest indignity that can be offered in that country. Soon after, he commanded the ambassador to return home; sending with him, for a present to *Aureng Zib*, 150 beautiful horses, with a great quantity of gold and silver carpets, and other stuff, to an immense value. But when *Baubek Khân* had given his master an account of the king of Persia's behaviour, *Aureng Zib* sent the horses into several parts of the city, and ordered to be proclaimed; that the followers of Ali could not ride those horses, without being unclean, as coming from a king who did not obey the true law. After which, he ordered them to be killed, and the rest of the presents to be burnt; uttering, at the same time, many reproachful words against the king of Persiaⁿ.

AFTER *Aureng Zib* had sat on the throne near seven years, *Shâh Jehân* died. his father, *Shâh Jehân*, died, on Sunday the 21st of January, 1666, in the castle of *Agra*, aged seventy-four solar years and sixteen days. His body was interred in the same city, in the magnificent monument which he caused to be erected for his empress *Mehd Aliya*, called also *Tâje Máhl*, and which had cost him sixty laks, or 750,000 l. *Aureng Zib* was exceedingly affected at this news; on which he that instant set out from *Dehli* for *Agra*, where every thing was with pomp prepared for his reception by *Begum Sáheb* (or *Jehân Ara Begum*); who at his entrance into the harâm presented him with a great golden bason, wherein were all her jewels, as well as those of *Shâh Jehân*. In short, she received him in so magnificent a manner, and entertained him with so much dexterity, that she not only obtained his pardon, but also gained his favour, and even his confidence^o. He took her along with him, in his return to *Jehân abad*, or *Dehli*: but not long after she died; and every-body suspected that she had been taken-off by poison^p.

ⁿ TAVERNIER, Trav. part 2. l. 2. c. 7. ^o FRASER, Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 25. BERNIER, p. 174. ^p TAVERNIER, Trav. Ind. l. 2. c. 3. p. 114.

5. Khân
Shâh Je-
hân.

S E C T. III.

*Conquests, and other Transactions, to the Death of
Aureng Zib.*

ALTHOUGH *Aureng Zib* reigned so long in *Hindustân*, yet we meet with very little, in either travellers, or other authors, relating to his reign, after the death of *Shâh Jehân*, in 1666; where *Bernier* leaves off his history, which has furnished materials to succeeding writers. We are even assured, that there is no history extant, but of the first thirteen years of that monarch's reign, from 1658 to 1671; he having forbidden, under severe penalties, any account of his actions from that time to be written, during his life (A). All therefore we can do, in this case, is to collect the few scattered passages to be found chiefly in travellers, to supply, in some measure, this deficiency.

Râjapûts
attacked

ABOUT the year 1678 *Râjah Jesson seyn*, who had been instrumental in raising *Aureng Zib* to the throne, dying, that monarch demanded of his widow the treasure and territory belonging to her late husband: but she returned for answer, that *she had no money, but store of swords*. This attack upon the *Rânnas*, or princesses, brought all the *Hindus* into a confederacy with her: besides, *Mohammed Amîr Khân*, governor of *Guzerât*, who was son of *Amîr Jemla*, and her relation, was making parties for advancing to the throne one of the sons of *Aureng Zib*, who was thus engaged on all sides in wars. This gave occasion to *Seva ji* to move towards *Surât*, while a neighbouring *Râjah* marched against *Brâmpûr*, whose governor the *Great Mogol* had sent for to join him with his troops. In 1679 *Aureng Zib* made great preparations to attack the *Râjapûts*, who had revolted, as before-mentioned; but was for some time prevented by the rains, which were so heavy, that the tops of trees, near *Surât*, were under water (B). However, as soon as they were over, that monarch left *Jehân abâd* (or *Dehli*) with 10,000 men, to go against them. Mean time his eldest son,

(A) For this information we are beholden to Mr. *Frazer*, author of the history of *Nadir Shâh*.

(B) Our author, *Fryer*, tells us, p. 414. that this same year there fell a shower of blood, for 12 hours, within the land; and that

on the coast (of *Golkonda*) *Maçla patan* (or *Masulipâtan*) was overwhelmed by an inundation, whereby 16,000 of the inhabitants perished.—It was almost depopulated by a plague, in 1687.

Soltân

Soltân Mahmûd, advanced to *Brâmpûr*, with a formidable army; for all which, *Seva ji* plundered the country in 1680. *Aureng Zib* continues a double poll-tax on the *Hindûs*; and breaks down all their images where-ever he finds them; so that, being forbidden to worship them in public, they retired to woods and caves to perform their devotions.

5 *Khân*
Shâh Je-
hân.

A: D:
1680.

IN the midst of these combustions, the famous *Seva ji* died, on the 1st of *June*, the same year.

IN the interim *Aureng Zib*, jealous of his eldest son, sent by *Aureng* him to the *Jowalar*, or post (T). He likewise recalled his second and third sons; *Soltân Azem* from his government of *Bengâl*, and *Soltân Mauzm* (U) from *Aureng abâd*: but, fearing to trust themselves in his power, they refused to resign them, and repair to court. This disobedience to his commands their father was then obliged to take no farther notice of, as he had been out twice this year with a numerous army against the *Râspûts*; who, retiring into the mountains, so fatigued the *Mogols*, and distressed them with want of provisions, that the king was forced to return without being able to engage them.

THE disaffection of his three eldest sons made *Aureng Zib* His sons more fond of his youngest, *Soltân Akber*, whom he intended for his successor; but forbore to nominate him, till he had executed his designs against the *Râspûts*; whom he intended to extirpate. To weaken the conspirators, he ordered *Mohammed Amîr Khân*, the governor of *Guzerât*, to join him. This lord, who was originally a *Hindû*, inclined to favour the *Rânnâ*, or widow of *Jessen Sing**; and finding that the *Mogol* generals drew from her great sums of money, under pretence of sending it to court to make her peace with the emperor, yet at the same time took *Cheyttûr*, the capital city, by surprise, he acquainted *Aureng Zib* with their fraudulent practices. He likewise informed him, that *Kâbul Khân*, who was of his privy-council, held correspondence with *Soltân Mauzm* in *Dukkân* (or *Dekan*): but at the same time advised him to remit his severities against the *Hindûs*; alleging, that otherwise a general defection of them was to be apprehended.

THIS advice *Aureng Zib* did not relish: but, having soon after seized letters from *Kâbul Khân* to *Soltân Mauzm*, urging

The pagoda
destroyed.

* FRYER's Trav. p. 412, & seqq.

(T) Perhaps it should be to *Gwahtyâr*, to drink the powit, or stupefying draught.

U Fryer calls one *Affum*, the other *Massum*.

* Or *Jessen seyn*.

him

5 Khân
Shâh Je-
hân.

him to begin a rebellion while his father was in *Azmîr*, at war with the Rânnâ, he found it was best for the present to take it; and ordered the treacherous Khân to be thrown headlong from a steep rock, as a reward for his perfidy. Mean time, although the emperor was with-held from his design of reformation among his *Hindû* subjects, yet he gave orders to demolish all the temples and images in *Azmîr* and the country of *Jessen Sing*, which his army had subdued. In this devastation *Cheyttâr* suffered most; its magnificent marble structures being levelled with the ground. This city, which is impregnable by its situation, could never have been taken by force: but the Rânnâ, relying on the promises of the *Mogol* generals, neglected to provide the place with either men or ammunition; so that they who were in it on the enemy's approach, finding themselves unable to oppose them, retreated into the mountains, and left this fortress open to their arms. After this, whatever the cause was, the *Mogol* forces were withdrawn in the midst of their career against the infidels; and commissioners left behind with very friendly offers towards an accommodation: which gave room to conjecture, that *Aureng Zib* was smitten with the Râjah's widow, who was a very beautiful lady^r.

Soltân
Akber
rebels;

A. D.
1684-

THE next thing of note which we meet with in this reign, is the rebellion of his favourite son *Soltân Akber*; who, we are told, was more ambitious than all the rest. This prince was sent (X) with an army of 30,000 men to make war on the Râjah *Lifonte*, who borders on the kingdom of *Azmîr* (Y): but

^r FRYER'S Trav. p. 416, & seqq.

(X) There is much disagreement among authors about the date of this event. According to *Frazer*, he revolted to the Râj-pûts in 1664; but, had that been so, *Bernier*, *Tavernier*, and *Thevenot*, would have mentioned it. *Gemelli* places this revolt in 1680: but in that year *Fryer* says he was in great favour. Captain *Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 245, puts it about 1685. In this case *Frazer* must have mistaken 64 for 84. In effect, it must have been rather after than before 1684; since *Gemelli* says *Aureng Zib* had in 1695 been

four years at *Gulgala*, after the defeat of *Akber*; whom he saw at *Ispahân* in 1694.

(Y) *Hamilton* says, that *Aureng Zib* was then in *Dekan* against *Seva ji*; but could not reduce him; because *Akber* had a friendship for that Râjah, and still betrayed his father's designs. Also that the king having drawn *Seva ji* to his camp, with design to cut him off, *Akber* gave him notice, and he fled by night. The king, suspecting his son, sent him a rich vest, but poisoned; whereupon *Akber* fled to *Dandi Rajapûr*, and thence to *Masfat*

but instead of subduing, he was prevailed on to join him: 6. *Khân*, after which they both marched with their forces, consisting of *Aureng Zib*, 70,000 horse and a competent number of foot, most of them *Rājputs*, and entered *Azmīr*, where his father then was; who could hardly believe the thing real. Here, whilst the prince rested his army, much fatigued with the long march, the crafty old man, not having force sufficient to oppose him, had recourse to stratagem. He therefore wrote letters, directed to his son, in which he commended his conduct in drawing the idolaters to that place to be cut-off, as had been agreed; and promised to advance the next day, and put that design in execution. This letter he sent by a trusty eunuch into the enemy's camp, with orders to behave so, that he might be seized as a spy, and the letter intercepted. The thing was managed accordingly, and had the desired effect: for, although *Akber* swore on the *Korân* that it was a contrivance of his father's to divide them, the *Hindû* chiefs would never believe him. These jealousies kept them so long employed, that *Aureng Zib* had time to call *Shâh Alem*, with a powerful army: who defeated both the *Rājah* and *Akber*.

AKBER after this put himself, with 4000 horse, under *flies to* the protection of *Rājah Samba* (Z): but *Aureng Zib* attacked *Persia*. him so vigorously, that at length he took him prisoner, and caused his head to be cut-off, for having uttered some indecent expressions in his presence. This *Rājah's* ruin was owing to his drunkenness: for, though the centinels twice gave him notice, while he was drinking in his tent with his women dancers, that the *Mogol* army was advancing, instead of going to arms, he ordered their heads to be cut off; saying, "the enemy would not dare to come where he was." His son, who was not so far gone in liquor, escaped with one thousand horse, leaving his father behind; who soon smarted for his folly and intemperance.

As for *Akber*, he got away to *Goa*, and from thence was conveyed to *Ormûz* (A). Notice of his arrival being sent to *Shâh Soleymân*, this prince had him conducted to *Ispâhân*,

Maskât in *Arabia*. New Account of *East-India*, vol. i. p. 245, & seq.

(Z) *Samba Rājah*, according to *Fryer*, was brother to *Seva ji*. See his *Travels*, p. 169, 171; but, p. 79, we find a son of that name, who succeeded his father in 1680. P. 415.

(A) According to Captain *Hamilton*, he went to *Maskât*; where *Messieurs Bental* and *Stephens*, two *English* gentlemen, provided him a vessel to carry him to *Persia*; and soon after his arrival, he was married to the king's sister. *Ibid.* p. 246.

6. *Khân*
Aureng
Zib.

and allowed him a pension suitable to his quality. *Aureng Zib* tried several arts to draw him out of *Persia*; but *Akber* was too wise to trust him. He likewise made war on *Seva ji* (B), for assisting that prince; and, after taking several towns, besieged him in his capital, called *Jinji* (C). This place is seated amidst seven mountains, with each a fort at top, which may be relieved in spite of the *Mogols*, who lay before them with 60,000 horse and foot, to little purpose. When *Gemelli* left *India*, the siege had lasted seven years¹.

English
at Bom-
bay

IN 1688, Sir *John Child*, governor of *Bombay*, pretending grievances, gave in articles to the governor of *Surât*; and, not meeting with the redress which he expected, resolved to indemnify himself by taking the *India* merchant ships. In *January* 1689 he left *Surât*, and in his way to *Bombay* seized a fleet of vessels, carrying corn to an army of the *Great Mogol's*, which lay at *Dunder Râjahpûr*, fourteen leagues to the southward. Hereupon *Sedi Yakûb*, the general, sent twice to the governor, in a very civil manner, to desire that he would discharge his fleet: but Sir *John* returning an insolent answer both times, *Sedi Yakûb*, on *February* 14th, landed 20,000 men, and soon took the whole island, excepting the fort; which he began to press upon. So that, in *December*, the governor sent two deputies to *Jehân abâd*, to beg pardon of *Aureng Zib*, and desire a new *Firmân*; which, in *June* 1690, the 31st of his reign, was granted, on condition that the governor should leave *India* in nine months (but he died in *January*), and satisfaction be made to his subjects, for debts due, and damages received. This was an argument of that monarch's pacific and forgiving disposition, as his granting a *Firmân* to Mr. *Boucher*, an *English* merchant; to secure him against the implacable malice and wicked persecution of the governor, was of his justice and humanity. Not long after, he received a new insult from Captain *Every* (or *Avery*), an *English* pirate, who took and plundered a great ship of his called the *Gunsway*; on which occasion our author Captain *Hamilton*, and Mr. *Vauz* (judge of *Bombay*), were made prisoners at *Surât*, in 1696¹.

make war,
and sub-
mit.

ABOUT

- ¹ GEMELLI Trav. ap. Churchill's Collect. vol. iv. p. 232.
² HAMILTON's New Account East-Indies, vol. i. p. 200, 218, & seqq.

(B) If this was so, *Akber's* revolt could be neither in 1684 nor 1680; for *Seva ji* died in *June* this last year, and *Akber* was in favour at *Jehân abâd*.

There must be some mistake either in the *Râjahs*, or their names.

(C) We know of no place in *Seva ji's* country of this name.

Jenab,

We should have been glad to conclude the reign of *Aureng Zib* with an account of his conquest over the two kingdoms of *Viziapûr* and *Golkonda*; which he had long resolved upon, and often attempted without success. But of these great events authors barely make mention, without so much as noting the year wherein they happened (D). It should seem from one writer, that, in the year 1695, *Golkonda* was in the hands of its own prince; for that, the next year, advice arrived at *Batavia*, that the inhabitants were under much uneasiness, for fear of the *Great Mogol*; who, having conquered *Viziapûr* (E), was marching to attack that kingdom*. But the truth is, that the capital of *Golkonda* was taken in 1687*.

AURENG ZIB died at *Ahmednâgar*, in the province of *Aureng Dowlet abâd*, the 21st of February 1707, after he had lived ninety lunar years; fourteen days, and reigned about fifty. He left a short will, in which he recommends the division which he had formerly made of his dominions to his sons, as the way to prevent much bloodshed. He told them, that whoever settled in *Agra* might have the province thereof, with *Dekkan*, *Mâlva*, and *Guzerât*; and that he who resided at *Dehli* might have *Kâbul*, and the other provinces: but assigned neither part to any of them; only he ordered all his servants to be faithful to *Mohammed Azem Shâh*, his third son, who was then with him, *Mauzum* being at *Kâbul*; and recommended to such of his fortunate children as should chance to rule the empire, not to molest *Mohammed Kam Bukhs*, his youngest son, in case he rested content with the two new *Sûbahs*, or governments, meaning those of *Vijapûr*, and *Hâyder abâd*, or *Golkonda*, which were lately conquered. He likewise ordered, that he should be buried in the place of *Shâh Zeyno'ddîn*, a *Darwîsh*, reputed holy, near the city where he died, without any pomp: and that only a tomb should be made for his corps, after the manner of the *Dar-*

6. *Khân Aureng Zib.*
Viziapûr and Golkonda conquered.

His will.

* See BRAEMN'S report ap. rec. des voy. de la com. p. 155.

* See the Hist. of *Golkonda*, book x. ch. 4. sect. 2.

Jenab, on the borders, comes nearest it. *Rari* was his residence in 1678, when *Fryer* was in *India*.

(D) This is the case both of *Gemelli* and *Frazer*; who only say, that he added those kingdoms to his empire. Only *Gemelli* says *Viziapûr* was subdued in 1685, *Golkonda* is now reduced into a province, under

the name of *Heyder abâd*; which is the *Persian* name for *Baghnagar*, the capital city. •

(E) *Viziapûr* must then have been conquered in or about 1695. But *Gemelli*, who saw *Aureng Zib* encamped in that kingdom with a vast army, the same year, speaks of the conquest as made nine years before. Which must have been the case.

68 *Khân*
Aureng
Zib.

wishes, which is plain, and without any ornament (F). As this prince was very zealous for *Mohammedism*, those of the religion make a great merit of visiting his tomb, especially on the 28th of the month *Zilkaadeh*, which was the day he died on *.

His person,

A CERTAIN traveller, who, in 1695, made a journey from Goa to the camp of *Aureng Zib*, then at *Galgala* in *Viziapûr*, and had an audience of him, gives the following account of his person. He was of a low stature, with a large nose, slender, and stooping with age. He walked leaning on a staff forked at the top, yet endorsed petitions without spectacles; and, by his cheerful smiling countenance, seemed pleased with doing business in the public audience. His beard was white, and his complexion olive-coloured *.

and character.

AURENG ZIB laboured to gain the reputation of being a strict observer of the Korân, and a lover of justice. He had so disposed of his time, that he could scarce ever be said to be idle. Some days in the week he bathed, before sun-rise: then, having prayed, he broke his fast. After that he spent two hours with his secretaries, and then gave public audience before noon. From thence he went to prayers again. This done he dined; and soon after gave audience a second time. Then followed the third and fourth time of prayer. He was next employed in the affairs of his family till two hours after it was dark: then he supped, and slept only two hours: after which he took the Korân, and read till break of day. This account was given our author by several eunuchs of the court; who, knowing their prince was skilled in necromancy (says *Gemelli*, no less superstitious than the eunuchs), believed he was assisted by the devil in that painful course of life; or could not have undergone so much fatigue in his old-age. Yet his diet was nothing but herbs and pulse.

His mildness:

AFTER *Aureng Zib* had prescribed to himself this sort of life, he ceased to be bloody; and grew so mild, that the governors and Omrâs, depending on his clemency, neglected to pay him the obedience which they owed him. Hence the poor became oppressed by the great: for the king, when advised to be less merciful to those who transgressed his commands, answered, *that heaven would punish them*. The generality imputed this to his sanctity; but our author judged,

* FRASER, ubi supr. p. 33, & seqq.
sup. p. 222.

* GEMELLI, ubi

(F) He left by his will 1000 distributed among the poor, at his funeral.

that

that he connived at the faults of his ministers to attach them to him, and make them averse to a change.

HOWEVER, he did not, when young, give himself up to sensual pleasures, as his predecessors had done; keeping a numerous harâm of women for ostentation rather than use. Nor was his table maintained out of the revenue of the crown. He said, *the food was not good which cost the sweat of the subjects: but that every man ought to work for his living.* For this reason he made caps, which he sent in presents to his governors; who, in return for the honour, remitted by the messengers several thousand rupis. When our author was in *Hindûstân*, his decrepid age having rendered him unable to work, he had reserved the revenue of four cities for his table. His expences were but small; for a vest of his did not cost above eight rupis (or twenty shillings); his *fash*, and *chira*, or cap, still less. He left in his private treasury 57,382 rupis (or 7172 l. 15 s.) as appears by his will.

AURENG ZIB, when he became emperor, assumed the titles of *Mohio'ddîn*, that is, *the reviver of religion*; and *Alem Ghîr*, *the conqueror of the world*. Gemelli says, he took the name of *Alem Ghîr*, in a belief that he possessed three parts in four of it. For this reason he carried a golden globe as his ensign, and had it in his seal. He likewise always tore off one corner of the paper he wrote on, to signify that the fourth part of the world was not his.

THE revenues of the empire were greatly increased in this prince's time: for, excluding *Balkh*, *Kandahâr*, and *Biddukhsbân*, which *Shâh Jehân* possessed, and were afterwards lost, the remaining twenty-one provinces, reckoning the two new conquests, yielded a revenue of 12,071,876,840 dams, which (at 320 dams to a pound sterling) make 37,724,615 l. 10 s. 0 d. (G).

AURENG ZIB had five sons; first, *Soltân Mohammed*, or *Mahmûd*, as most authors call him. He was several times confined by his father's order; and once or twice imprisoned in *Gwaliyâr*; where it is reported by some that he died by drinking the powder: but we are told by a certain author,

* GEMELLI, *ibid.* p. 230, l. ii. c. 4.
supr. p. 29. b GEMELLI, *ubi* supr.

* FRASER, *ubi*
FRASER, p.

(G) Gemelli makes the revenue eighty krors of rupis, every kror containing ten millions: by which account it will amount to one hundred millions. See his *Voyage round the world*, l. ii. ch. 6. ap. *Church. Collect.* vol. iv. p. 234.

6. *Khān*
Aureng
Zib.

that, aiming at the crown, he proceeded so openly towards taking away his father's life, that, to prevent him, he caused him to be poisoned one day, when he went a hunting : and, mistrusting that he was not really dead, when he was brought to the palace, he, to be sure, commanded a red-hot iron to be run into his leg from the sole of his foot to his knee.

Moham-
med
Mauzm.

MOHAMMED Mauzm, or, as *Gemelli* calls him, *Shāh Alem* (H), the second son, by the death of *Mahmūd* had the right of eldest, and entertained the same thoughts of destroying his father. With this design he once caused a great trench to be dug near *Aureng Zib*'s tent, that he might fall into it, as he passed along : but, the plot being discovered by an eunuch, *Shāh Alem* was shut-up in a dark prison ; where, though sixty years of age, he remained six years ; till a few days before our author arrived at the *Mogol*'s camp in *Vizia-pūr*, which was in *March* 1695. Yet, on account of his title by birth to the crown, many thousands of the soldiers were of his party, and even when he was in prison, continued firm ; nor would receive any other pay, although he relieved them but meanly. He was at that time tall and corpulent, with a thick long beard, which began to be grey, being then sixty-five years of age. He succeeded *Aureng Zib*.

Moham-
med
Azem.

MOHAMMED Azem, or *Azem Shāh*, third son of *Aureng Zib*, played his game also in plotting against his father, with the king of *Vizia-pūr*, his kinsman, before he was taken, and lost his dominions. *Azem Shāh* was fifty-five years old in 1695. *Aureng Zib* appointed him his successor ; but his brother *Shāh Alem* deprived him of the crown and life.

Moham-
med
Akber.

MOHAMMED Akber, or *Soltān Akber*, the fourth son, was the prince whom *Aureng Zib* was most fond of, and designed for the throne : but his father's indulgence could not restrain him, more than the rest, from seeking the empire before his death by rebellion ; as hath been already related, with his flight to *Persia*, from whence he never returned to *Hindūstān*. In 1695 he was forty-five years of age.

Moham-
med
Kam-
bukhsh.

AURENG Zib's youngest son was *Mohammed Kam-bukhsh* (I). *Gemelli*, who calls him *Sekānder*, says, he was about thirty in 1695, and infected with ambition, like the rest of his brothers : for this reason, though after the conquest of *Vizia-pūr* the emperor had no enemy left more

(H) This shews, that *Soltān Mauzm* took the name of *Shāh Alem* many years before he as-

cended the throne, as *Shāh Jehān* had done before.

(I) That is, the giver of de-fires, or wishes. *Frazer*.

considerable

considerable than *Seva ji*, yet, fearing the designs of his sons, he had kept the field for fifteen years together^d.

7. *Khân Koth-bo'ddîn.*

C H A P. IX.

Containing the Reigns of the Emperors, Koth-bo'ddîn, Bahâdr Shâh, Jehândâr Shâh, Mohammed Furrukshîr, and Rashtya al Derjâl.

S E C T I.

Reign of Kothbo'ddîn Bahâdr Shâh.

UPON *Aureng Zib's* death, *Mohammed Azem Shâh* (A) ^{Wins the crown} set out from *Dekkan*, with his father's troops, towards the capital, to take possession of the empire, according to his father's destination: but *Mohammed Mauzm*, as the eldest brother, resolved to dispute the title with him; and therefore, about the same time, departed from *Kâbul* with another army, in order to decide the controversy by a battle. The two princes met with their forces on the banks of the river *Chun* (or *Jemni*), near *Agra*. They were the most numerous which for several ages had come together in *India*; *Mohammed Mauzm* having had with him 150,000 horse and 178,000 foot, exclusive of the auxiliaries furnished by the *Râjahs*, and his brother nigh as many. In short, after an obstinate battle, *Azem Shâh's* forces were defeated, and himself slain. Hereupon *Mohammed Mauzm* was proclaimed emperor, and assumed the title of *Kothbo'ddîn Bahâdr Shâh*, and *Shâh Alâm* (B).

This prince at his accession made *Mohammed Khân* his ^{from his brothers.} *Wazîr*; *Zulfekar Khân*, his *Mîr Bukhshî*, or paymaster-general; *Dawd Khân*, *Soubabdar*, or lord-licutenant, of the provinces of *Dekkan*; and *Affâd Khân* absolute agent. Then, leaving this latter to take care of the capital, he marched against his brother *Kam Bukhsh*, who had left *Vijapûr* (or *Viziapûr*), and

^d GEMELLI, ubi supr. p. 220, & seqq. 231, & seqq.

(A) *Azem Shâh* signifies the great or glorious king. This prince was then, according to *Gemelli*, reckoned sixty-seven years old.

(B) Or, as it may be now pronounced in the *Indies*, *Shâh Alâm*, which signifies king of the world. According to *Gemelli*,

he went by this name or title many years before; it being customary for the princes to change their names on certain occasions. *Bahâdr Shâh* signifies the valiant king, and *Koth-bo'ddîn*, the axis of religion. He was, according to *Gemelli's* account, seventy-seven years old.

G g 4

settled

8. *Khân* settled at *Hayder abâd* (C). There, after some small resistance, *Jehândâr* he was taken prisoner, and died the same night of the wounds which he had received in the fight.

Their sons. *BAHÂDR Shâh*, having thus removed all obstructions out of his way, returned to his metropolis; and from thence went to *Labâr*, to suppress some religious riots: shortly after which he died, when he had reigned about six years. This emperor had four sons: *Mâuzo'ddîn*, called also *Jehândâr Shâh* (D); *Mohammed Azîm*, or *Azîm al Shân* (E); *Raffiya al Kadr*, or *Raffiya al Shân* (F); *Khojesta Akhter*, or *Jehân Shâh* (G).

SOLTAN Mohammed Azem had two sons; *Mohammed Bidâr Bukht* (H), and *Mohammed Wallâ Jâh* (I).

SOLTAN Mohammed Kam Bukhsh had one son; *Jesdân Bukhsh*, called also *Rahmân Bukhsh* (K); whose daughter was married to *Nasr Allah Mîrzâ* (L), son of *Nadir Shâh*, or *Tahmasp Kûli Khân*.*

S E C T. II.

Reign of Jehândâr Shâh.

*His suc-
cess.*

ON the death of *Bahâdr Shâh*, *Azîm al Shân* gathered a powerful army: to oppose which, and prevent his possessing the empire, his three brothers, *Jehândâr Shâh*, *Raffiya al Shân*, and *Jehân Shâh*, joined their forces to oppose him. The two armies at length coming to an engagement, *Azîm al Shân* was defeated and slain. The confederate brothers after this could not agree about the partition of the empire: and, during the contest, the treasure of the deceased prince fell into the hands of *Zulfekar Khân*, who was in *Jehândâr Shâh*'s interest. As this accession of wealth greatly augmented his power, he marched against his two remaining

* FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 39, & seqq.

(C) Formerly called *Bâgnâgar*, the capital city of *Golkandâ*.

(D) *Mâuzo'ddîn* signifies the honour or glory of religion; *Jehândâr Shâh*, the king who possesses the world. *Frazer*.

(E) *Mohammed Azîm*, *Mohammed the Great*; *Azîm al Shân*, of great figure, or rank. *Frazer*.

(F) *Raffiya al Kadr*, of exalted power; *Raffiya al Shân*, of exalted rank.

(G) *Khojesta Akhter*, of happy stars; *Jehân Shâh*, king of the world.

(H) *Bidâr Bukht*, whose fortune is awake. *Frazer*.

(I) *Wallâ Jâh*, of august rank. (K) *Jesdân Bukhsh*, God's gift; *Rahmân Bukhsh*, the gift of the merciful. *Frazer*.

(L) *Nasr Alla*, assisted by God, *Frazer*.

brothers;

brothers; and, having overcome their forces, took and put them both to death. The destruction of his brothers secured the empire to *Jehândâr Shâh*, and *Zulfegar Khân* became his *med. Wazîr*.

He was a weak prince, and so foolishly fond of one of his wives, named *Lal Koar*, who was of an obscure parentage, and a singer by profession, that he endeavoured to fill the places of greatest trust and honour in the empire with her mean relations. This misconduct so disgusted *Seyd Abdallah Khân* and *Seyd Hassan Khân*, two brothers, who were of great authority, and had a choice body of troops at their command, that they resolved to place *Mohammed Furrukhsîr* (M), son of *Azim al Shân*, on the throne. This prince, who was then in *Bengâl*, notwithstanding he had but little treasure, got numbers of people to join his party, with whom he marched to dethrone the emperor. At first he met and defeated *Eazo'ddîn*, son of *Jehândâr Shâh*. After which he proceeded against *Jehândâr Shâh* himself: who, through the treachery and cowardice of his troops, was defeated near *Agra*, and obliged to fly, although he had near 100,000 horse and foot.

JEHANDAR Shâh had one son, *Eazo'ddîn*,

AZIM al Shân had one son, *Mohammed Furrukhsîr*.

RAFIYA al Shân had three sons; *Rafiya al Derjât* (O), *Rafiya al Dowlat* (P), and *Soltân Ibrâhîm*.

JEHAN had one son, *Mohammed Shâh*, who was the late emperor of *Hindûstân*.

S E C T. III.

Reign of Mohammed Furrukhsîr.

MOHAMMED Furrukhsîr, son of *Azim al Shân*, being settled on the throne, *Seyd Abdallah Khân* was made *Wazîr*, with the title of *Kothb al Mulluk*, and *Jâr ba wafâ* (Q). *Hassan Ali Khân* was appointed *Mîr Bukhshî*, or paymaster-general, with the title of *Amir al Omrâ* (R). As these two

^b FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 41, & seqq.

(M) *Farruksîr* (or *Farroksîr*) signifies of happy disposition. (P) *Rafiya al Dowlat*, of exalted fortune. Fraser.

(N) *Eazo'ddîn* (or *Azxo'ddîn*) signifies the glory of religion. (Q) *Kothb al Mulluk*, the axis of the empire; *Jâr ba Wafâ*, the grateful friend. Fraser.

(O) *Rafiya al Derjât*, of exalted degree. (R) The prince of princes, or commander of commanders. Fraser.

brothers,

10. *Khân* brothers usurped the absolute management of all affairs, the Raziya al Derjât emperor found himself in effect only so in name, while these ministers had the whole power in their own hands. *Furrukhstr*, ill brooking the condition of a nominal sovereign, at length, by the advice of *Khândoran* and *Mir Jumla*, began to contrive means how to get rid of such assuming subjects. The two brothers, on the other hand, were intent on nothing so much as enriching themselves. They turned out *Nizâm al Mulluk* (S), son of *Gâzio'ddin Khân* (T), from his government of *Dekkan*, and *Hassan Ali Khân* went thither himself. At last, the two brothers, finding that the emperor grew jealous of their power, resolved to dethrone him, and place a more passive prince in his room.

dethrone
and mur-
der him ;

To accomplish their design the more effectually, they endeavoured to draw into their measures *Ajit Sang*, the *Mâha Râjah* ; who, although his daughter was married to *Furrukhstr*, joined in the conspiracy. Having seized the emperor's person, they first confined, and shortly after blinded him, by drawing a red-hot wire over his eyes. At length, on the 16th of February, 1719, after offering him a thousand indignities, they put him to death, when he had reigned seven years. It was in this emperor's time that the *English East-India* company obtained a *Firmân* (U), exempting them from paying any duties within his dominions^c.

S E C T. IV.

Reign of Raziya al Derjât.

also his
successor.

THE *Seyds*, after they had made away with *Furrukhstr*, took Raziya al Derjât, son of Raziya al Shân I. out of the castle of *Selimgur*, where the royal family are confined, and placed him on the throne. But he had not reigned above three months before they murdered him also : and, sending for his brother, advanced him to the empire.

^c FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 43, & seqq.

(S) A title, signifying he who arranges and puts in order the empire. His first name was *Chin Kulsî Khân*, which, in the Tatar language, signifies the sword-drawing lord. Some corruptly pronounce *Chuklas Kawn*. He has a son named *Gâzio'ddin*, who has lately gotten the title

of *Nâsr Jing*, victorious in war,

(T) The champion of religion.

(U) It signifies, literally, an order ; but is used for a patent or grant from the emperor. Mr. Fraser has inserted a translation of this *Firmân*, with an explanation of the terms.

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

*Reign of Rāfiya al Dowlet.*11. *Khān*
Rāfiya al
Dowlet,

THIS prince, after the murder of his brother, was by the assassins proclaimed with the usual solemnity; but in a few days after he died a natural death, and was succeeded by the late emperor ^d.

C H A P. X.

The Reign of Nasro'ddīn Mohammed Shāh,
12th Emperor.

S E C T. I.

Affairs at Court till the Invasion of Nadir Shāh.

MOHAMMED Shāh, who was the son of *Jehān Shāh*,^{12. Khān} on his advancement to the throne, assumed the title of *Nasro'ddīn*; that is, *the supporter or assister of religion*. But the *Seyds*, who had raised him to that dignity, allowed him no more of the imperial power than they had done to his cousin *Furrukhshīr*; which made him eagerly wish for an opportunity of making himself independent, and revenge the death of that prince. Nor was he long without accomplishing his desires. For, in October 1720, *Mohammed Shāh*, accompanied by *Hassan Ali Khān* and several other *Omrās*, set out from *Agra*, with a numerous army, under pretence to reduce *Nesām al Muluk*, who had grown very powerful in *Dekhan*. At the end of the first day's march, being nine measured kos from the capital, the emperor (as it had been concerted) called a *Dīwān*, or council; and, after a short stay, withdrew. As soon as he was gone, *Mohammed Amīn Khān* (A), *Heydr Kūli Khān* (B), master of the ordnance, *Khāndōran*; and several other *Omrās*, who were most attached to the royal family, drawing their swords, fell on *Hassan Ali Khān*, and killed him, with two or three of his friends.

UPON this event, *Mohammed Shāh* laid aside the expedition to *Dekhan*, and returned towards *Dehli*, in order to cut-off ^{the other} ~~the~~ taken;

^d FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shāh, p. 54.

(A) *The faithful Khān.*

(B) *Heydr Kūli* signifies *the* *Mortisa*, son-in law of *Mohammed*; who had, among others, *Slave of the lion*; meaning *Ali* the appellation of *Heydr*.

12. *Klân*
Moham-
medShâh.



Seyd Abdollah Khân, the other brother, who was in that capital, with a great force. This minister, as soon as he heard of *Hassan Ali Khân's* murder; took out of prison *Soltân Ibrâhîm*, son of *Raffiya al Shân*, and proclaimed him emperor. Then, having gathered what treasure he could, and broken to pieces the famous throne, which cost *Shâh Jehân* eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in order to pay his soldiers, he soon completed an army of 50,000 horse, and advanced to meet the emperor, who had encamped at *Serkad*, which is two *kos* from *Mhetra*. On the second of November 1720, both armies came to an engagement; and after a bloody battle fought, *Abdollah's* forces were not only defeated, but the young *Soltân* and himself taken prisoners. ~~The latter~~ *The latter* was desperately wounded, and the former had no other punishment inflicted on him than being sent back to his old quarters, the castle of *Selmîgur*.*

but is
 spared,

UPON this victory the emperor made great rejoicings: and, appointing *Mohammed Amin Khân Wazîr*, returned to *Dehli*. There, *Abdollah Khân* being brought before him, he said, "Traitor, see what thou hast done." To which the other answer'd; "I took you out of prison, and gave you an empire. As I was at the head of an army when my brother was murdered by your order, self-preservation directed me to make use of it. Providence decreed you the victory: use it as you think proper, by treating this clay as your resentment or interest may prompt you." Then the emperor asking him, "What harm had *Farrukhsîr* done him?" his reply was, "that he grew jealous of his and his brother's power; and that, as it was inconsistent with their interest to resign it into his hands, they thought it dangerous to lose any time in removing him." He added, "that if providence had permitted them to continue acting with the same prudence, they should not have come to such a tragical end." The emperor then ordered him to be confined, and four servants allowed to attend him.

and well
 treated.

His clemency to this usurper extended still farther; for *Farrukhsîr's* mother having desired that the murderer of her son might be delivered to her; he sent her word, that it was unlawful to put two persons to death for the murder of one, and that *Hassan ali Khân* had been killed in retaliation. He then ordered, that *Abdo'llah Khân* should lodge in the palace of *Afsef al Dowlet*, have a pension of 3000 rupis monthly, thirty household servants, and seventy menial ones, with provisions of all kinds from the royal kitchen; five women to at-

* FRASER, ubi supr. p. 54. & seqq.

tend him, and proper guards over him. But the *Khân* did not live long to enjoy this generous allowance; for he died a few months after of his wounds. Forty-five women, most of them his wives and concubines, and some his near relations, burned (C) themselves in one room, the night after his decease.

AFTER the fall of the two brothers, *Heydr Kâli Khân* was in great favour, and afterwards made Sowbahdâr, or lord-lieutenant, of *Ahmed abad*. *Nousrit Ear Khân* was made Sowbahdar of *Ajmîr* (or *Azmîr*); *Sâs Bullind Khân* was sent for from *Kâbul* to be made one of the Wazîrs; and *Khândorân* was made Mîr Bukhshî, or paymaster-general and treasurer, with the title of Amîr al Omra.

In the year 1721-2, the emperor wrote to *Nezâm al Mulk*, then in *Dekkan*; desiring him to repair to court, and take on him the office of Wazîr. But this lord, after mentioning the designs of the late *Seyds* against him, declined that post, under pretence that he was not equal to it: upon which it was conferred on *Mohammed Amin Khân*, and after his death on *Kamro'ddîn Khân*, his son; who still enjoyed it in 1741. *Nezâm* continued in *Dekkan*, as Subahdâr of *Vijapur*, *Heydr abad*, *Aureng abad*, and other provinces, yet made no remittances to court; but appropriated the revenues to maintain an army, which he said was to keep in awe the *Mâharâttas*, or *Ganims*, the *Sahow Râjah's* subjects (D), in *Dekkan*; whom, notwithstanding, he permitted to ravage several of the king's provinces. They imposed a tribute of one

(C) In antient times, none but the wives of the *Bramins* had the privilege of burning themselves: but, since the government passed from them to the *Râjpûts*, it is customary, when any of their princes dies, for one or more of his wives to be burned with him; but there is no compulsion in the case. Lately the *Seyd* and *Pâtan* families, in several parts of *India*, have, through excessive pride, gotten into the custom: and as it is strictly forbidden by their religion, which is the *Mohammedan*, they do it privately, by setting an apartment on fire about their ears. *Frazer*.

(D) The *Sahow Râjah*, who

keeps his court at *Settara* in *Dekkan*, is a descendant of *Seva Râjab*, otherwise *Seva ji*. He has lately taken the island of *Salset*; the castle and town of *Baçaim*, with other places, from the *Portugueses*. He has above 200,000 horse in his dominions. *Frazer's hist. of Nadir Shâh*, p. 33. This seems to be the same prince, who, in *Downing's* history of the *Indian wars*, is called the *Grand Sedey* (or *Seyd*), from whom *Angria* took several territories along the sea coast; and at length made an alliance with him, by marrying his daughter. The same author calls the subjects of that prince *Sedeys*, or *Ganims*; p. 232, and elsewhere.

fourth

12. *Khān* fourth of the revenues (which they call *chot*) in many places, and some parts they have taken intirely to themselves. He well knew, that, with the assistance of the *Māharāttas*, he could defy any attempts which might be made against him by the court ^b.

invited to
court.

THUS things went on for some time: but as the affairs of the empire grew daily worse, through the indolence of the Wazir, *Mohammed Shāh* resolved to send again for *Nezām al Mulk*, who had been one of *Aureng Zib's* old Amirs, and was a person of great experience. Accordingly, orders being issued out for his appearance at *Dehli*, he left his son *Gāzi'd-dīn Khān* to command in *Dekkan*, and came to court. There he met with a gracious reception from the emperor; who made him absolute agent, which is greater than Wazir, and honoured him with the title of *Afif Jah* (E). But as *Mohammed Shāh* was intirely governed by *Khāndorān*, the paymaster-general, and *Nezām* was for settling affairs on the same footing they were in *Aureng Zib's* time, whatever he required on that score was opposed and laughed at by the Omrās. As by this he perceived the weakness of the emperor, and the dissoluteness of the courtiers, who spent their time in the company of loose women and buffoons, he told his majesty the affairs of his province required his presence, and left the court.

The Mā-
harāttas

ON his arrival in *Dekkan*, resolving to rouse the emperor and those about him out of their indolence, he encouraged *Rājah Sahow* to send his general, *Bajtraw*, to ravage the empire. The *Māharāttas* soon over-ran the province of *Mālwa*, killed the governor *Guerdir Bahādr*; and, seizing all his riches, returned to *Dekkan*. As the court took no notice of these inroads, next year they entered *Guzerāt*, and plundered the inhabitants, although they agreed to pay a quarter part of the revenue. From thence they went and harassed the country round *Gwalyār*; which being near the capital, the court was alarmed, and *Kāndorān*, *Kamrē'd-dīn Khān*, and other Omrās, sent with a powerful army to chastise them: but these great officers, judging peace the safest measure, agreed to pay the *chot*, or quarter part, and returned home. Notwithstanding this, when the money was paid, the *Māharāttas* not only plundered the redeemed places, but resolved to proceed as far as *Agra*; there to re-

^b FRASER, ubi supr. p. 57, & seqq.

(E) That is, in place and rank as *Afif*; who they say was *Salomon's* Wazir. *Fraser*.

ceive the shot for *Dehli*. This obliged the above-mentioned officers to march back to *Agra*; but, a little before they arrived, the enemy had crossed the river *Jemna*, with an intent to enter *Awdih*.^c 12. *Khân Moham-med Sháh.*

SAADIT Khân, governor of that province, having notice of their design, marched against them with a strong body of troops; and, after an obstinate engagement, defeated them, took two of their principal officers, and killed 5000 of their men. With the remains of their army, they advanced to *Ferid abad*, ten kos from *Dehli*: upon which, *Khândorân* and the *Wazír*, being joined by *Saadit Khân*, went in pursuit of them. But the *Máharáttas* had left that place three hours before the *Omrás* arrived, and proceeded to *Kálka*, near that capital; where they stripped the inhabitants of all their effects; and, knowing that *Dehli* had but few forces therein, they intended to plunder it. On this advice, the emperor sent *Amír Khán* and *Hassan Khán* to oppose them: but, after an engagement of some hours, *Hassan Khán* was killed, and the army being almost routed, the *Máharáttas* were on the point of entering the city; when the *Wazír*, who had out-marched the other two *Omrás*, came to his assistance, and put the enemy to flight. Not content with that, he pursued them for seven kos from *Dehli*, and came up with them: yet, having no inclination to fight, secretly made up matters: upon which they marched back to *Dekkan*. advance to *Dehli*.

THE emperor fearing always to be troubled with these incursions of the *Ganims*, while *Nezám ul Muluk* continued in *Dekkan*, in 1638, got *Mehr Parvir*, his grandmother, who had great interest with that lord, to write him a letter; promising him the intire management of affairs, provided he would come forthwith to court. *Nezám* complied with her request: but met with worse treatment than before from the *Omrás*, who took all opportunities of affronting him; especially *Khândorân*, and his creatures, who used to ridicule him when he came to court; saying, *Observe how the Dekkan monkey dances*. This usage having wrought him up to the highest pitch of resentment, he resolved to be revenged of *Khândorân* and his party, though by distressing the empire. Not being able to draw the *Wazír Kamro'ddin Khán*, tho' allied by marriage (F), into his plot, he prevailed with *Saadit Khán*, *Sowbahdár* of *Awdih*, who ever since the scan-

^c FRASER, ubi sup. p. 62, & seqq.

(F) *Nezám's* son was married the *Wazír's* son to *Nezám's* to the *Wazír's* daughter, and daughter.

12. *Khân* dalous peace made with the *Mâharâttas*, stood disaffected to the court; and the method they resolved on, was to call in *Mohammed Shâh*, ruler of *Persia*, who was then repairing and fortifying *Kandahâr*; which, during the confusion at the Great Mogol's court, he had subdued ^d.

S E C T. II.

The Conquest of Hindustân by Nâdir Shâh, and Confinement of the Emperor.

Nâdir Shâh's invited: **T**HE conspirators having removed the difficulties which *Nâdir Shâh* urged in his answer to their letters, and promised to make every thing easy to him; that hero set-out with an army of 125,000 horse, of several nations, all inured to hardships. Mean time, *Nezâm al Muluk* and *Saadit Khân* used all their endeavours secretly to promote their design; and as *Sherzib Khân*, governor of the castle (G) of *Kâbul*, *Nazîr Khân*, *Sowbahdâr* of that province, a creature of *Khândorân*'s, and *Zakarîya Khân*, ruler of the province of *Lahûr*, were the chief obstructions in *Nâdir Shâh*'s way, they wrote to inform them, "that, as the emperor and his favourite courtiers employed their time in nothing but wine and women, they could have no assistance from court; and therefore the best that they could do, was on this occasion to act discretely, and save themselves." These letters had the desired effect with the two latter. So that *Nazîr Khân*, finding that *Nâdir Shâh*, after he had taken *Ghorbund* and *Ghoznavi* (H), was marching to *Kâbul*, retired from thence to *Peyssur*: but *Sherzib Khân* defended both city and castle for six weeks. He sent repeatedly to *Nazîr Khân*, and the court, for assistance; but none coming, both were at length, in *June*, taken by storm, and he, with his son, put to death. The victor here found treasures of great value; which had been laid up in vaults ever since the time of *Soltân Bâbr*.

^d FRASER, ubi sup. p. 66, & seqq.

(G) There are always two governors; one, called *Hakem*, to command the city; the other *Kullehdâr*, who commands the castle, and is generally for life; but must never stir out of it. *Fraser*.

(H) Or *Gâzna*, a famous city between *Kandahâr* and *Hindustân*, once the capital of a dynasty, or monarchs, who took from it the name of *Gâznavi*, and *Gâznavi*.

THIS great success startling the court, the emperor ordered every thing to be gotten ready for taking the field : but as *Rajah Jessing* had informed *Khândorân*, that *Nâdir Shâh's* invasion was a concerted thing, that *Omrâ* advised *Mohammed Shâh* not to leave the capital. However, it was at last agreed, that his majesty should accompany the army to *Labûr*; and that from thence it should proceed towards *Kâbul*, under the command of *Nizâm al Muluk*, and the other two *Omrâs*. But, when all things were ready for setting out, *Khândorân*, to every body's surprize, returned to the palace, and delayed the march; while *Nezâm* seemed earnest to hasten it. The emperor's servants also contrived all the impediments which they could think of, so that *Nâdir Shâh* was far advanced in his march to *Peyshûr* (I). There the *Afghâns* and mountaineers kept him in play for seven weeks; when, seeing there was no forcing the passes without much bloodshed, he sent them offers of accommodation. These they came into the more readily, as the *Sowbahdârs* had sent no assistance; and they had been four or five years without receiving any of their usual pay, or allowance, from court.

THEREFORE, on *Nâdir Shâh's* giving them a certain sum of money, they not only let his forces pass unmolested, but lifted under him. Hereupon, leaving the main body behind, he set out in *November* with 10,000 chosen *Kuzzilbâsh* (K) horse, and in seven days got to *Peyshûr*. By this means surprising *Nazâr Khân*, who was encamped near the city with 7000 horse, he defeated such as stood the shock, and took him prisoner (L); after which he entered *Peyshûr*. When the news of this defeat came to court, *Nizâm al Muluk*, *Khândorân*, the *Wazîr Kamro'ddin Âbân*, and the other *Omrâs*, set out the second of *January*, 1738-9, with a numerous army, and train of 700 artillery, to oppose the conqueror. *Nizâm*, after using delays, and prepossessing the soldiers with a terror of the enemy's power, marched on, and encamped

* FRASER, ubi sup. p. 129, & seqq.

(I) A city 202 measured kos (or 253 miles) from *Dehli*, 97 from *Labûr*, and 35 from *Attok*. *Frazer*.

(K) Or *Kozilbâsh*, an order of soldiers, much like the janizaries, established by *Shaykh Haydar*, father of *Shâh Ismael*.

(L) Five hundred thousand pounds were remitted to this *Navob*; who, on his defeat, fled; but was taken and imprisoned: but in a few days was made one of *Nâdir Shâh's* *Wazîr's*. *Frazer*, p. 144.

12. Khân
Moham-
med Shâh.

comes to
Lahûr :

in the plains of Karnal, fifty-five kos from *Dehli*; where the emperor (M) joined his troops on the fourth of *February*.

MEAN time, *Nâdir Shâh* having crossed the *Attok* (N), marched to *Lahûr*; where *Zekariya Khân* had intrenched himself without the city: but, as soon as the enemy's troops appeared in sight, he retreated with his forces into the castle; from whence, having cannonaded the *Persians* for three days, he capitulated, and 1000 *Kuzzlbâsh* took possession. *Nâdir Shâh* staid there one week, and then, by continued marches, arrived (O) at the village of *Tillawuri*; which is near *Karnal*^f. The emperor's camp, about seven kos in circuit (P), was surrounded by mûrchas, or barricades, on which were mounted 5000 carriage-guns. In the center stood the imperial quarters; fronting which were the mûrchas of *Nezâm al Mulk* and *Saado'ddîn Khân*, mounted likewise with ordnance. On the right was *Khândorân*; on the left *Kamro'ddîn Khân*; behind the emperor was posted *Sirbullind Khân*; and *Mohammed Khân Bungush* in the rear of all; each accompanied with several *Omrâs* at the head of their troops; the whole army amounting to 200,000 horse and foot.

meets and
defeats

NADIR Shâh had with him 40,000 horse, each with two or three attendants, grooms, and camel-drivers, robust young men. All were completely armed, with lances, bows, or muskets, even to the sutlers, and mounted on camels, mules, or horses; amounting in the whole to near 160,000 men. Nay, 7000 women, who had been taken captive, were, though veiled, booted and armed like the men; having a furtout over their own cloaths, and a sort of turbân on their

^f FRASER, ubi sup. p. 136, & seq.

(M) The emperor, confounded on hearing *Nadir Shâh* had crossed the *Attok*, was for going by water to *Patna*, or to *Kashi Benares*, a city in the province of *Alehabad*, famous for *Indian* worship and colleges.

(N) When *Nadir Shâh* was about *Attok*, he wrote a letter to the emperor; in which he said the reason of his stay there was to do him and religion service, by driving to hell the infidels of *Dekkan* (meaning the *Mabarattas*, or *Ganims*) in case they should any more invade his do-

minions; swearing by *Ali Mortisa*, that he had no other view. About the end of the same month (of *August*) by another letter he demanded five millions sterling.

(O) There were killed in the road and villages 8000 people, from *Lahûr* to *Karnal*.

(P) What follows is taken from a journal of *Nadir Shâh's* transactions in *India*, written by *Mirza Zuman*, secretary to *Sirbullind Khân*, and communicated to Mr. *Frazer*.

heads.

heads. The same day that he arrived at *Tillawvri*, which was the thirteenth of *February*, 1738-9, several messengers were sent to *Nezám al Muluk*, with offers of an accommodation : but he rejected all, and would hear of nothing but war. Next morning *Saadit Khán* arrived in the camp ; and being informed, while he waited on the emperor, that his baggage was attacked by the *Persian* vanguard, hastened to assist his people. As this affair happened near *Khândorân's* quarters, that *Omrâ* and above twenty more, with their troops, joined *Saadit*.

12. *Khán*
Moham-
med Sháh.

At the same time, *Nádír Sháh*, who had removed his camp on that side, being apprised of their design, advanced towards them ; and, having planted 3000 horse in ambush in three different places, sent 500 musketeers towards *Saadit Khán*, and 500 more towards *Khândorân*, in order to draw them into the snare. This stratagem having taken effect, the horsemen, who lay in ambush, broke-out on and engaged them furiously. Mean time, *Nádír Sháh*, attended by 1000 *Afshar* horse, rode to and from all quarters to encourage those men. The rest of the army stood drawn up at a distance, ready at a signal to come to his assistance : but, as it happened, there was no occasion for them : for those four or five thousand having fought obstinately till the evening, when the emperor's forces gave ground, *Saadit Khán*, *Shírjīng*, and *Khândorân's* youngest son, were taken prisoners. *Khândorân* himself received several mortal wounds, and was carried back to his quarters. *Muzaffer Khán*, with several other officers, were killed, besides what were wounded ; and great numbers lay dead in the field of battle (Q) 8.

WHEN those who fled returned to the camp, a great tumult arose ; and the tents of *Khândorân*, *Muzaffer Khán*, *Saadit Khán*, and others, who were in the action, were plundered by their own people. In this confusion, the emperor, in conjunction with *Nezám al Muluk*, the *Wazir*, and other *Omrâs*, drew up their men without their barricades in a line of battle, with design to hinder the enemy from advancing

An ac-
commoda-
tion pro-
posed.

† FRASER, ubi sup. p. 152, & seqq.

(Q) According to a letter wrote the next day from the *Mogol* camp, *Nádír Sháh* fought with 50,000 men. *Khândorân* received a bullet in his arm and in his side. *Muzaffer Khán* was killed jumping from his elephant. *Mirza Khodabenda*, grandson to the Great *Mohabat Khán*, was killed. On *Nádír Sháh's* side, seven principal officers and 2500 men were slain, and about 5000 wounded.—17,000 of the *Hindústán* army were slain.

12. *Khân*
Moham-
med Shâh.

any farther : but had not night come on, those precautions would have stood in little stead ; and that day would have put an end to the whole affair. As many of those, who escaped out of the fight, as well as of such who attended the baggage, fled towards *Dehli* ; the camp was in some places so thin of men, that when at midnight the emperor sent for *Nizâm al Muluk*, the space of his *mûrcha*, or barricade, to come to his tent, about three quarters of a kos was entirely empty. This made them next day to contract their camp, within that space which was sufficient to contain all the troops which remained ; who stood under arms all that day, the 16th, every minute expecting the enemy's approach. On the 17th, *Nizâm al Muluk* and *Azîm alla Khân* went to *Shâh Nâdir's* camp, to accommodate matters ; and, after a stay of six hours, returned. *Nâdir Shâh* embraced *Nizâm* sitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself ; he gave him a cup of sherbet, and appointed him to eat at the house of *Kassim Beg Khân*, his Eytêmâd'oddowlet, or Wazîr ; after which it was agreed, that *Mohammed Shâh* should go and see *Nâdir Shâh*. The same evening *Khândorân* died of his wounds.

The em-
peror goes
to

THE 18th, at night, *Nizâm* received a rich kalaet, or vest, on being appointed *Mîr Bukhshî*, or paymaster-general, and *Amîr al Omrà* (R), or head of the Omràs, in the room of the deceased ; whose corps was buried the next day with marks of distinction, in the village of *Karnal*. Mean time, the emperor sitting in a royal litter (S), with a canopy and umbrella, one led horse, and a drum, attended by *Ghâzi'oddin Khân*, *Azîm allah Khân*, the Wazîr's son, and several eunuchs, marched out of the camp, with 200 horse ; who, when he had gone a little way, returned. With the rest, he went on to *Nâdir Shâh's* camp. When he was about half-way, *Tahmâsp Khân Vakîl* came to do him the usual honours. Afterwards he was met by *Nâsir allah Mirza*, the son of *Nâdir Shâh* ; who, alighting from his royal litter, paid the emperor his respects after the *Persian* form. Then *Mohammed Shâh*, ordering his own litter to be set down, embraced the young prince : after which they both marched on till they came to the train of ordnance. Here all the attendants were obliged to stay behind ; the emperor only, with the Omràs above-mentioned, and two or three eunuchs, being allowed to pass ^h.

^h FRASER, ubi supr. p. 159, & seqq.

(R) A title given to the favourite minister. *vân*, or a moving throne. Fraser.

(S) In the original *takht ra-*

WHEN

WHEN they came to the door of the royal tent; *Nádír Sháh* 12. *Kbân*
 came forth to receive his guest; and, having embraced, *Mohám-*
 seated him close by himself on the same *musfid* (T). After the *medSháh:*
 usual forms of salutation, and enquiry about each other's
 health, were over, *Nádír Sháh* addressed him thus: "It is *Nádír*
 " strange you should be so regardless of your own affairs, *Sháh's*
 " that, although I wrote you several letters, sent an am- *camp:*
 " bassador, and testified a friendship for you, your ministers
 " should not think proper to send me a satisfactory answer.
 " Likewise, by reason of your want of command over your
 " own people, one of my ambassadors (U), contrary to all
 " laws, has been killed in your dominions. Even when I
 " entered your empire, you seemed under no concern for
 " your affairs; nor so much as sent to ask who I was, or
 " what was my design. Although I advanced as far as *Lahár*,
 " yet none of your people came with a message, or salutation:
 " nay, not with an answer to my compliments to you. After-
 " wards, when your Omras were awaked out of their le-
 " thargy, they prevented all means of a reconciliation; and,
 " coming tumultuously with an intent to stop my farther
 " progress, brought themselves into one general snare."

THEN, having shewn how ill the war had been conducted *is severely*
 against him, he proceeded: "Even when you had thus en-*lectured,*
 " tangled yourself, I sent you offers of an accommodation;
 " but, you were so puffed up with your own childish conceits,
 " and foolish resolutions, that you would not give ear to any
 " honourable overtures, or consult your own interest, until;
 " by the help of God, and strength of arms, you have seen
 " what has come to pass. Moreover, your predecessors were
 " wont to take the *jeziyah* (or poll-tax) from the infidels;
 " but you, in your reign, have paid 't them; having, for
 " these twenty years, suffered the empire to be over-run by
 " them. However, as hitherto the race of *Timúr* have not
 " injured, nor misbehaved towards the *Seffi* family, and the
 " people of *Persia*, I shall not take the empire from you:
 " only as your indolence and pride have obliged me to march
 " so far, and I have been put to an extraordinary expence;
 " on account also that my men are much fatigued by long
 " marches, and want necessities, I must go to *Déhli*, and
 " there continue some days, until the army is refreshed; and

(T) A place in the *divân*, (U) On the *Peysli* side of
 commonly higher than any the *Arrok*, by some rebellious
 other, large enough for two or *Rájpúts*.
 three to sit on. *Frazer*.

12. *Khân*. "the peysh kush, which *Nezâm al Muluk* had agreed to (X),
 Moham. "is made good; after that I shall leave you to look after
 medShâh, "your own affairs."

and re-
 turns:

MOHAMMED Shâh made no answer to this home speech, or lecture, in which he was treated contemptibly enough; but was fixed in a silence, which testified a good deal of confusion and shame. There were none present, excepting *Javead Khân*, *Behroz Khân*, and *Ghâzi'oddîn Khân*. Towards evening the emperor returned to his camp; when it being represented to him, that the *Baniyâns* made the grain very dear, he ordered their shops to be plundered; which, instead of mending the matter, very much increased the dearth of provisions. On the 20th of February, *Nezâm al Muluk*, the Wazîr, *Azîm allah Khân*, and *Ghâzi'oddîn Khân*, waited on *Nâdir Shâh*; and, at taking leave, received each a coat and vest: but *Nezâm* had a horse also. The same day, orders being given to bury the dead belonging to the *Hindûstân* army, their number was found to be 17,000, and the bodies spread over the space of seven kos. But not one of *Nâdir Shâh's* people were seen on the field of battle; though it was said 400 of them were killed, and 700 wounded: for they buried them the same night. Many of the wounded *Hindûstâns*, who could not stir out of the place, died, because none had compassion enough to bring them off to be cured. Three elephants were also killed. The number of those killed, during three days after the battle, on the roads, and in the neighbouring country, by *Nâdir Shâh's* troops when they went out a marauding, amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand men¹.

his camp
 removed,

On the 22d, the emperor's camp was removed to the side of *Karnal*, opposite to *Shâh Nâdir's* army: in their march, the *Kuzzlbâsh* horsemen carried off 27 elephants and 25 camels. Next day, *Nezâm al Muluk*, being sent for to *Shâh Nâdir's* camp, was there detained, with five or six of his attendants: and several of the *Kuzzlbâsh* being sent against *Tanisîr*, they slew the inhabitants; and, having plundered the place, returned with great spoil. About eight at night, the Wazîr received a firman, or order, from *Nâdir Shâh*, importing, that next day the emperor, *Sîrbullind Khân*, *Mohammed Khân Bungush*, and *Azîm alla Khân*, should appear before him. Hereupon *Mohammed Shâh* sent for *Sîrbullind*

¹ FRASER, ubi sup. p. 163, & seqq.

(X) Of twenty krops of rupis, or twenty-five millions sterling.

Khân,

Khán, and all the other *Omrás* ; with whom having consulted till midnight, he at length declared, that, as affairs were now gone beyond his power, he was under a necessity the next day to do one of three things : to try his fortune by one desperate push ; put an end to all troubles by a dose of poison ; or else to submit tamely to whatever terms should be imposed : which last measure the emperor was inclined to, although he did not then discover it.

ON the 24th, *Sirbullind Khán* and the other *Omrás* were ready, with their men, to act as the emperor should determine. But nothing was that day resolved on ; and at night a note arrived from *Nádir Sháh* to that lord, bidding him be of good cheer, and repair to him before *Mohammed Sháh* set-out. Accordingly next morning he went thither, and about nine o' clock the emperor followed in a royal litter. On his arrival, he alighted at a tent, pitched for him in the front of the camp ; where he was allowed all his necessary domestics, and 1000 *Kuzzbásh* were set as guards round him. About eight in the evening, he went to visit *Nádir Sháh*, and after three hours stay returned ; but orders were given, that none of the *Omrás* should be allowed to see him. On the 26th, orders were issued to seize all the ordnance, and other arms belonging to the emperor and his *Omrás*, with all his treasures and jewels. There was an order also to send to *Mohammed Sháh*, his son *Soltán Ahmed*, and the empress *Malika al Zumani* (X). A third order was also issued, that all the emperor's old servants and soldiers should be continued in their places ; but that the *bahirs*, or baggage-carriers, and new enlisted men, should be suffered to depart.

ON the 27th, *Mohammed Sháh*, with the *Omrás*, his old servants, and baggage, went to the camp of *Nádir Sháh* ; into whose possession their effects were put : and he, having picked out 200 cannon from the emperor's ordnance, sent them, with some treasure and other effects then seized, to *Kandahár*, by way of *Kábul*. The same day, *Nádir Sháh* gave three months pay to every man in his army, attendants and all. On the 28th, early, *Tahmásp Khán Vakil*, was dispatched to *Sháh Jehán abad*, or *Dehli*, with 4000 horse and musketeers, to take possession of the castle ; and *Saadit Khán* to secure the city and effects of the *Omrás*. On the 2d of March, *Nádir Sháh* set-out himself for the same place, attended by 20,000 horse, and preceded by the *mábl*, or women, with a guard of 4000, at the distance of one kos. At the same distance

(X) That is, queen of the times.

H h 4

behind

12. *Khán* behind him followed *Mohammed Sháh*, and forty or fifty of his principal people, with 12,000 horse to escort him. *Mohammed Sháh*. On the sides were *Sirbullind Khán*, *Nizám al Muluk*, *Kamro'd-dín Khán*, and *Mohammed Khán Bungush*, each with his men and baggage, separated by the distance of half a kos, with horsemen between, to keep them from joining. In this order they marched every day, taking up five kos in length, and three in breadth^k.

with Nádir Sháh: In the road, the *Kuzzlásh* not only plundered several villages, amongst which were *Paniput* and *Sanput* (Y); but likewise killed to the number of 7000 inhabitants. The 7th, *Nádir Sháh* arrived at the gardens of *Shallimár*. Next day, by his order, *Mohammed Sháh*, in a royal litter, attended by 4000 guards, entered the city at night, and was lodged in the castle. But *Nádir Sháh*, being informed that the inhabitants were of a seditious, turbulent temper, deferred his entrance till the 9th, in the morning; when he marched in with all the caution imaginable, attended by 20,000 horse, leaving the rest of his army encamped without the city. After he had alighted at the castle, *Mohammed Sháh* came to congratulate him, and they breakfasted together. They were in conversation till the evening; during which time, *Nádir Sháh* behaved with the greatest complaisance and seeming affection to him. He likewise gave orders to punish, in the severest manner, all persons molesting the *Indians*; who, on their side, were so frightened at the terrible aspect of those men, and the barbarous figure (Z) they made, that most of them avoided coming near them. At night, *Nádir Sháh*, having called *Saadit Khán* before him, spoke with a great deal of passion; and even used some hard words, in regard to collecting the *payshkush*, or present of twenty-five millions sterling. That lord, who had for some time been indisposed, died at four next morning: some say, with vexation at his treatment; others, that he took poison.

who orders affairs.

^k FRASER, ubi sup. p. 169, & seqq.

(Y) Two stages from *Dehli*.

(Z) The *Persians*, however polite and luxurious in regard to the more western nations, are

but rude and hardy in their apparel, diet, and living, compared with the delicate *India Mogols* and *Persians*.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

The Massacre of Dehli; and what passed there till Nâdir Shâh's Return.

ON Saturday, the 10th of March, being the *eyd zoha*, or *The mob* feast of sacrifice, in the morning, *Sirbullind Khân, Mof-tafa Khân, Arizbeghi, Nezâm al Muluk, and Kamro'ddin Khân,* met at the castle, to deliberate on means for collecting the *peyshkush-money*, along with *Tabmâsh Khân Vakil*; who, at noon, sent nine horsemen to order the granaries to be opened, and settle the price of corn. But, as the price which was fixed did not turn to the account of the proprietors, towards evening they assembled a mob; who killed the nine horsemen, and several *Kuzzlbâsh*, who repaired thither to buy corn. After sun-set, they spread a report, that *Nâdir Shâh* was taken prisoner, and some said he was poisoned: on which, the idle and disaffected people, joining from all quarters, poured like a torrent towards the castle; and killed several of the out-guards, who retired within, and to other places of security. Next morning, about eight o'clock, when the tumult was in its height, *Nâdir Shâh*, being greatly provoked, walked out of the castle; and, mounting his horse, went towards the bazar of *Gbandin Chok*, to quell the mob, who were committing great disorders in that quarter. In the way, perceiving many bodies of his people, who had been killed in the night, he sent a strong party to suppress the rioters: with orders, that in case neither threats nor persuasions would do, to cut them off; but on no account to injure others who were not concerned.

THE soldiers at first proceeded gently; which, instead of *A horrible* appeasing, emboldened the mob, who began to discharge *slaughter:* fire-arms and arrows at them. Mean time, *Nâdir Shâh* having entered the masjed, or temple, of *Royshn al Dowlet*, the neighbouring inhabitants got upon their terraces, and began to throw stones. At length a musket was designedly shot at *Nâdir Shâh*; which, missing him, killed one of his officers who stood next him. This made him give way to his passion, and order a general slaughter to be commenced from that very place: at this command, the soldiers, in an instant getting upon the walls and terraces, began to plunder and kill. This bloody scene extended from the *Serâfa ardui (A)*,

(A) Where all the bankers to the king and his army have and money-changers belonging their shops. *Frazer.*

which

12. *Khân* which is before the castle, to the *Fydgab* (B), which is three *Moham-* kos distant. The bazars, streets, and alleys, within this *medShâh.* space, were all plundered; and whomsoever they found either abroad, or in the streets and shops, great and small, men and women, were put to the sword; nor did the beasts escape their fury^a.

the num- *NADIR Shâh*, after he had given those sanguine orders, *ber slain.* returned to the castle: where, about two o'clock, *Mohammed Shâh* and *Nezâm al-Muluk* waited on him; and, having made great intercession for the city, at three o'clock it was proclaimed by beat of drum, that none of the inhabitants should be any longer molested. During the seven hours, which the slaughter continued, 400 *Kuzzlâs* were slain, and of the citizens 120,000 (C); some computed 150,000. Of the plunder, *Nâdir Shâh* had some, and much was destroyed by the fire. Although the *Hindûs* burned numbers of their dead, yet there still remained so many in the streets, that for a considerable time there was no such thing as passing through them. When the slaughter began, the persons, who had raised the commotion, disappeared in an instant, and left the innocent shopkeepers and families to be butchered. Several, jealous of their honour, first killed their women, and then themselves. One of these unfortunate creatures, seeing the soldiers near his house, burned about twenty women of his family, and expected they would come every minute and kill him. By chance they missed his house: at which, finding himself disappointed, he went out and brought some of them back; telling them there was a great deal of money and effects therein. They plundered his house; but, to his still greater disappointment, went away without killing him; which so enraged him, that he dispatched himself.

Peace re- *THERE* were great numbers of people, especially women *stored* and children, burned in their houses. About 10,000 women *again.* threw themselves into wells (D); some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days. On the 12th, the prisoners of both sexes, to the number of 50,000, were, by the Shah's order, all conducted back to their respective

^a FRASER, ubi sup. p. 177, & seqq.

(B) The place where people assemble to prayers, on the two great annual *tyds*, or festivals. *Frazer*:

(C) By the exactest computation, the number was 110,000: See *Frazer*, p. 222.

(D) The number of people destroyed these two ways, joined to those who died of famine and other hardships, amounted to above 7000. See *Frazer*, p. 223.

houses ; but in affliction not to be expressed. On the 13th, 12. *Khân* all people were ordered to betake themselves to their employ- *Moham-*ments, and be under no farther apprehension. The effects of *med Shâh.* *Saadit Khân*, *Khândorân*, and *Muzaffer Khân*, were seized. Those of *Khândorân* (exclusive of what he had in the camp) were computed at no more than one kror of rupis : but *Muzaffer's* amounted to very near four krors. This day guards were planted round the city, to prevent any persons going out without licence ; and next morning a number of *Fakirs*, or poor people, wanting to go out of the city, with design to travel and beg abroad, the out-guards cut-off their noses and ears, and made them return again. The 15th was employed in clearing the streets of the dead bodies*.

THE 16th, a firman was drawn up, exempting the dom- *The peysh-*nions of *Persia* from taxes for three years. At the same time, *kush* rais-*ed,* arrears of 6,100,000 pounds, due to the soldiers, were discharged : likewise one year's pay before-hand, and six months pay, as a gratuity, was given to all, even those who followed the camp. After this, all diligence was used to raise the *peyshkush*, or present of twenty krors of rupis, that is, twenty-five millions sterling ; which the *Shâh* had demanded, over and above the jewels, gold-plate set with precious stones, and other fine goods, of the king and *Omrâs*, which had been seized. The severity used on this occasion brought on a new calamity. In the king's treasury, the gold and silver coins did not exceed 3,750,000 pounds : but in the inward vaults, which had been shut-up and sealed for many years, there was found of gold and silver to a much larger amount. *Nizâm al Muhuk* contributed 1,875,000 pounds, in jewels, money, and goods ; *Kamrâddîn Khân* did the like. *Sirbulind Khân*, on account of his poverty, was excused. The *Omrâs*, *Mansebdârs*, officers, and rich inhabitants, were taxed on this occasion according to their circumstances ; of which they were obliged to give in an account.

THE care of collecting this *peyshkush* was committed to *Sirbulind Khân*, and other *Omrâs*, who met daily for that *with great severity :* purpose at his house. They were from the eighteenth of *March* to the 8th of *April*, settling the list of people, and the sum each was to pay. Mean time several persons, for fear of the consequences, leaving their effects and families behind, escaped out of the city, glad to save their lives. Many others, being hard pressed for their quotas, to save their reputation, killed themselves. Among whom were *Allim Allab*, the adopted son of *Sidi Folid Khân*, and his Naib. On the

* FRASER, ubi supr. p. 184, & seqq.

12. *Khân* sixth of April, *Tahmâss Khân* ordered one of the ears of *Mijilis Ray*, the Duan (E) of the Wazir *Kamro'ddin Khân*, to be cut-off in presence of his master; who going to intercede for him, *Tahmâss Khân* told him in an angry tone, that it would be his turn by-and-by, which presently silenced him; and six days after this disgrace, the Duan killed himself. Several of the emperor's *Muttessiddis* were so beaten with sticks, that the blood flowed from all parts of their bodies. *Sitâ Ram*, and *Chukl Keyshvir*, the *Bengâl Vakîl*, were so violently drubbed, that the latter went home, and murdered himself and family ^b.

The Mirza married. In the interim; viz. the twenty-seventh of March, *Nesr Alla Mirza*, son of *Shâh Nâdir*, was married to the daughter of *Jesdan Bukhsb*, son of *Ram Bukhsb*, and grandson of *Aureng Zâb*; on which occasion there were fine illuminations, and fire-works played-off on the banks of the river. *Mohammed Shâh* made the young princess a present of jewels to the value of 6,250 pounds, and the same sum in money. Some days after, *Nâdir Shâh* sent her jewels to the value of 62,500 pounds ^c.

Cruelties exercised.

WHEN the list of names was ready, *Sirbullind Khân*, one of those appointed to collect the money, pressed so hard on the people (F), that several killed themselves; which made *Nâdir Shâh* remit 250,000 pounds to great men, who were found indigent, out of 3,750,000 pounds, which remained to be gathered. For want of knowing people's circumstances, they were very unequally taxed. Some, worth 125,000 pounds, were only set down 625 pounds: others, who could not muster 12,500 pounds, were set down 15,000; and when the sum was once fixed, there was no redress to be had: but, if they did not pay, they were beaten so unmercifully, that many died of the blows. Those who came off best, had either a leg or an arm lamed: this so dispirited the inhabitants, that one *Kuzzlbâsb* might have used 10,000 of them with what severity he pleased. This work went on till *Nâdir Shâh* left the city, by what time near five millions were collected from the people; of which 875,000 pounds were sunk by his *Omras*. The goods likewise which the *Shâh* took were under-rated. Thus a horse, worth sixty-

^b FRASER, ubi sup. p. 198—200.

^c Ibid. p. 197.

(E) The deputy and general, to do this much against his will, accomplice of the lord lieutenant, for he succoured many underhand, *Frazer*, p. 217.

(F) However, he was forced

two pounds, was valued at no more than twelve or thirteen pounds; and the like was done with jewels and other effects.

12. *Khân*
Moham-
med Shâh.
Shâh Na-
dir takes
leave

DURING this time, the *Kuzzlbâsh* horsemen went about plundering the villages, and killing the inhabitants, who made any resistance (G). The first of May, 1739, all the Omras being ordered to be present at Mohammed Shâh's apartment by five in the morning, they then put on forty-two ka-laets, sent thither by Nâdir Shâh. At eight o' clock, the emperor went in a royal litter, with several of the Omras, to the general divân: at the door all the Omras alighted, and followed the litter to the door of the private divân; where the emperor got-off, and went in to Nâdir Shâh. After they had embraced, they breakfasted together. The Omras likewise had breakfast given them. Presently after there were brought in for Mohammed Shâh, a crown set with jewels; a *sirpeach*, or band for the turbân; a *bazow band*, or bracelet; a girdle; a sword; a *Dekkan* sword with a strait blade, called *dhows*; and an enamelled *kutteri*, or dagger, all set with jewels. The crown Nâdir Shâh put on with his own hands, making him an apology at the same time; and took his leave, after giving him some advice. Among the rest, he counselled him "to seize all the *jâghirs*, or lands allotted them for maintenance, and pay them out of his treasury. To suffer none to keep forces of their own, but keep constantly himself 60,000 horsemen; to be acquainted with the name, family, and merit, of each; and not allow any to be idle. When he had occasion to send out troops, to put them under the command of one whom he could trust for conduct, courage, and fidelity; and recall them as soon as the expedition was at an end, it being dangerous to let any person stay too long in command; particularly to beware of *Nazâm al Muluk*, whom, by his conduct, he found to be full of cunning, and self-interested, and more ambitious than became a subject."

of Mo-
ammed
Shâh:

MOHAMMED Shâh was very thankful for this instance of his good-will to him; and desired him to appoint those whom he thought most deserving of the principal posts: but Nâdir Shâh said, that would not be at all for his interest; since such officers would have but little respect for him in his (the Shâh's) absence. He therefore advised him, when he was gone, to dispose of employments himself; promising, in case any should rebel, to send forces to chastise them; and

gives him
advice:

* FRASER, ubi supr. p. 200, & seqq.

(G) There were massacred on this occasion to the amount of 25,000. See *Fraser*, p. 222.

12. *Khân* if necessary, come with them in person. In effect, *Nâdir Shâh* recommended, during all the time of his stay, no more than one person to the post of *Khân Saman*, or steward of the emperor's household; and that was *Danishmend Khân*, whose brother *Mullah alî Akber*, was the *Shâh's* *Mullah Bâshi*, or chief *Mullah*.

threatens
the Om-
râs:

THE second of *May*, *Nâdir Shâh* sent for *Nezâm al Mulk*, *Sirbullind Khân*, and other *Omrâs*, whom he enjoined obedience to the emperor; and, threatening to punish them in case they rebelled, took his leave. It was reported, that he declared before some of his own *Omrâs*, that he had acted indiscretely in regard to two things: one was, his giving the empire to *Mohammed Shâh*; who being unequal to so great a task, the affairs of *India* would become worse than before: the other, his giving quarter to *Nezâm al Mulk*; who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise new disturbances: but, as by the decrees of providence, and their own good fortune, he had once passed his word to them, he could not act contrary thereto.

THE fourth of *May* notice was given, that, after the troops began their march, none should remain in the city, or carry with them any male or female, excepting bought slaves, or women married to them: nor even those slaves and wives to be carried contrary to their inclinations, under forfeiture of such person's life and estate. Upon this, almost all who were married at *Dehli* sent back their wives, on finding them unwilling to leave their native country: only a few of the chief commanders and officers, by intreaties, prevailed on some to seem contented to go. But, after some days march, *Nâdir Shâh*, being informed thereof, ordered them all to be sent back.

begins his
march.

ON Sunday, the sixth of *May*, the *Shâh* began his march, having first ordered his army to be mustered; and, it being found that 400 soldiers and servants had deserted, he commanded the *Kutwâl* of *Dehli* to find them out. That officer, after diligent search, discovered about sixty, and sent them with a party of horse after the army, which they overtook at *Sherhind*; where the *Shâh* ordered all their heads to be cut-off: for this reason, others, who were taken, were let go again by the emperor's command. In his way he plundered and killed the people of *Tanistr*, and other villages, to the number of 12,000; because the country people killed and stripped his straggling foragers. It was said that he gave the *Zemidâr* (H)

(H) *Zemidârs* are the *Râjahs*, acknowledgment to the emperor or *Indian* lords, who have free or. *Frazer*.
estates in land, paying a small

of

of *Karnal* 5000 rupis, towards peopling a village on the spot ^{12. Khân} where he gained the battle; and directed him to call it *Fat-Moham-
teh abād*, or *the habitation of victory*. In his passage, he left ^{med Shâh.} *Lahûr* on one side, after having accepted 1,250,000 pounds; which was all the inhabitants could raise.

MEAN time, on the 13th of *May*, the emperor appeared in *The divân* the general *divân*; where the *Omrâs* came to pay their ^{opened.} obeisance, and make him their presents. But, from that day when the *Shâh* left *Dehli* till the 20th of *June*, nothing was done or proposed relating to the state of affairs in the empire: nor did the late dreadful calamity awaken the sufferers, who were intoxicated with pride and self-conceit, ill-will and malice to each other. Some days after, twenty-two *Omrâs* and *Mansebdârs*, who had run-out of the field of battle, were all discharged the service.

SINCE the battle of *Karnal* to *Nâdir Shâh's* departure, the ^{Losses of} loss sustained by the emperor and the people, in jewels, trea- ^{stained.} sure, goods, and destruction of fields, besides that of the buildings, amounted to near one arrib of rupis, or 125 millions sterling. Out of this *Nâdir Shâh* carried away to the value of 70 krons, or 87,500,000 pounds, in jewels and other effects (I): his officers and foldiers, 10 krons, or 12,500,000 pounds. The charges of his army, while he continued there, the arrears, pay, and gratuity advanced them, with what goods were destroyed by fire, and fields laid waste, came to near 20 krons, or 25 millions more. Of the inhabitants of the empire, since the *Shâh's* arrival in *Hindûstân* till his return to *Lahûr*, were destroyed 200,000.

BESIDES the immense riches, which *Nâdir Shâh* carried ^{Provinces} away with him, he obtained from the emperor in writing, ^{given up,} dated the 4th of *Môharrem*, 1152 (K), a cession of all the countries to the west of the river *Attok*, the river *Sind*, and *Nala Sunkra*, which is a branch of it; that is to say, *Peysbor*, with its territories; the principality of *Kâbul*; *Ghoznavi* (or country of *Ghâzna*); the mountainous residence of the *Afghâns*; the *Hazârijat*, and the passes: with the castle of

• FRASER, ubi supr. p. 207, & seqq.

(I) In jewels, from the emperor and *Omrâs*, twenty-five krons; utensils and weapons set with jewels, with the peacock-throne, and nine others set with jewels, nine krons. Gold and silver rupis, twenty-five krons. Gold and silver plate, which he coined into money, five krons. Fine cloth and rich stuffs, two krons. House-furniture and other goods, three krons. War-like weapons, cannon, &c. one krur. Besides 1000 elephants, 7000 horses, 10,000 camels.

(K) Second of *April*, 1739. *Bukhar*

12. *Kbân* Bukkâr, Sunkar, and *Khewd abâd*; the rest of the territories, passes, and abodes, of the *Chokias*, *Balluchies*, and other people; Moham-med Shâh. with the provinces of *Tâtta*, the castle of *Ram*, and village of *Terbân*; the towns of *Chun*, *Sumarwali*, *Ketra*, and other places dependant on *Tâtta*. In short, all the fields, villages,

to the Per-
sians.

castles, towns, and ports, to the west of the *Attok*, from its rise, as far as *Nala Sunkra*, where it falls into the sea: but all countries to the east of that river, the *Sind* and *Nala Sunkra*, with the castle and town of *Lohri-Bundar* (or *Bendar*), were to remain to the empire of *Hindustân*†.

THUS we have brought the history of the *Mogols* in *Hindustân* to the end of this great revolution; the most remarkable, unexpected, and easily accomplished, of any which hath happened in the world for many ages past.



B O O K X.

A Description of the Countries contained in the hither Peninsula of India.

C H A P. I.

General Division and History of this Peninsula.

General
Division.

THIS great peninsula, in its largest extent, is bounded on the north by an east and west line, drawn from the gulf of *Kambaya* to the mouth of the river *Ganges*; or, if you will, with the twenty-second parallel of latitude; and on the three other sides by the ocean (A). Within these limits are contained several spacious countries, namely, the provinces of *Bâglâna*, *Ballagâte*, and *Tellm-gâna*, or *Telenga*, all comprehended under the general name of *Balagâte*; the kingdom of *Visapûr*, which, with the other three provinces, are comprised under the name of *Dekhan*; the kingdoms of *Golkonda* and *Oriſſa*, or *Orixa*; the kingdom of *Karnâta*, or *Karnatek*, a part of which was

† FRASER, ubi supr. p. 214, & seqq.

(A) In a less extended sense, gulf of that name, south-east to its northern boundary will be the coast of *Masulipatan*, on the a line drawn from the city of bay of *Bengal*. *Kambaya*, at the head of the

formerly

formerly called *Bisnagar*, and *Narsinga*; the kingdoms of *Messur*, *Madura*, *Marava*, and *Tanjahr*; lastly, the kingdoms of *Kanara* and *Malabar*. A. D. 1264.

For many ages these countries were governed by their own Rajahs, or kings. But since the Mohammedans got footing in *Hindustan*, they have undergone various revolutions: of these, however, we have as yet very imperfect accounts. The first expedition we meet with into this peninsula, is that of *Mahmud Shah*, king of *Dehli*, surnamed *Nasroddin*, who ascended the throne in the year 1264; and is famous for his great conquests over *India*. We are told that this prince, descending from the north with a powerful army, conquered all the *Hindus* as far as the kingdom of *Kanara*, with part of the country possessed by the ancestors of the king of *Bisnagar* (B). Then returning to *Dehli*, he left *Habed Shah* to prosecute his conquests. This general, by his conduct and valour, became so great, that he coped with his master. His nephew *Madura* (C), following his good fortune, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Kanara*; and casting off his allegiance to the king of *Dehli*, gave to his new-founded dominion the name of *Dekan* (or *Dekkan*) from the various kinds of people whereof his army, which conquered it, was composed; for *Dekkan* signifies bastards (D). Then dividing his territories into eighteen parts, he gave the government of them to so many of his slave-commanders; obliging each of them to build a palace at *Bedir* (E), which was his royal seat, and leave his son behind for hostage. In process of time the number of those governors diminishing, they who remained grew more powerful; while the king of *Dekan* had scarce any thing left more than his capital city, and the name. In short, when the *Portugueses* arrived first in the *Indies*, in 1498, there were in *Dekan* only seven descendants of those usurping slaves; whose names, or titles, were *Nizamaluk*, *Madremaluk* (F), *Malek Veridi*, *Kosa Mokadam*; *Abesbjapado* (or the *Abyssine* eunuch), *Kota Ma-*

* D'HERBEL, Bibl. Orient. p. 289, art. *Debeli*.

(B) By this account, *Dekan* must have extended southward only, over *Kanara*, and Part of the *Karnata*.

(C) *Barros* calls him *Mahmud Shah*.

(D) Others call it also *Dakem*, or *Daken*, as if so named after king *Dakem*, mentioned

lower down.

(E) Or *Bider*, in *Tillingana*.

(F) All these names are sadly corrupted, according to the European manner. These two first should be *Nizam al Muluk*, that is, the regulator of the empire; and *Imad al Muluk*, the pillar or support of the empire.

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I i

luk,

A. D.
1467.Divided
into pro-
vinces.

Kunkam.

Bala-
ghate.

luk (G), and *Sabay*; which last was at that time lord of *Goa*, and the most powerful among them (H). This prince deceasing about the time when *Albuquerque* formed his design against that city, in 1510, *Kuso Hidalkan* (I) possessed himself thereof, and put it into the hands of his son *Ismael* ^b.

THIS is one account of the original of the *Mohammedan* kingdoms in the peninsula of *India*. Dr. *Garcia d'Orta* relates another. This author tells us, that a certain commander of *Bengál*, lord of some mountains there, having first slain the king, subdued the kingdom of *Dehli* (not long after the *Mogols* had conquered it), with other kingdoms, and assumed the name of *Xa Holam* (*Sháh Alem*), or *King of the world*, founding an empire 800 leagues in compass: that his acquisitions being too large for one sovereign, he conferred the government of *Dekan* and *Kunkam* on his nephew *Dakem*; who being fond of foreigners, intrusted the government of his provinces to them. To one named *Add Khán* he gave all the maritime country from *Anjediva* (K), in the south, to *Sifardam* (L), in the north; extending about sixty leagues, with the adjoining inland regions. Another, called *Nezám Maluk*, he set over the provinces which reach from *Sifardam* to *Negatona*, the space of twenty leagues, adding thereto other inland provinces, with that of *Kambaya*.

NONE but these two lords had any share in *Kunkam*, which stretched from the coast to the mountain of *Ghâte* (or *Gátte*), in *Balaghátta*, which signifies *the country beyond the mountain* (M). The government was divided among three others, *Imád Maluk* (N), called by the *Portugueses* *Madremáluk*, *Kotal Maluk* (O), and *Veridi*.

^b FARIA Y SOUSA Port. Asia, vol. i. ch. 5. p. 163, & JUAN DE BARROS.

(G) It ought to be *Kotbb al Maluk*, the axis or pole of the empire.

(H) Thus writes *De Faria*: but he could not be the greatest of them, unless he was king of *Vísipúr*, whose title was *Adel Khán*, mentioned within a line or two.

(I) *Hidalkan*, or, as it is often written, *Idalkan*, and *Dialcan*, should be *Adel Khán*; that is, the just king or lord. *Barros* says he was the son of *Sabay*.

(K) Opposite to *Sinkatora*, at the mouth of the river *Aliga*,

16 or 17 leagues south of *Goa*.

(L) Between *Dabul* and *Chaul*.

(M) *Bala*, in *Persian*, according to our author, signifies lofty, and *Ghâte*, a mountain: therefore that vast province beyond it is called *Balaghâte*, as who should say, the mountain or ultramontane province.

(N) Rather *Imad*, or *Eswadol Muluk*, the pillar or support of the kingdom.

(O) Rather *Kotbb al Maluk*, the pole or axis of the kingdom.

ALL

ALL these governors were foreigners, excepting *Nezâm* Muluk, who is said to have been a natural son of *Dakem*; but the rest were slaves, bought with the king's money.

A. D.

1467.

The governors usurp.

FOR some time these governors did their duty; but at length growing weary of subjection, they joined in conspiracy, set up for themselves in their respective provinces, and, seizing king *Dakem* in *Beder*, capital of *Dekan*, gave him in custody to *Veridi*. There were concerned in this conspiracy certain *Hindûs*, as *Mohadum Kaja*, and *Veriche*, to whom were given large countries, with some wealthy cities. On *Mohadum*, for instance, were bestowed *Visapur*; (which, when our author wrote, was the residence of *Adel Khân*); with *Solapur* (P), and *Paranda* (Q); which were afterwards taken by *Nezâm Maluk*: but *Veriche* kept possession of his province, which bordered on *Kambaya*, and the province belonging to *Nezâm Maluk*.

THIS relation of *D'Orta*, tho' of great use for the general, both to the geography and history of these countries, is yet very much out with regard to the time when the founder of this great empire lived, if not as to his name also: for if he drove the *Mogols* out of *Dehli*, our author must have confounded him with *Cher Khân*, or *Shîr Khân*, the *Pâtan*, who, after conquering *Bengâl*, in 1540, obliged *Humayân* to fly into *Persia*, as hath been related in the reign of that *Mogol* prince^a; and in effect *Thevenot* (whose account of this revolution agrees nearly with *D'Orta*'s) says, that *Cher Khân*, after defeating *Humayân*, assumed the name of *Shâh Alem*. But this contradicts the *Portuguese* history; by which it appears, that at the time of their arrival in *India*, in 1498, the several potentates before-mentioned were then existing, and consequently could not have their original from the conqueror of the *Mogols*, about forty years after. The same history gives an account also of *Shîr Khân*'s victory over *Humayân*; but mentions nothing of his conquering *Dekân*, nor of any revolution having happened in that country thro' all the sixteenth century^e; which could not have been the case, had any such come to pass. In short, the fact, so far

this revolution

^c GARCIA D'ORTA. ap. De Laet. Ind. Vera. p. 158, & seqq.

^d See before, p. 216.

^e FARIA Y SOUSA.

Port. Asia, vol. i. p. 411.

(P) *Solapur* is placed by *De l'Isle* on the river *Krishna*, about 20 leagues to the south-east of *Visapur*.

(Q) *Paranda* is mentioned by *Bernier*, and others, as a place of consequence, but they say not where situated.

A. D. 1467. as relates to the date of this revolution, as assigned by D'Orta, is overthrown by the evidence of that author himself; for he says, the great grandfather of the *Adel Khán* then reigning, who was one of the conspirators, and from whom the *Portugueses* twice took *Goa*, died in 1535^f. Now this death was five years before the expulsion of the *Mogols* by *Shír Khán*; and the city of *Goa* was twice taken in 1510. In this same year, 1510, he likewise places the death of *Veridi*, another of the conspirators; consequently, the revolution in *Dekan* must have happened, by his own account, before that period.

examined
into.

AND this is conformable to the account of *Castaneda*, one of the earliest *Portuguese* writers of the *Indian* affairs, as well as of some later travellers, who place that event in the fifteenth century. *Bernier*, with whom *Dr. Frier* pretty nearly agrees, tells us, that scarce 200 years before the time he wrote (R), all this great peninsula of *India*, in its largest limits, was under the dominion of a heathen prince, named *Ram Ras* (S); who having raised three *Mohammedan* slaves, of the *Shiyah* sect, to great honour, gave to one the major part of those countries, at present possessed by the *Great Mogol* in *Dekan*, about *Dowlet abád*, from *Bidar* (or *Beder*), *Paranda*, and *Surát*, as far as *Narbadar*; to the second, all the other lands of *Dekan*, comprehended under the kingdom of *Visapúr*; and to the third, all which is contained under the name of the kingdom of *Golkonda*. These three slaves growing rich, and being supported by a good number of the *Mogols*, who were in the service of *Ram Ras*, joined in a general revolt; and having killed that unfortunate prince, each set up for himself in his respective government, and assumed the title of *Sháh*, or king. The issue of *Ram Ras* not finding themselves strong enough to oppose the usurpers, were content to betake themselves to that country of the peninsula, commonly called *Karnátek*, but in our maps, *Bisnágar*; where their descendants remain to this day, with the title of *Rajahs*^g.

As to the titles of those usurpers, which *Bernier* has omitted, authors generally agree, that the first, who had the

^f DE LAET. Ind. Vera. p. 160. ^g BERNIER Mem. Mog. Emp. part 2. p. 158, & seqq. FRYER'S Trav. p. 165.

(R) That is about 1667; 250 years before 1675, which puts that event in 1425.

(S) So he is called by *Frier* also. Even *Thevenot* makes his *Frier*, p. 165, reckons about *Cher Khán* a *Rajah* of *Bengal*.

tramontane provinces, was stiled *Nezām Shāh* (T); the second *Adel Shāh*, who seized *Viśāpūr*; and the third, *Kotbb Shāh*, who possessed *Golkonda*.

AND here it may be proper to observe, that *Dekan*, or *Extent of Dekan*, was not of so large extent as some authors have imagined; for, from the several accounts above-cited, it appears that it comprised no more of the peninsula than what lay within the dominions of *Nezām Shāh* and *Adel Shāh*; that is, the provinces of *Bāglāna*, *Ballagāte*, and *Tellenga*, with the kingdom of *Viśāpur*. The first three provinces being to the north of the mountains called *Gāte*, went under the denomination of *Ballagāte*, or the tramontane provinces; and under *Viśāpur* we include *Konkan*, or *Kunkam*, which was that part lying between the *Gāte* and the Indian sea, or western coast, where the river *Bate*, near *Bazaim* and *Bombay*, separated it northward from the dominions of *Nezām Shāh*; and the river *Aliga*, on the south, from *Kanara* and *Bīsnāgar*^b.

S E C T. II.

Empire of Bīsnāgar.

THIS kingdom, called *Bīsnāgar* (U), from the capital city, *Empire of Bīsnāgar*, and *Nar ſinga*, from the name of one of its *Rajahs* or *Kings*, bounded *Dekan* on the south; and was, at the time of the above-mentioned revolution, or soon after, the most rich, potent, and extensive monarchy in the *Indies*, comprehending almost all the countries in the peninsula south of the sixteenth parallel: for, besides the large kingdom of *Karnāta* or *Karnātes*, which was the hereditary dominion, and made the body of the empire, it contained the kingdoms of *Kanāra*, *Messowr*, *Travankor*, *Madāra*, *Marava*, and *Tanjaor*; in short, all that vast region washed on three sides by the ocean, was subject to the king of *Bīsnāgar*, excepting that part of *Malabār* which belongs to the *Zamorin*, or king of *Kalekut*^a. The inhabitants were Pagans, and called *Ba-*

^a DE FARIA, ubi supra, p. 95. 99.
vol. i. p. 95. & seqq. vol. ii. p. 83. 142.

^b DE FARIA,

(T) That is, *King Nexām*; changing, probably, the title of *Nexām al Muluk*, after his usurpation, into that of *Nezām Shāh*. The like may be understood of the other two.

it *Bīsnaga*: but we are told by the Jesuits of those times, that its true name was *Vissan agor*; another author says, *Vidianagar*. See *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. ii. p. 1746; and *Della Valles's Trav.* p. 93. & seqq.

(U) The Portuguese called

dagus,

A. D. 1200. *dagus*, as are those of *Karnata* at present: they spoke the *Tamul* or *Damul* language, which is the same with the *Malabaric*; but the *Badagun* was used at court.

City of Bīṣṇāgar.

THE city of *Bīṣṇāgar*, which still subsists, lies eight days journey (X) from *Goa*, and six from the diamond mines. *Cæsar Frederic*, who was at this capital of *Narṣinga* in 1567, represents it as a very great city, twenty-four miles in compass, whose walls, inclosing certain hills, were washed by the river *Nigondin*. The buildings were all of earth, excepting the pagods, and three palaces. Of the many courts of kings which this traveller had seen, none could compare with that of *Bezenegar*, for the grandeur and order of the palace, which had five courts leading to it, with each a gate, and guards. But when *Frederic* was there, the city was destitute of people, although the houses were standing; the place having been sacked two years before^k, as will be related presently.

History of Bīṣṇāgar.

ACCORDING to the *Portuguese* writers, the kingdom of *Charnataka* (Y) had no sovereign prince till the year 1200: it began then in *Boka*, a shepherd, who stiled himself *Rau*, or *Rājā*, that is, emperor; which title has descended to all his successors. *Boka*, in memory of a defeat which he gave to the king of *Debli* (who attacked these southern provinces), built the famous city of *Viṣajanāgar* (Z), corruptly called *Bīṣṇāgar*. The crown continued in his line till it was usurped by *Narṣinga*, from whom this kingdom took its name, as well as that of *Bīṣṇāgar*, from the city^l.

Khrisna Rājāh.

WHATEVER the king of *Bīṣṇāgar* might have lost by the usurpation of the *Mohammedan* governors before-mentioned, yet we find him still a very powerful prince about the year 1520: for *Khrisna Rājāh*, the then king, resolving to take the city (A) of *Rachol* from *Adel Khān* of *Viziapūr*, as having be-

^k PURCHAS's Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1704, & seqq.
FARIA, ubi supr. vol. 3. p. 118.

^l De

(X) This is confirmed by the Jesuits map of the hither peninsula of the *Indies*, inserted in vol. xxiii. of the *Lettres Edifiantes*; which puts it 105 geometrical miles east of that city. Yet former geographers, and even *Del'Isle*, place it near three degrees to the south-east more within land.

(Y) *Karnatek*, *Karnates*, or *Karnata*, as it is variously written.

Our author, *De Faria*, says *Kanara* (which is the name of a kingdom on the sea-coast) is a corruption of *Charnataka*.

(Z) The Jesuit *Pimenta*, who wrote in 1697, calls it *Viṣṇanagar*; and *Delle Valle*, *Vidianagar*, as before observed.

(A) Situated in the island of *Saïssete*, near *Goa*. *De Faria*, vol. iii. p. 417.

longed

longed to his ancestors, he covered the hills and plains with an army of 35,000 horse, and 733,000 foot: besides these, were 586 elephants, carrying castles each, with four armed men in it, 12,000 water-carriers, and 20,000 common women. As *Rachol* was very strongly fortified, stored with artillery, and garrisoned by 8400 men, of which 400 were horse, the *Rajah* could not take it by assault in three months; at the end of which *Adel Khân* coming to its relief with 18,000 horse, 120,000 foot, 150 elephants, and much heavy cannon, a battle ensued. At first *Khrisna Rajah* was worsted; but recovering himself, he fell on with such fury, that very few escaped the sword, or captivity. Among the slain were forty *Portugueses*, in the service of *Adel Khân*, who had escaped by flight. The principal booty consisted of 4000 horses, 100 elephants, 400 great cannon, besides small, and other riches.

As *Khrisna Rajah* returned in a rage against *Rachol*, *Christopher de Figueredo*, with twenty *Portugueses*, brought some *Arabian* horses, in order to sell them to that prince; who falling into discourse about the siege, *Figueredo*, after being permitted to view the place, undertook to reduce it: accordingly, in the second assault, being backed by the king, the city was forced. *Khrisna*, puffed up with this victory, when *Adel Khân's* officers came to beg the booty taken in the former battle, he answered, that it should be restored, provided *Adel Khân* would come and kiss his foot, as supreme lord of the empire of *Kanara*. This base condition was accepted, but the execution prevented by several accidents^m.

AFTER this we met with no dispute between the two kings for many years. At length, about 1558, a *Portuguese*, of the city *Meliapûr*, or *St. Thomas*, on the coast of *Choromandel* (one of those, saith our author, who worship their interest, more religiously than the heathens do their idols; and of these, adds he, there are many in the Indies), persuaded *Râma Râjah*, then king of *Bisnâgar*, to march against that city; telling him, the plunder would be worth two millions; and that it would be of great service to the images in the pagods, which were there thrown down by the Christians. He was a good Christian, says *De Faria*, who was so zealous for idols (B). The king hearkening to the hopes of gain, set forward with 500,000 men. *Peter de Atayde* encouraged the inhabitants to defend themselves; but they, to palliate their fear, said,

— DE FARIA, vol. i, p. 236, & seqq.

(B) The *Romanists* say the images of all other saints but their own are idols; altho' there is no difference either in the manufacture or the worship.

A. D.
1558.

Spars Me-
hapâr.

It was but reason that the king should be admitted to what was his own. Upon this answer, *Atayde* went away to Goa; and the townsmen, preparing for the king's reception, sent him a present of 4000 ducats, wherewith he was somewhat appeased. He encamped, and would not enter the city, but ordered all the inhabitants of both sexes, with all their effects, to be brought into his presence; which being done, he found that the whole value of their substance did not exceed 80,000 ducats. Enraged at the wickedness of the informer, the king ordered him to be thrown to the elephants, who tore him in pieces. After which he dismissed the citizens, and restored all their goods so punctually, that only a silver spoon happening to be missing, it was sought for, and returned to the owner.

Bishnagar
attacked,
A. D.
1565.

and de-
stroyed,

BISHNAGAR was about this time resorted to by merchants from all parts, as being the greatest, if not the only mart for diamonds, in the east. Its riches were equal to its great extent. This happy state of the kingdom exciting the jealousy of the kings of *Dekân*, namely, *Nezam Shâh*, *Adel Shâh*, and *Kotbh Shâh* (C), they entered into a league to suppress it: for this purpose they took the field with 50,000 horse, and 300,000 foot. The king of *Bishnagar* (D) met them with double that number, and had the better at first; but fortune changing to the other side, he lost his life, at the age of ninety-six; and the enemy became victorious. They spent five months in plundering the capital, although the inhabitants had, in three days time, carried away 1550 elephants, loaded with money and jewels to the amount of above one hundred millions of gold; beside the royal chair for state days, whose price could not be estimated. For all this, *Adel Shâh* found a diamond, as big as an ordinary egg, on which the feather of the late king's horse used to be fixed; likewise a second, of an extraordinary size, tho' not so large as the first; besides other jewels, of an incredible value. After the aged *Rajah's* misfortune, the kingdom of *Bishnagar* was divided among his sons and nephews. This dissolution of the monarchy proved extremely hurtful to trade, which, in that year, was reduced to a very low ebb°.

° DE FARIA, p. 194, & seqq.

° DE FARIA, p. 252, & seqq.

(C) *Caiser Frederic* makes *huc* (or *Kotbh al Mulk*), and four confederate kings, *Dial Viridi*.

Çan (or *Adel Khân*), *Zamaluc* (or *Nezam al Mulk*), *Cotema-*

(D) Named *Rama Râjâ*; the same, doubtless, who attacked *Meliâgar*.

SUCH

SUCH is *De Faria's* account of this great revolution, which happened in 1565: but *Cesar Frederic*, who was at *Bisnâgar* two years after, that is, in 1567, is more particular; and besides, relates it with different circumstances. According to this author, *Bezenegher*, or *Bisnâgar*, was attacked by four kings, *Viridi* being joined to the three before-mentioned. Yet was not their success owing to their power, but to the treachery of two of *Râma Râjab's* chief commanders, who were *Mohammedans*, and had each under his power seventy or eighty thousand men: for after the battle had continued near four hours, they went over to the enemy; which so astonished the rest of the king's army, that they immediately fell into disorder, and took to flight. On this news, the inhabitants of *Bisnâgar* abandoned that city, and the four kings entered it in great triumph. They stayed there six months, searching all places for plunder, and then withdrew, as not being able to keep so large a kingdom in their hands.

RÂMA RÂJAH was not the lawful sovereign, but an usurper, who held the rightful king in prison. He, with his two brothers, *Timi Râjab*, and *Bengâter*, were commanders under the former king; who dying thirty years before (E), and leaving his son very young, the three brothers seized the government; *Râma Râjab* assumed the title of king; *Timi Râjab* undertook to manage the affairs of state; and *Bengâter* was made chief general of the army. As for the king, they kept him prisoner, and only shewed him to the people once every year. These brothers were all in the late battle; from which *Timi Râjab* only escaped, with the loss however of one of his eyes. Upon the defeat, the wives and children of the three Tyrants fled from *Bisnâgar*, together with the prisoner king. Afterwards *Timi Râjab* returning to the city, began to repeople it. He likewise sent to invite the merchants at *Goa*, and other places, to bring him horses, promising to pay a good price for them; but when, by this means, he had drawn together as many as he could, he dismissed the owners, without giving them any thing for their cattle.

In 1567, the king, displeased with *Bisnâgar*, on account of the late misfortune, removed with his court, to reside at *Penegonda* (F), a castle eight days journey farther within

(E) This will fall in the year 1535.

(F) Or *Penavhonda*, as in the Jesuits map of the peninsula: according to which, it lies to the south-east of *Bisnâgar*, about

31 leagues distant, on a river which falls into the *Krishna*, the northern boundary of *Karnâta*; and is at present the seat of a Nabâb, or *Mogal* viceroy.

land.

A. D.
1597.

land. We learn nothing more concerning the affairs of Bīṣnāgar from *Cesar Frederic*, excepting that the son of *Tā Rājāh* put to death the lawful king, with design to remove all obstacles to the throne; but that the grandees would not acknowledge him for king. Hence arose great distractions: so that in a little time the country became divided among many princes, who set-up for sovereigns P.

Kingdom
at rest,

NOTWITHSTANDING this, in 1597, we find the provinces of Bīṣnāgar united again under one king, named *Wetahapati*. Whether he was of the race of the former king, or the founder of a new dynasty, we know not: all we learn from authors is, that he kept his court at *Chandegri* (G), a city situate within land, exceedingly strong by nature, and defended by a castle built in the midst of it, so that it was reckoned impregnable; that his ancestors reigned as far as *Goa* and cape *Komori*; but that lately the *Naiks* of *Travankor*, *Madāra*, *Tanjaor*, and *Jinji*, had thrown off his yoke.

FROM this time nothing of moment occurs in authors, relating to the affairs of Bīṣnāgar, till the entire ruin of the large monarchy, which happened about the middle of the last century. In order to explain the occasion of this great revolution, it will be necessary to look back to the affairs of *Dekan*, and see what was doing on that side. The descend-

Is invaded
anew.

ants of the three kings, *Nezām Shāh*, *Adel Shāh*, and *Koth Shāh*, so often before-mentioned, maintained their possession so long as they preserved a friendly union, and assisted one another against the *Mogols*, who frequently made war upon them. But when that good understanding began to cease, they soon found the bad effects of their divisions: for their potent enemies watching their opportunity, about the year 1627 (H); possessed themselves, within a short time, of all the

P *CÆSAR FREDERIC'S VOY.* ap. *Purchas*, vol. ii. p. 1704. & seqq. † *Epist. de Reb. Japan & Indic.* ab *HAYO.* Collect. p. 774, 803, & seqq.

(G) So written by the *Portugueses*; by the *Italians*, *Ciandegri*; it is also written *Cbandegrin* by some. In the *Jesuits Epistles*, p. 770 and 836, it is said to be only three miles distant from a famous pagod called *Tripati*, seated on a hill. This we judge to be the place named in the *Jesuits* map *Tiroupati*, about 27 leagues west-

north-west of *Port St. George*; in which neighbourhood *Chandegri* appears to have been.

(H) *Bernier* says 35 or 40 years before the time he wrote; which brings it to about the year mentioned in the text: but the provinces of *Tilingāna* (or *Talinga*), and *Buglāna* (or *Buglāni*), were taken by *Shāh Jahān*; and, consequently, some years later.

the country belonging to *Nezâm Shâh* (I), the fifth or sixth descendant of the first slave¹; containing the provinces of *Balagât*, *Telenga* and *Baglana*², and at length took him prisoner in *Dowlat abâd*, his capital, where he died (K). As this misfortune was owing to the envy of the other two kings, who refused to assist him, they were not long without the punishments due to their bad conduct: for some years after, *Aureng Zib*, third son of *Shâh Jehân*, being made governor of *Balagât*, that prince invaded the territories of *Adel Shâh*, king of *Vizapûr*, who immediately applied to the king of *Biznâgar* for succour. But that Rajah neglecting to furnish his ally with troops, the *Mogols* took from the latter *Bider*, *Parânda*, and other considerable cities. This so exasperated *Adel Shâh*, that, making peace with *Aureng Zib* in 1650, he entered into a league with the king of *Golkonda* against him of *Biznâgar*, whom they vigorously attacked, and at last stripped of his dominions. *Kothb Shâh* seized the provinces along the coast of *Ghoromandel*, while *Adel Shâh*, having taken what lay next to him, pursued his conquests; seized *Vellûr*, then the capital city, with *Jenji* (or *Jinji*), and several other towns of *Karnâta*, as far as *Porto Novo*, and cape *Nega Patan*. As for the unfortunate Rajah, he fled into the mountains, where he remained in 1667, when our author, *Thevenot*, was on his travels³. Thus was an end put to the kingdom of *Biznâgar*, which about twenty years after fell under the power of the *Mogols*, by the conquest which *Aureng Zib* made of the kingdoms of *Viziapûr* and *Golkonda*. and quite destroyed.

¹ BERNIER, part 2, p. 160.
ch 2. p. 91.

² BERN. ubi supr.

³ THEV. Trav. third part, part 3. p. 92, & seq. TAVERNIER, part 2. p. 66. BERNIER, part 2, p. 171.

later. As *Dowlet abâd* is the capital of *Balagât*, so these three provinces must have belonged to *Nezâm Shâh*.

(I) *Thevenot* erroneously gives the title of *Nezâm Shâh* to the king of *Viziapûr*; and, what is worse, assigns that of *Adel Shâh*, a *Mohammedan* title, to the Rajah of *Biznâgar*, who was a heathen.

(K) *Fryer*, agreeable to what we gather from other authors, makes *Nezâm Shâh* to have reign-

ed in the countries between *Viziapûr*, *Golkonda*, and the *Mogols* empire; and, says *Aureng Zib* put an end to his race, in return for the hospitable reception he gave him at *Jenab*, when he repaired thither, under the colour of a Fakir, and one who had been banished from court. The doctor adds, that he saw at *Jenab* the sumptuous palace which *Nizâm Shâh* had built for that prince's reception.

C H A P. II.

Of the Countries comprised in the Kingdom of
Dekan, or Dekkan.

S E C T. I.

Describing Bâglâna, Balagât, and Telenga.

Division
of Dekan.

FROM what has been said in the former chapter, it appears, that the kingdom of *Dekan*, *Dakan*, or *Dukkan*, as it is variously pronounced, comprehended properly no more than the four large provinces of *Bâglâna*, *Balagât*, *Telenga*, and *Viziapûr*, as it was before the destruction of the empire of *Bisnâgar*, in the last century. Although some authors, without sufficient authority, include *Golkonda*, and even *Oria* or *Oriſſa*, with the countries as far as *Bengâl* and the *Ganges*. The three first of the four provinces may be comprised under the general name of *Balagât*, as they lay to the north of the mountain *Gate*: for *Balagât*, as hath been already observed, signifies the tramontane provinces, or those beyond the mountains. This northern part was likewise by much the larger or more considerable of the two; and therefore its kings, stiled *Nizâm Shâh*, were called kings of *Dekan*, till it was conquered by the *Great Mogol Shâh Jehân*; after which that title was given to the kings of *Viziapûr*, who possessed the remaining part of *Dekan*; while the *Mogols*, with more right, added the crown of *Dekan* to their other titles, as having subdued the larger half of it. This being premised, we shall give our readers some account of each province in particular.

Province
of Bala-
gât.

THE province of *Balagât*, properly so called, is largest of the three which composed the northern *Dekan*. It has *Khândîsb* and *Berar*, in the *Mogol's* empire, to the north; *Tellinga*, to the east; *Bâglâna*, with part of *Guzorât*, to the west; and *Viziapûr* to the south. This province, since it fell into the hands of the *Mogols*, has taken the name of *Dowlet abad*, from its former capital. It is a fruitful pleasant country, abounding with cotton and sugar. The chief city at present, called *Aureng abad*, is very great; yet has no walls. The governor, who is commonly a prince, resides there, as did *Aureng Zib* in the time of his father. The houses are mostly of free stone, and pretty high, with pleasant gardens, and trees planted before the doors. They have sheep here without horns, and so strong, as, when bridled and saddled, to carry

carry boys ten years old. This is a great trading town, and well peopled, with excellent ground about it^a. Province
Tilinga.

DOLT ABAD (or *Dowlte abad*) is two leagues and a half northward of *Aureng abad*; and was the capital of *Balagât*, before the *Mogols* conquered it. It belonged to *Dekan* (A), and was a place of great trade, which *Aureng Zib* removed to the present metropolis. The city is pretty big, much longer than broad, extending from east to west. It is walled with free stone, and has battlements and towers, mounted with cannon. It is reckoned the strongest place in all *Hindûstân*, on account of an oval hill within the town, which is strongly fortified; being invironed at the bottom with a wall of natural rock, defended by three forts, and having at top a good citadel, with the king's palace. These fortifications make the *Indians* deem the place impregnable. Dowlet
abad.

THREE hours march from *Dolt abad* are the famous pagods *Pagods of* of *Elora*, standing in a plain about two leagues square. In *Elora*. this space there are a great number of tombs, chapels, and spacious temples, full of pillars and pilasters; with many thousand figures, all extremely well cut out of the natural rock, and polished. It is a stupendous work, surpassing in appearance human force; and to be admired by *Europeans*, although the architecture and sculpture be not so delicate as with us. There is a famous pagod on the road to *Golkonda*, between the towns of *Indâr* and *Indelway*: it is called *Chitanâgar*, or the lady *Chita*, because dedicated to *Chita*, the wife of *Râm* (one of the *Indian* saints or demigods). It is built with a kind of *Theban* stone, and has a lovely frontispiece, adorned with figures of men and animals in relieve, as finely sculpted as if they had been done in *Europe*^b.

TELENGA, *Tilinga*, or *Tillingâna*, lies on the east of *Tillingâna*. *Ballagât Proper*, south of *Berar*, and west of *Golkonda*, having also *Golkonda* and *Ballagât* on the north. It was formerly the principal province of *Dekan*, and reached as far as the *Portuguese* lands towards *Goa*: but since the *Great Mogol* became master of the northern parts of this country, with the towns of *Beder* and *Kalion*, it has been divided between him and the king of *Dekan*; who is only stiled king of *Viziaûr* (or *Vijapûr*), and is reckoned among the provinces of *Hindûstân*. It has on the east *Golkonda*, on the west *Baglâna* and *Viziaûr*, on the north *Balagât*, and on the south *Bisnâgar*. na, or
Telenga.

^a THEVENOT, ubi suprà. p. 72.

^b Ibid. p. 76—79.

(A) *Vanden Broecke*, who was at *Dolt abad* in 1617, says it was then the capital of *Dekan*.

THE

Province
Bâglâna.

THE capital at present is *Beler* (or *Behr*), which did belong to *Balagât* when it had kings, and for sometime to *Dekan*. This is a great city, encompassed with brick walls, which have battlements and towers, mounted with huge cannon, some three foot wide in the bore. Here is commonly a garrison of 3000 horse and foot, with 700 gunners, as being a frontier against *Dekan*. The governor lodges in a castle without the town, and makes a considerable advantage of his post. The *Hindûs* are no-where more superstitious than in this province. It has a particular language, called the *Telenga*, which some make the same with the *Kanâri*.

Bâglâna.

BAGLANA, or *Buglâna*, has on the north *Guzerât* and *Balagât*, on the east this last province, and on the south and west that part of *Viziapûr* called *Konkan*, belonging to the *Mâharâtas*. It ends in a point, at the sea-coast between *Daman* and *Balsera*. It is the least of all the provinces of which the *Mungl* empire consists; and its capital is called *Mouler*. The *Portuguese* territories begin in this province at the port of *Daman*, twenty-one leagues south of *Surât*; and run along the coast by *Bassaim*, *Bombay* (now belonging to the *English*), and *Chawl*, to *Dabâl*, almost fifty leagues to the north of *Goa*. In this province, as in the rest of *Dekan*, they marry their children at four or five years of age, and suffer them to bed when the boy is ten and the girl eight: but the females who have children so young give over conceiving at thirty, and grow extremely wrinkled^b.

S E C T. II.

Kingdom of Visapûr, or Viziapûr, described.

Kingdom
of Viziapûr.

THE kingdom of *Vizapûr* (B), called by the *Mogols* *Bijapûr*, is bounded on the east by *Karnâta*, from which it is separated by the mountains of *Gâte*, or a branch thereof; on the west by the sea, on the north by the provinces of *Bâglâna* and *Balagât*, and on the south by *Karnâta* and the kingdom of *Kanâra*. These were its bounds before the destruction of the empire of *Bijndgar* in 1667, which became divided between its king and him of *Golkonda*, by a line drawn from the borders of *Viziapûr*, south-eastward, to the coast of *Chordmandel*, north of *Porto Novo*; which fell to the share of *Adel Shâh*, with the coast to cape *Negapatan*. With-

^b THEVENOT, ubi sup. p. 180, & seqq.

(B) It is variously written, or pronounced, *Viziapore*, *Visapore*, *Vidiapore*, *Vijapûr*, and the like.

In land, he had *Velour*, then the capital of *Karnāta*; *Jinji*, *Geogra- phy, cities,* and other considerable cities; his dominions being bounded on the south by the *Naik* of *Madūra*. After the extinction of the kingdom of *Nezām Shāh*, who reigned in the *Balagāt* provinces, the title of king of *Dekan* passed to him, as being possessed of all which remained of it: but by the removal of that barrier, through the neglect of him, and the king of *Golkonda*, his power daily declined, and the *Mogols* gained ground, till at length they became masters of *Viziapūr* in 1685.

THE capital of this country is the city of *Viziapūr* (C), *The capital city.* from whence the kingdom took its name. It is about four or five leagues in compass, fortified with a double wall, on which are many cannon mounted, and a flat-bottomed ditch. The king's palace is in the middle of the town, and is vast, encompassed likewise with a ditch, full of water, wherein are some crocodiles. To the city belong several large suburbs, full of goldsmiths and jewellers shops; yet it hath but little trade, and not many things worth notice. Besides this capital, there are many other considerable cities in the kingdom, with three or four ports; namely, *Dabul*, *Rājapūr*, *Karāpatān*, and *Vingūrla* ^c.

THE coast of *Visapūr*, or, if you will, of *Konkan* (which makes the western part of *Visapūr*), is in a manner divided between the *Portugueses* and the *Hindū* states, lately erected in those quarters. About four miles south of the river *Seragawng*, which separates them from the *Great Mogol's* dominions, lies *Damān*, twenty-two leagues south of *Surāt*. This city was formerly a place of good trade, but latterly was reduced to poverty. It belonged to the *Portugueses* till about the year 1740, when it fell, with the rest of their possessions between *Surāt* and *Goa*, into the hands of the *Māharāttas* or *Marats*. It stands at the mouth of a river, about three quarters of a mile from the sea-shore; and is naturally very strong, by a deep marsh which surrounds it. It is about half a mile long, and near as broad, surrounded with a good stone wall. The houses are built of the same materials. The streets are not paved; but very strait, and all very neat. It had six churches, a convent, monastery, nunnery, and an hospital; also a fort, on the opposite side of the river, garrisoned with 400 men; of which the *Portugueses* were more careful than of any other

^c THEVENOT, *ibid.* p. 92. TAVERN. part ii. p. 72.

(C) Situated on the river 17° 30'. P. *Bouché* ap. *Lett. Mémoires*; and in the latitude of 1 *dif.* tom. xv. p. 58.

they

Geography, they had in the *Indies*. It was always a great eyesore to the governors of *Surât*; who often besieged it, but without success; although the *Mogol* army was at one time 40,000 strong^d.

Trapor
and Bassaim.

FROM *Damân* to *Bassaim* is about eighteen leagues: and half way lies *Trapor*, or *Tarapor*, a small but very rich city, when under the *Portugueses*, and dependant on *Damân*. *Bassaim* is about two miles in circumference, and inclosed with a wall; but its fortifications are but slight. The churches were very magnificent, the market-place large and handsome, the streets clean and regular. It is divided from the island of *Sâset* by an inlet of the sea, which washes the walls, and affords a harbour for small ships; but is too shallow to admit any of great burden. It was a place of small trade; because most of its riches lay buried in their churches, or in the hands of indolent country gentlemen; who loitered away their days in ease, without having the least sense of the poverty and calamity of their country*. There lived more gentry in and about this place, than at *Goa* itself; whence the *Portuguese* proverb, *Fidalgos of Bassaim*. In short, it was one of the most considerable places the *Portuguese* had^e; the governor being stiled *general of the north*; having had under him *Dia*, *Damân*, and *Chawî*, with all their territories.

Sâset isle.

THE island of *Sâset* is about twenty-five miles long, and in some parts ten broad. It was stocked with villages and churches when the *Portugueses* had it; but has no city on it, excepting one, called *Kanra*, hewn out of the side of a rock, with many antique figures and columns, curiously carved, besides several good springs of water: but, in our author's time, it was inhabited only by wild beasts and birds of prey^f. *Bandûra* is the most remarkable village, fronting *Matrim* in the island of *Bombay*, about a mile distant, of which mention has been elsewhere made: Passing *Bombay*, and some small islands in the hands of the *Siddi* and *Konna ji Angaria*, you meet with *Chawî*, which lies about seven leagues south-east of *Bombay*. The town was fortified by the *Portugueses*; and formerly a noted place for trade, having a river for small vessels, but latterly became miserably poor. Seven leagues still more south is *Dandi Râjahpûr*, a town belonging to the *Siddi*, who generally lies there with a fleet of the *Great Mogol's* vessels and ships of war, besides an army of 30 or 40,000

Dandi
Râjahpûr.

^d HAMILTON's new account of East-Ind. vol. I. p. 178, & seqq. DELLON's voy. p. 183.

^e HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 180.

^f DELLON, ubi supr. p. 187.

^g HAMILT. ubi supr.

men. This place affords a good harbour, and the adjacent *Provinces.* country feeds store of black cattle, from whence the *English* at *Bombay* are mostly supplied, when they keep in good terms with the *Siddi*; otherwise he makes them feed on fish. There is a rock within a league northward of the mouth of the river, fortified by the *Seva-ji* (D); as are the two little isles, called *Horney Coat*, opposite the river of *Zeferdan*.

FIVE leagues to the southward of this last place stands *Dabul*. *Dabul*, at the mouth of a large river; and, of old, was a place of trade, where the *English* had a factory. There is an excellent harbour, called *Sangusir*, eight leagues to the south of *Dabul*: but the country, being inhabited by robbers, is not frequented; nor is *Râjahpûr*, seven leagues further down, *Râjah-* although it has one of the best harbours in the world, and *pûr*. had formerly both an *English* and *French* factory settled there (E); the betillas and muslin being the finest in all *India*; but now there is no encouragement for such.

GHIRIA (F), the common residence of *Konna-jî Angaria* *Ghiria.* (or *Angria*), lies about two leagues to the south of *Râjahpûr*, and is well fortified by a strong large castle, washed by the sea (G). Twelve leagues more southward is *Malwan*, an isle, two miles in circuit, inclosed with a stone wall. It lies about one mile from the main land, and is governed by an independent *Râjah*; who, with three or four grâbs, robs all he can master at sea.

VINGURLA, which lies four leagues south of *Malwan*, *Vingurla.* was formerly a place of trade, and the *Dutch* had a factory there for cloths: but, in 1696, a *Râjah*, called *Kempason*, over-ran that country; and, under pretence of visiting the chief factor, seized and plundered the factory. The trading people, for their security, fled to the *Portuguese* dominions

(D) That is, the successors of *Seva-ji*.

Cornwall, p. 36, says it belongs to the *Siddi*.

(E) It lies exactly in 17 degrees of north latitude, above four leagues up the river of the same name; which runs with a gentle stream. Our author says, the *English* were dislodged by the *Indians*. How the *French* came to quit it we do not find. He adds, that the chief commodities are saltpetre, callicoës, but especially pepper, which grows there in plenty. *Dellon Voy. East Ind.* p. 56. c. 19.

(F) Our author, Capt. *Hamilton*, doubts whether *Ghiria* be also called *Vixendruk*, or lies seven leagues more southerly. But Captain *Cornwall*, in his observations on several *India* voyages, p. 36, makes them the same place.

(G) *Karapatan*, or *Careptam*, as in our charts, lies about three leagues to the south of *Râjahpûr* river.

Provinces. of Goa, which lie within six leagues of *Vingurla*; and, on the viceroy's refusing to send them back, entered his territories, and burnt as well as plundered whatever came in his way, not sparing the churches and images; for which sacrilege the *Portugueses* gave him the name of *Kema Santo*, or *St. Burner*: and, after bearing his inroads for many years, were obliged to buy a peace, by allowing him a pension. His army consisted of 7 or 8000 men, and he had two piratical grâbs at sea: but having a dispute, about a prize, with *Konna ji Angria*, this latter, who was much superior in power, burnt his grâbs; and, landing at *Vingurla*, destroyed the villages about the town¹.

Country of Sundah.

Country of Sundah. **S**OUTH of the *Portuguese* territories, which end at *Cape de Rama*, or *Cape Ramus* (as the *English* call it), lies the country of the *Rajah* of *Sunda*; whose dominions extend along the coast about fifteen leagues from the said cape to *Merzee* (or *Merzeou*), and sixty or seventy leagues within land, being bounded on the south by *Kanara*. He is at present tributary to the *Great Mogol*; but was formerly feudatory to the king of *Visapûr*, of which *Sunda* was a part^k. In *Fryer's* time he resided at *Sunda*; whence the whole country took the name. It is mountainous, and lies on both sides of the *Gâtti*, or *Gâte*; maintaining then in pay 12,000 foot and 3000 horse^l.

THERE is no river or harbour for shipping till you come to *Sevastir*; and that is no good one, though covered with a large castle.

Karwâr port.

KARWAR lies seven leagues south of *Cape Ramus*, with a good harbour, and a river capable to receive ships of 300 tons. The *English* have a factory here, fortified with two bastions, and some small cannon for its defence^m. Five days journey from hence lie the pepper mountains of *Sundh*, producing the best pepper in the world; known in *England* by the name of *Karwar* pepper: but as the *Rajah* finds a trade for it up the country, at the best rates, therefore but little of it is transported into *Europe*ⁿ. *Hamilton* says, the vallies abound in corn and pepper, the best in all *India*; and the mountain-woods with many sorts of wild beasts, as tigers,

¹ HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 243—248.

^k Ibid. p. 261.

^l FRYER Trav. p. 162, 163, 169.

^m HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 262.

ⁿ FRYER, ubi supr. p. 163.

wolves;

wolves, deer, elks, monkeys, hogs, and cattle of a prodigious size. He saw a bull killed whose four quarters weighed a ton: the horns measured twenty-three inches about the roots; and the bones so large, that he took out the marrow with a common silver spoon: but the flesh is not so well tasted as that of small tame cattle.

THIS country is so famous for hunting, that, in the year 1678, two *English* gentlemen of distinction went thither incognito, in one of the *East-India* company's ships, to enjoy that diversion. There are three species of tigers in *Karwar* woods; the smallest, which is not above two feet high, is the fiercest, and delights much in human flesh. The second sort is about three feet high, and hunts deer and wild hogs. The largest size tiger is three feet and a half high, less rapacious than the other kinds, sooner frightened, and seldom greedy of man's flesh. One of them, after killing a buffalo, bemired in a bog, and, sucking the blood, pulled him out, and threw him over his shoulder, as a fox does a goose, and was carrying him with his feet upwards to his den; but let him fall, on seeing the people pursue him.

A. D.
1465.

S E C T. III.

History of Visapûr, or Vijapûr.

THE kingdom of *Visapûr* had seven kings, of the *Pâ-tan* race, who all enjoyed the title of *Adel Shâh*, assumed by the founder; whose names are given us by Dr. Fryer; viz.
 1. *Adel Shâh*. 2. *Ajof Adel Shâh*. 3. *Bissa allah Adel Shâh*.
 4. *Ibrâhîm Adel Shâh*. 5. *Soltân Mahmûd Adel Shâh*. 6. *Allah Adel Shâh*. 7. *Soltân Sokodr Kawder Adel Shâh*; who reigned in our author's time.

ON the death of this last prince's father, *Allah Adel Shâh*, the great officers were divided in their interests. It was reported, that *Allah* was the son of an elephant-keeper; who, on a time when the choicest of those animals were stabled near the women's quarters, to hide them from the *Great Mogol's* ambassador, found means to get into the apartment of *Soltân Mahmûd's* queen. The issue of this correspondence was *Allah Adel Shâh*; whom his mother, after the old king's death, settled on the throne: nor did any stir to dispute his right during his life: but, on his death, *Soltân Sokodr* (or

* HAMILT. ubi sup. p. 263, & seqq.

A. D. 1675. *Sekânder*), being an infant (H), some of the children of *Soltân Mahmûd* raised forces, to oppose his succession. However, after several hot disputes, the factions were suppressed by *Kowis Khân*, who by the late king had been appointed protector of the kingdom. This lord, who was an *Hebfi*, or *Arabian* (I) *Kafr*, kept *Seva ji* in no small awe. However, the nobles, who held their provinces as feudatories, or rather vassals, of him, taking advantage of the king's minority, began to withdraw their allegiance.

Distractions in Visapûr.

KOWIS KHAN, though an excellent commander, yet being addicted to wine, the dissaffected laid to his charge not only all miscarriages in the government, but also the loss of the country, which had been over-run by *Seva ji*. *Bullul Khân*, the general, was indeed sent to oppose that rebel, and was able to have put a stop to the growing mischief: but the *Pâtan* envying the authority of *Kowis Khân*, he lets the enemy proceed without opposition; and, impatient to usurp his post, soon after he had been called from the expedition, basely murdered him. To effect this he invited that minister to a treat in his tent, where he took care to ply him with liquor till he became drunk, and fell asleep. Then *Bullul Khân*, surprising his few followers with 12,000 *Pâtans*, forced his way into the castle, and seized the young king: after which he put *Kowis Khân* to death, and usurped the government of affairs. However, being no less envied by the *Dukkan* princes, than his predecessors had been envied by him, he watched their motions, and hindered them from joining their forces. Mean time *Viziapûr* was in the utmost danger of being ruined; for, besides the factions, which tore the state to pieces within, the kingdom was threatened without by *Seva ji* on one side, and a great army of *Mogols* on the other. This happened about the year 1675, when the young king was scarce ten years old. The new protector endeavoured to gain the interest of the great lords; but to no purpose, so long as he refused to resign his power ^P.

^P *FRYER's Travels*, p. 147. 167, 168.

(H) Other authors say, that, being an orphan, the late king and his queen adopted him for their son: that the king before his death caused him to be proclaimed; but, being an infant, the queen was proclaimed regent: and, having made peace with *Seva ji*, went to *Mekka*;

from whence she returned in 1664. See *Thevenot Trav. Ind.* p. 92. *Tavern.* p. 72.

(1) These *Kafrs* were preferred to the chief employments, under the title of *Siddis*; and only in *Viziapûr* arrived to great preferments, as being the frizzled woolly-pated Blacks.

SEI A

SEVA JI, taking advantage of the times, sends a detachment, under his son *Samba ji*, from his army at *Pundit* before *Goa*; which, marching through the country, proceeded as far as *Bāghnāgur*, capital of *Golkonda*, plundered and burnt that city: but, as *Bullul Khān* watched his motions, he did no harm to *Viziapūr*. At the same time *Seva ji* himself, with another detachment, advanced to *Surāt*; which gave him the usual pishkush, or present. On his return he treacherously seized on the *Rājah* of *Rāmnāgar*'s territories in the mountains, through which he obtained leave to pass; and returned a bold answer to *Bullul Khān*, who had sent to demand a reason for his proceedings. The *Khān*, foreseeing from thence that a storm was gathering against him, took the field to prevent it; and, surprising *Serji Khān* (*Rājah* of *Sunda*), and *Timi Naig*, general of *Kanāra*, who were going to join the *Dukkaneſes*, the first fled, and the latter was trodden to death in the confusion, after most of his forces had been slain by the pedereros, carried on the war-camels.

A. D.
1680.Seva ji's
successes.

THESE auxiliaries were to have been seconded by *Badur Mogols Khān*, the *Mogol* general, who, some time afterwards appeared twice before *Viziapūr*, with a formidable army; pretending to support the rights of the *Dukkaneſes*, and call *Bullul Khān* to an account. But he was both times repulsed by the protector, at the head of 12,000 *Pâtans*; who the last time forced him to leave his *Hâfnah*, or military chest, with 1000 camels, some elephants, and several pieces of ordnance. There were likewise slain 4 or 5000 *Mogols*, with the *Basha* of *Bufferāh*, and his son, whose heads were put on poles, and set up on the city walls.⁹

FROM this time we meet with nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of *Viziapūr* for near twenty years, excepting what relates to the proceedings of *Seva ji*; who, by degrees extended his power in that country. At length, *Pan Naik*, a *Rājah*, relying on the strength of his country, as being situated among twenty-seven inaccessible mountains, called *Set-tais Pale*, in which there are villages and cultivated lands, took up arms also, in order to shake off the *Viziapurian* yoke. At this juncture *Aureng Zib*, who for a long time had an eye towards the conquest of this kingdom, seeing the forces of the kingdom, amounting to 30,000 horse, and as many foot, employed against those rebels, laid hold of the opportunity; and, under pretence that the king had given *Seva ji* (K);

The king-
dom con-
quered.

⁹ FRYER'S Trav. p. 163, & seq.

(K) *Seva ji* died in 1680; so that his successor must here be understood.

A. D.
1685.

passage through his country (which yet he could not have hindered had the other attempted it), besieged the city of *Viziapūr* (L). This capital was valiantly defended by *Siddi Mansutu* (M), a Black, who governed during the king's minority : but at length, in 1685 (N), it was taken, with the castle, and the king, named *Sikhānder* (or *Sehānder*), carried away prisoner : to whom however the conqueror allowed a million of rupis a year for his maintenance. Our author *Gemelli* saw this prince the same year at *Aureng Zib's* camp (O). He was a sprightly person, about twenty-nine (P) years of age (Q), of a good stature and olive complexion¹.

Power of
the lords.

THE ruin of *Viziapūr* was in a great measure owing to the privilege of inheritance, which the lords enjoyed, contrary to the custom observed in other countries of the *Indies* : for in *Dākhan*, the lands descended from father to son among the nobility, although the common people were mere slaves. They built forts, made peace and war, fell-out with one another, and with their king, at pleasure : in short, were restrained only from raising men in his name, and for his use. This made them insolent and stubborn, so that it was difficult to get them to unite for the common good ; and many times they sided with the enemies of their country.

How
checked.

IN some measure to balance the power of his lords, the king of *Viziapūr* bought *Kafrs*, or Blacks, whom he educated,

¹ GEMELLI Trav. ap. Church. collect. vol. iv. p. 148.

(L) *Hamilton* says, he had an army of 3 or 400,000 men, and soon conquered the open country ; but the city being built on a flat mountain, of difficult access, and room enough to sow corn on it, it took him up a blockade of seven or eight years to reduce it. *Hamilt. new Account of the East-Ind.* vol. i. p. 262.

(M) The same, probably, whom *Fryer* calls *Siddi Masfute* (or *Maffūd*).

(N) This is the true year, not 1695 ; in or about which year *Viziapūr* was conquered, according to *Bracons* ; and *Golconda* quickly after, as will be observed hereafter.

(O) It is likely that this prince was but newly conquer-

ed, and had not been yet out of *Viziapūr* : for if he had been once carried into the *Mogol's* dominions, it is hardly to be supposed that he would ever have been brought back into those which were lately his own.

(P) That was in 1685 ; which agrees not very well with *Fryer's* account ; who says, that, in 1675, the king was scarce ten years old.

(Q) According to Captain *Hamilton*, he was a good simple prince ; whom the conqueror carried in triumph, along with his victorious army, near the space of thirty years ; at the end of which he died.

and,

and, according to their merit, promoted to the chief places of honour and trust, in the same manner as the king of *Golkonda* made use of eunuchs, who were his slaves. By this policy the lords were partly kept in awe; and, if at any time they who raised disturbances fell into his hands, he not only cut-off their heads, but confiscated their estates, and gave them to his favourites; which bound them still stronger to his interest*.

A. D.
1650.

C H A P. III.

The History of Seva ji, and the Máharáttas.

SEVÁ JÍ was descended from an antient line of Rájahs, *His birth;* of the warlike tribe of the *Bounfelos*. His grandfather, named *Vangu ji Rájah*, and his father, *Sháh ji Rájah*, were both in esteem under *Nisbám Sháh*, king of *Dukkan*, by whom the latter was made governor of *Jeneah Gur*; where he had two sons, *Seva ji* (R) and *Samba ji*, by his first wife; and by his second, a third son, called *Ekow ji*. On the downfall of *Nisbám Sháh* (which happened in 1650), *Sháh ji Rájah* and his two younger sons put themselves into the service of the king of *Viziapúr*, who gave them considerable employments, which they held in 1675, when our author was in *India*.

As for *Seva ji*, he, being of a turbulent nature, sought to *refless* raise himself by the ruin of others; setting the lesser lords at *spirit;* variance with their prince, and sharing in the spoils of those who were defeated. For this reason his father disinherited him (S), and at his death settled his youngest son *Ekow ji* in the Rájahship of *Benglár*, which yet was of no great value, having suffered much in the troubles of *Dukkan*.

* FRYER, ubi sup. p. 167.

(R) *Thevenot* says, he was the robbers and debauched born at *Baxaim*, then belonging young men, who followed him, to the *Portugueses*; and, as the could not be reduced by the same author makes him thirty- forces sent to attack him. The five years of age when he plundered *Surát* in 1664, he must king, suspecting that his father have been born in 1629. See held intelligence with him, caused him to be arrested; and *Thev. Trav. Ind.* partiii. chap. he dying in prison, his son was 16. so incensed that he resolved to be revenged. In a little time

(S) According to *Thevenot* he rebelled in his father's life-time; after, he plundered part of *Viziapúr*. and keeping the mountains with

A. D.
1650.

deceives
Abdol
Khân ;

and kills
him.

Attempts
Panala,

and Vizi-
apûr.

THE king of *Viziapûr*, observing the aspiring genius of *Seva ji*, with an intent to blast him in the bud, sent a potent army against him, conducted by *Abdol Khân*, an experienced soldier. As soon as *Seva ji* understood that this general had taken the field, while the main body of his army was at a distance, he sent him flattering messages ; intimating withal, that, in case the *Khân* would stop his march, he would meet him at a certain *chowlttri*, and kiss his feet. *Abdol Khân*, believing him sincere, contrary to the intreaty of his friends, at the day appointed, set out with his son and a select number of his men to the rendezvous ; near which *Seva ji* had placed an ambuscade, and with a few attendants waited the general's coming. As soon as *Seva ji* perceived him at a distance, he advanced, and falling at his feet, with feigned tears, craved pardon for his offence ; nor would rise till *Abdol Khân* had promised to intercede for him. After this, as they were going to enter the *chowlttri* together, he cries out, that *his lord*, so he stiled the general, *might possibly take away his life*. Hereupon *Abdol Khân*, to remove all suspicion, delivers his sword and poniard to his page, and bids *Seva ji* enter with courage. The treacherous *Dukkaneşe* entered accordingly ; and, after some discourse, watching his opportunity, slips a dagger from under his coat-sleeve, and strikes it to the heart of the general. At the same time, the signal being given, his men came from their ambuscade : on which a *skirmish* ensued, wherein *Seva ji* received a wound from the son of *Abdol Khân* : but the latter with difficulty escaped, in disguise, to the camp, when the soldiers were so dismayed with the news of the disaster, that they immediately dispersed.

SEVA JI, elated with this success, resolves not to return till he had sacked *Panala*, one of the most strong and wealthy cities : but, finding much opposition from the garrison, tho' small, he sends 7 or 800 of his men, as deserters to the city, to complain of his barbarity, and offer their service. This offer was accepted ; and they were set to defend the wall, while the citizens themselves guarded the gates. But one night the pretended deserters received the enemy under covert of the trees, which were planted along the ditch ; and, having opened the gates, let in the rest of *Seva ji*'s forces, who cut down the trees, to prevent their doing the like mischief to themselves.

MEAN time the son of *Abdol Khân*, being reinforced with new troops, joins *Rustam Jemna*, another general, in order to revenge his father's death : But *Seva ji* having gained

! FRYER'S Trav. p. 171, & seq.

Rustam,

Rustam, by a sum of money, whose influence the most loyal of those people are not able to resist, when the two armies were ready to give battle, that general withdrew with his cavalry, leaving his colleague with but a few forces to the mercy of his enemy. For all this, young *Abdol* fell on like a lion; calling out, *thou coward, Seva, here am I*. But *Seva* did not go near him; saying, *he is a rash youth, let somebody else kill him*. *Abdol* broke through the enemy two or three times; till, being tired, he founded a retreat, and hastened to *Vizia-pûr*, to complain of *Rustam's* treachery. This general with some of his friends went over to *Seva ji*; advising him to follow his blow, and set upon the capital itself; which he did, and would have taken it, had not *Siddi Jor* come to its relief with a vast recruit.

UPON this *Seva ji* retires to *Panala*, whither he is pursued by the *Siddi*, who closely besieges the place: but after he had lain a long time before it, *Seva ji*, by his connivance (as it was thought), stole out by night, and, by means of a false firman, gets possession of the *Siddi's* town of *Râjahpûr*; pretending that the *Siddi* was to surrender it in exchange for *Panala*. On this general's return to *Vizia-pûr*, the king disssembled his resentment for letting that traitor escape, and dismissed him with thanks: but, having made *Bullul Khân* commander in chief, he dispatches him after the *Siddi*; who, suspecting his design, attacks and puts him to flight. Upon this the king takes the field with his general; who did by fraud what he could not effect by force: for the night after the two armies were in view, the *Omrâs*, who were with the *Siddi*, forsaking him, he was slain, and his head brought to the king, without any more strokes given on either side.

SEVA JI, being thus delivered from an enemy whom he was not able to cope with, he, at his leisure, seizes on smaller places, such as *Dande Râjahpûr*; whose prince being forced out of his possessions, excepting the strong castle at that town, which is encompassed by the sea, but within shot of the land, applied to the *Great Mogol* for his protection. Hereupon that monarch assisted him with succours by sea, which enabled the castle to hold out against the batteries of the enemy (T).

DURING these transactions the king of *Vizia-pûr* dies (U), and makes and leaves an infant to dispute for the throne. The queen, peace.

" FRYER's Trav. p. 172, & seq

(T). When *Fryer* wrote, in 1676, *Seva ji* had lain before the castle 15 years. (U) This must have been about 1663, or 1664.

who

A. D.
1663.

*Invasades
the Mo-
gols.*

who became regent, did all she could to reduce *Seva ji* to duty; but, her endeavours proving unsuccessful, she accepted of the peace which he proposed to her. After which she lived at rest.

MEAN time *Seva ji*, who could not be out of action, plundered some places belonging to the *Great Mogol, Aureng Zib*; which obliged that monarch to send forces against him, under the conduct of *Shasta* (or *Shâh Heft*) *Khân*, his uncle, who was governor of *Aureng abâd*. *Shasta Khân's* forces being much superior to those of *Seva ji*, he vigorously pursued him; but as he was very vigilant, and his retreat was always in the mountains, the *Khân* could not surprize him. However, that experienced general resolved to continue with his troops on *Seva's* territories; concluding, that his turbulent spirit would at length oblige him to make some false step. This patience of *Shasta Khân*, being very irksome to *Seva ji*, he had recourse to a stratagem. He ordered one of his captains to write to the *Mogol* commander, offering to go over to his master's service, and carry with him 500 men, who were under his command. This was done with so much art, that at length *Shasta Khân*, believing the officer sincere, gave him leave to come to the *Mogol* camp.

*Almost
surprised.*

THE pretended deserter, by reviling *Seva ji*, and ravaging his lands with greater fury than any other, gained so far at length on the good opinion of *Shasta Khân*, that he made him captain of his guards. But, some time after, being appointed to be upon guard on a certain night at the general's tent, he sent word to *Seva ji*; who repaired thither at the time appointed. *Shasta Khân*, awaking with the noise, flew to his arms, and was wounded in the hand (X). However, he made a shift to escape; but a son of his was slain: and *Seva ji*, thinking that he had killed the general himself, gave the signal to retreat. This he did in good order, carrying off the *Khân's* treasure, and his daughter, who was treated with the greatest respect, and afterwards sent back, on payment of the ransom demanded. He wrote afterwards to *Shasta Khân*, desiring him to withdraw off his lands, for that otherwise he should certainly lose his life, by the stratagems which he continually formed against him.

(X) *Bernier* says, this attempt to seize and carry off the *Khân* was made in the city of *Aureng abâd*; and that this bold and enterprising lord gave *Shah Heft*

Khân more trouble in *Dekan*, than all the forces of the king of *Viziapûr*. *Mém. Mogol Exp.* part ii. p. 149.

THE

A. D.

1664.

Seva's
march;

THE KHÂN, not thinking it prudent to slight such advice, informed *Aureng Zib* that it was impossible to force *Seva ji* in the mountains, without ruining his troops; and received orders to withdraw, under pretence of a new enterprize. Mean time *Seva*, pursuing his resolution of revenge against the *Great Mogol*, in 1664, formed a design to plunder *Surât*; which he knew at that time to be full of riches. As his territories lay chiefly in the mountains on the road between *Bafzîm* and *Chawl*, he divided his forces into two bodies, each of which encamped near one of those cities. Then, having ordered his commanders not to plunder, but pay for every thing they had, he departed, in the habit of a *Fakîr*, for *Surât*. In that disguise he observed every part of it at leisure, and returned to his army; from whence, being followed by 4000 men, he marched back, with all the secrecy he could, and encamped near *Brâmpûr* gate. To amuse the governor, who sent to know his business, he demanded guides, under pretence of marching to another place (Y): but that lord, without giving him any answer, retired into the castle, with his effects, and sent for assistance on all hands; while most of the inhabitants in consternation fled into the country *.

HEREUPON *Seva ji*'s men entered the city, and plundered for four days, burning several houses. None escaped pillage, excepting the quarters of the *English* and *Dutch*; who, instead of an attack, received his compliments, seeing them so well provided with cannon. We are told likewise, that he spared the Christians at the instance of a Capuchin friar. Neither did he attempt the castle, where he knew most of the wealth of the place was lodged; because it was capable of making a vigorous defence, and he was afraid the forces of that country would gather before he could execute his design. However, it was computed that he carried away, in gold, silver, and jewels, to the value of above thirty *French* millions (Z).

As *Jessom Seyn Râjah* was suspected to have held intelligence after this with *Seva ji*, he was recalled from *De-tan*, and *Jessyn* sent in his room, accompanied by *Soltân*.

* THEVENOT Trav. part iii. p. 27, & seqq. BERNIER Mem. part ii. p. 149.

(Y) *Bernier* says, that he spread a report on the road, that he was a *Râjah* going to court. others, of using extreme cruelty; cutting off the arms and legs of the inhabitants, to make them discover their treasures.

(Z) In getting this wealth, *Bernier's Mem. of the Mogol. Emp.* part ii. p. 151.

Mawzm

A. D.
1666.

declared a
Rajâh:

Mawizm (*Aureng Zib's* eldest son), though without any power. This Râjah vigorously besieged *Seva's* principal fortress, and, being more expert than all the rest in matters of negotiation, he so managed the business, that *Seva* surrendered before it came to extremities. After this, he drew him to the Great Mogol's party, against *Vizînpûr*; whereupon *Aureng Zib* declared him a Râjah: and, taking him under his protection, gave the pension of a very considerable Omrah his son.

SOME time after (*viz.* in 1666), *Aureng Zib*, desirous to make war against *Persia*, wrote very obliging letters to the new Râjah; wherein he extolled his generosity and abilities to such a degree (A), that, on the faith of *Jesselyn*, he went to *Dehli*. But the wife of his uncle *Shâh Hest Khân* (who was then at court) persuaded *Aureng Zib* to arrest the person who had murdered her son, wounded her husband, and taken *Surât*. So that one evening *Seva ji* saw his pavilion beset with three or four Omrah: but he made shift to get away in the night. This is the account given by *Bernier*, which that of *Dr. Fryer* agrees: but *Thevenot* relates the fact in a somewhat different manner. According to this author, *Seva ji* at first met with all imaginable caresses: but some months after, perceiving a coldness in the king's behaviour, he complained of it; and boldly told him, that he believed his intention was to put him to death, although he came voluntarily, on the security of his royal word, to wait on him: that, however, if he perished, there were those who would revenge his death; and that, in hopes they would do it, he was resolved to die by his own hands. Then, drawing his dagger, he made an attempt to kill himself; but was hindered, and had guards set upon him.

escapes
from
his presence:

AURENG Zib would willingly have put him to death, but feared an insurrection of the Râjahs. They already murmured at the treatment he had received, after the promise made to him; and the rather, as most part of them are to count upon no better security. This consideration obliged the king to use him well, and make much of his son. He assured him that he never had it in his thoughts to put him to death, and promised to give him a considerable government, pro-

✓ *BERNIER*, ubi supr. p. 151, & seqq.

(A) *Thevenot*, who places this affair in 1666, says these letters were written to insnare him; *Aureng Zib* having resolved to destroy him: but *Bernier*, who was then at court, may be presumed to have known the circumstances better.

vid.

vided he would go with him to *Kandahâr*; which he intended to besiege. *Seva ji* pretended to consent, on condition that he might command his own forces; and having, with that grant, obtained a passport for their coming, he resolved to make use of it for withdrawing from court. Accordingly he ordered those, whom he trusted with it, to provide him horses along the road: mean time he got himself and his son to be conveyed in panniers to the river-side. As soon as they were over, mounting the horses, which were ready for them, he told the boat-man he might go and acquaint the king, that he had carried over Râjah *Seva ji*. They posted day and night: but the son, unable to bear the fatigue of such hard riding, died on the road. *Seva* left money to have his body honourably burned, and arrived in good health in his own territories. *Aureng Zib* was extremely vexed (B) at his escape^a; which made a great noise at court: every body accusing the eldest son of Râjah *Jesseyn* to have assisted in it^a, as hath been already observed^b. On the other hand, *Seva ji*, in revenge of this usage, at his return, went and plundered *Surât* a second time. Afterwards he enlarged his territories southward, as far as the walls of *Goa*: from whence he proceeded to the borders of *Kanôra* and *Sunda Râjah's* country^c.

HAVING finished this expedition, *Seva ji* encamps at *Pundit*, before *Goa*; where leaving the main body of his army, he detaches two bodies of troops: one he gives to his son *Samba ji*; who marches quite through *Viziapûr*, as far as *Bâgh-nâghar*, the capital of *Golkonda*; which he plunders and burns. This done, he returned the way he went; but without doing any harm to the country: because he was observed in his passage by *Bullul Khân*, who was then protector as well as general of the army. However he set upon and plundered *Hublay*, *Rabay*, and other mart towns. With the second detachment, *Seva ji* marched to *Surât*, which he called his treasury; and although they shut their gates against him out of form, yet they gave him his usual pishkush, or present. As the *Mogol* forces possessed the plain country, he obtained leave of Râjah *Râmânâgar*, to carry his army, in his repeated expeditions, over the hills, which reach within thirty miles of *Surât*. By this means, having made himself acquainted with the avenues into that Râjah's country, he, in his last

his son
dies:

plunders
Bâgûnâ-
gar,

seizes
Râmânâ-
gar:

^a THEVENOT, ubi sup. p. 30.

^a BERNIER, ubi sup.

^b See before, p. 442.

^c FRYER, ubi sup. p. 174.

(B) Yet *Fryer*, with others, says it was not without his privity.

return

A. D
1675.

return from *Surât* (C), seized upon it; giving only this reason for his treachery, *that it was inconvenient to trust him with the door of his exchequer*. The inhabitants of *Râmânâgar* are the savages called *Kâleys*.

reply to
Bullul-
Khân:

BULLUL Khân, being at the helm, sent to demand how he durst attempt to rob those places? O, quoth he to the messenger, *go tell thy master, I wonder how he durst dispossess any great man of life, or place, without having first advised with me* (D). *I did this only to let him know, that I, not he, am a member of Viziapûr*. The protector, foreseeing by this answer that a storm was gathering, steps forth to prevent it; and, by surprising *Serji Khân*, and *Timi Naïg*, who were advancing to join *Seva*, broke all his measures^d, as hath been already related^e.

his domi-
nions:

At this time, *Seva ji* was master of all *Konkhon*; extending along the coast from *Balfore* hills, a little to the south of *Surât*, to the river *Gongola*, a little to the south of *Goa*, the space of 250 leagues. Within land his possessions were not very great in the plains: but he had intire dominion over the *Goat*, or chain of mountains which are piled one upon another. Nor did the *Dukkaneses* attempt to retake any of his acquisitions, although he had blocked up their ports, so that they had none left them free, excepting only *Porto Novo* (E), beyond *Tuttikori* (or *Tuttikorin*). Neither were those which the *Portugueses* and *English* possessed of any great account to them, in respect of trade, since he hindered the *Kassias* from repairing to their ports; not more to the detriment of the *Europeans* than his own: whereas the profits arising from commerce would have been of infinite more service to him, than ravaging countries, and murdering the inhabitants. He had taken and maintained above sixty strong hills against the *Mogols*; who, not caring for such rugged places, chose rather to desert than defend them. On the other hand, as they were masters of the plains, *Seva ji* was unable to do any thing there, but rob from time to time, and presently retreat

infests the
Mogols:

^d FRYER, p. 162, & seq.

^e See before, p. 501.

(C) About the year 1674, or 1675.

(D) This alludes to *Bullul Khân*'s having usurped the protectorship, by the murder of *Korwis Khân*.

(E) This place, called by the *Malabars* *Pirenki Potey* (a), is on the coast of *Choromanâel*, in the kingdom of *Jinji*, and a factory of the *Dutch*, between *Tranquebar* and *Pondichéry*.

(a) See *Propagat. of the Gospel in the East*, by *Danish Missioners*, part II. let. 6. p. 41.

to the high lands ; whence *Aureng Zib* called him his mountain rat ^f.

A. D.
1678.

IN (or about) the year 1678, *Seva ji* marched again towards *Surât* ^g; which motion of his so frightened the merchants, who had suffered by him formerly, that although the city was then surrounded with walls able to resist a strong force, yet they would not venture it, but fled with their wealth and families. The *Râjah*, ever since the time that he had so cruelly plundered *Surât*, considered it as under contribution to him, and came to receive the usual tribute ; while the governor taxed the *Bantians* to satisfy the enemy's demands, even after the walls were built. This being represented to *Aureng Zib*, he, in May 1679, sent *Morâd Bek*, his armour-bearer, to command that city ; who the same month marched to put a stop to the incursions of *Seva ji*'s troops, who ravaged the neighbouring places : and although *Aureng Zib*'s eldest son (*Soltân Mahmûd*) advanced to *Brâm-pûr* with a formidable army, yet *Seva ji* plundered the country ; knowing that the *Soltân* could not break his forces to hazard a battle, till he saw how his father sped against the *Rasputas* ; that he might be the better able to judge what was most proper to be done, in order to promote his own designs of mounting the throne. But not long after, death delivered the *Mogol* monarch from this troublesome enemy ; who died on the 1st of June, 1680 ^h.

marches to
Surât :

A. D.
1679.

plunders
the coun-
try :

his death :
A. D.
1680.

SEVA JI, as to his person, was short of stature, and of a tawny complexion ; but had very quick eyes, which indicated a great deal of wit. He usually ate only once a day, and preserved a very good state of health. If he was 35 years of age when he plundered *Surât*, in 1664 ⁱ, it from thence follows, that he was no more than 51 when he died.

person and
character.

ON *Seva ji*'s death, the two chief ministers were at variance about settling the succession : one was for advancing his younger son ; the other declared for *Samba ji*, the elder ; who, at length prevailing, was declared *Maw Râjah* (F), or the lawful heir to his father's conquests ^k.

WE know very little concerning the successors of *Seva ji*, whom some authors speak of as living many years after his

^f FRYER, p. 170, & seq.
of *Aureng Zib*, p. 446.

^g See before, in the reign
of *Aureng Zib*, p. 412, & seqq.

^h FRYER, p. 412, & seqq. ⁱ THE-
VENOT, ubi sup. p. 30.

^k FRYER, ubi sup. p. 416.

(F) Rather *Mâha Râjah*, that is, *herit language*, or that of the
is, the great prince, in the Sans- *Bramma*.

A. D.
1683.



Portu-
gueſe be-
roine.

death (G); while others ſeem to give that name, or title, in common to all his deſcendants. Thus much, however, we learn from ſeveral hands, that, inſtead of loſing ground, they continued to enlarge their territories on all ſides.

IN 1683, we are told that *Seva ji Râjah* (by whom muſt be underſtood *Samba ji*, his immediate ſucceſſor), got footing on the iſland of *Goa*; and, having raiſed ſome batteries againſt the city itſelf, would have annoyed it very much, had not a *Portugueſe* heroine, in a ſally, forced into a redoubt of the enemy, and cut them all to pieces: which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Râjah's army, that they quitted their poſts and fled. The lady, named *Donna Maria*, received the pay of a captain ever after (H) that noble exploit; which was not the firſt ſhe had atchieved: for a gentleman, who had promiſed her marriage, having deſerted her, and paſſed to *India* in quality of a captain, thinking that way to avoid her reſentment, ſhe followed him thither in man's apparel; and, when ſhe had found him out, challenged him at ſword and piſtol. But he prudently choſe to make up the quarrel by marriage, rather than put the matter to an iſſue; which, whatever turn it took, could not but end in his diſgrace¹.

Seva ji's
ſucceſſors:

THESE Râjahs continued to invade their neighbours by turns; nor does it appear, that they loſt any thing by the conqueſt which *Aureng Zib* made of *Viziapûr*, about 1685; for although this monarch is ſaid to have ſubdued that kingdom, which he in effect put an end to, yet in reality not much above half the country fell by that means into his poſſeſſion: for the ſucceſſor of *Seva ji* was then maſter of the weſtern part from the mountains of *Balagât* to the ſea (I), while other Râjahs kept the parts which they had before ſeized. And although by degrees the *Mogol* emperor not only reduced thoſe Râjahs to a ſubmiſſion (K), but even ſubdued other countries to the ſouth and eaſt; yet the ſucceſſors of *Seva* ſtill maintained their footing againſt the *Mogol* generals,

grow very
powerful.

¹ HAMILTON'S Trav. vol. i. p. 254.

(G) *Gemelli* ſpeaks of *Seva ji's* ſubjects; and tells us, he paſſed through his territories in the year 1695.

(H) She was living in 1705.

(I) Which part was formerly called *Konkân*, *Kunkhân*, or *Konkani*: afterwards they extended

it ſouthward to the coaſt of *Malabâr*; part of which alſo they ſubdued; and northward, till within a little way of *Surât*.

(K) As the *Sundab* Râjah, who is now tributary. See *Hamilton's new Account of the Eaſt Indies*, ch. 22, p. 261.

in spite of whom they made frequent expeditions, both into *Karnâta*, formerly called *Bisnâgar*, even as far as the coast of *Choromandel*; and into the *Mogol* empire itself, where they levied tribute on several provinces.

A. D.

1740.

WE must not neglect to mention what we are told by a certain author, that at the funeral obsequies of the princes of the race of *Seva ji*, all the officers of their household (who amount to a considerable number) are burned with their corpses: and that the same custom is practised in several of the other petty kingdoms of the *Indies* ^m.

THE subjects of those princes are called *Mâharâttas* (L), *Mâharâttas*, or *Ganîms*; who have of late acquired a surprising power by such incursions. They have also taken the island of *Sâlset*, with the castle and town of *Bâzaim*, besides other places, from the *Portugueses*; maintaining on foot above 200,000 horse (M) in the northern, southern, and inland provinces. Their present prince is named *Sahow Râjah*, and keeps his court at *Settara*, in *Dekkân* ⁿ.

OF their expeditions south-eastward into the peninsula of *India*, we find mention particularly of three, made in the years 1695, 1705 (N), and 1740: of which last only we are able to give our readers some account.

It has been already remarked, in our account of the late revolution ^o in the *Mogol's* empire, that *Nezâm al Muhuk* (otherwise called *Azof-ja* *) was for a long time governor of *Dekan*; where he staid without going to court, under pretence of keeping the *Mâharâttas*, or *Ganîms*, in awe. The truth is, they never ravaged the empire, excepting when, to serve his own designs, he set them to work: but, being at length prevailed on to return to court, the *Mâharâttas* (O) took advantage of the troubles which ensued, and descended like a torrent from their mountains; with no less a design than to subdue the whole western peninsula of *India*, and root out the *Mohammedan* government. In the year 1740, they made an incursion as far as the *Ganges*: then, turning towards the west, they seized all the country in *India* belonging to the

their ex-
peditions:

A. D.

1740.

^m DILLON's Voy. E. Ind. p. 51.
dir Shâh, p. 33.

ⁿ FRASER's Hist. Nâ-
See before, p. 459, & seqq.

(L) Corruptly, by some, *Marasses* and *Morats*.

(M) P. Saignes says 140,000. See *Lettres Edif. & Curieuses*. Recueil 26, p. 260.

(N) See Ovington's Voy. to

Suzât, p. 188; and *Lettres Edif.* tom. xxvi. p. 257, & seqq.

* Or *Azof-ja*, *Azofia*, in our author and others.

(O) P. Saignes and others call them *Marattes*, or *Marats*.

A. D. 1740. *Portugueses*; excepting the city of *Goa*, which they besieged, and would have taken, but for the forts which defended it.

they in-
vade Kar-
hata :

defeat the
Mogols :

AFTER this expedition, their prince *Sitoji* began his march southward with 50,000 horse, and passed the mountains belonging to the *Paleakarens* (P), or *Indian* princes; who made no resistance, but seemed to be engaged in the combination to throw-off the *Mohammedan* yoke. However that be, as soon as the *Mogol* governors were apprised of this invasion, they gathered forces, and went to meet the enemy with an army nearly equal to theirs. The *Mâharâttas*, it is true, were repulsed, and obliged to retire to their hills : but a detachment having slid down by another defile which was not guarded, and appeared behind the *Mogols*; these latter, taking them for a reinforcement sent them from the city of *Arkat* (Q), suffered them to approach without opposition, till they discovered the error; but then it was too late. This surprize put the whole army in confusion; which, being shut in by the mountains, had not room to draw out in order of battle; so that the *Mâharâttas*, attacking them both in front and rear at the same time, cut them all in pieces; except a few who either escaped, or were taken prisoners P.

plunder
Arkât :

Velour
and

AMONG the slain, there fell the Nabâb, who was general of the army, with his son, and some other lords, gallantly fighting. As soon as this news reached *Arkat*, that lord's second son, his mother, wife, children, and a great number of quality, fled with their effects to *Ponticherri*, which is but three days journey from that city, under a guard of 7000 horse. Some time after the *Mâharâttas* arrived at *Arkat*; which, though very large, is defended only by a detestable citadel, built of earth : so that the garrison, making no resistance, for fear of being put to the sword, suffered the enemy to plunder the city without molestation. From thence they marched to *Velour*, another considerable city, whose citadel is built with a double wall of free-stone, fortified with bastions, and a large ditch full of crocodiles : so that being impregnable without cannon, and the *Mâharâttas* having

P. P. SAIGNES ap. Lettr. Edifiantes, tom. xxvi. p. 260, & seq.

(P) The kingdoms of the southern *India* are divided among several *Paleakarens*; who, though dependant on the kings of their respective countries, are yet absolute masters of their little states.

(Q) In the map of the higher peninsula of *India*, made

by the missionaries, and inserted in the 23d recueil, this place is called *Arkate*, and placed on the river *Palamalerow*; which falls into the bay of *Bengal*, & *Sadrâspatan*, about two stages to the east by south. In *Saignes' Letter* it is printed *Arkar*.

eft theirs beyond the mountains, they proceeded to *Polowr*, A. D. 1740. a town where there resides a Nabāb; which they took and plundered. They did the like to *Jingama*, *Tirowna-Maley*, *Kanjibowran* (R), and all the towns and villages whither they went. However, they did not burn many places, nor kill the inhabitants; excepting such as opposed them: but sometimes, not having the patience to wait while the women took the rings out of their ears and noses, they, to make short work, tore them out. Several principal persons in the villages were so cruelly *chabowked*, or horse-whipped, to make them discover where the provisions and goods were hidden, that they died under the lash.

At *Tirowna-Maley*, the inhabitants put all their riches into the pagod of *Rowtren*; imagining, that the *Māharātta*, out of respect, would not meddle with them. But they were mistaken: for the enemy, not having had so great a veneration for their deities as they expected, carried-off not only the goods, but also the dancers, and such other girls belonging to the temple as they took a fancy to. They served the *Romish* churches, which came in their way, in the same manner; the missionaries flying on all sides to *Pondicherri*; where fourteen got safe. Four *Portuguese* Jesuits fell into the hands of the enemy; and *Pere Madeira*, after being cruelly flogged, was exposed several days naked in the sun, tied to a post, and with only just victuals enough to keep him alive. This was done at the instigation of a *Brāmma*n, who said he had hidden great treasures; and, when none could be found, advised the *Māharāttas* to tell him that he should be put to the most tormenting death, unless he got his disciples to redeem him, with a large sum which they demanded. Instead of this, the missionary forbade them to advance the money; declaring, that he would rather die, than they should, on his account, be reduced to extreme necessity. In short, every thing was prepared for his execution. The iron chair and cask were made red-hot: the first for him to sit in, and the second to put on his head: when one of the *Māharātta* commanders, taking pity on him as a stranger, desired that he might be set at liberty¹.

THE king of *Maissour* (or *Messūr*) sent a powerful army to guard his frontiers: but the enemy, having defeated it, en-

¹ P. SAIGNES, ubi sup. p. 264—271.

(R) Or *Kanjiworan*, as others falls into the gulf of *Bengāl*, at write. It is a large city of *Kar-Sadrastpatan*: but is not inserted in the missionary's map of the the river *Palemalerow*; which peninsula of *India*.

A. D.
1740.



and Ma-
dûra :

take Tir-
owchira-
pali

from the
Nabâb :

tered his country, and committed all sorts of robberies. The people, who dwelt near the woods and mountains, fled thither for refuge; but gained little by escaping from the *Mâharâttas* : for the *Paleaharens* made them pay dearly for the shelter given them; under pretence that they were obliged to raise new troops to guard and defend them. The greatest mischief which the enemy did, and what was most regretted, was their seizing on children of both sexes; whom they carried into their own country. Mean time, the rainy season came on; but that did not put a stop to their incursions: for they pushed forward as far as *Porto Novo* (S), a factory of the *Dutch*, on the coast of *Choromandel*; which they plundered. With the same design they advanced within three leagues of *Pondicherri*, and even to some villages belonging thereto: but the *French* having detached troops to repulse them, and the enemy being informed of the strength of that place, they turned-off towards the kingdom of *Madûra*; continuing their ravages all the way they went.

THE conquest of this country cost them but little trouble. They burned two churches in their route, and plundered the rest. The missionaries, who were able to get to *Tirowchirapali*, a pretty good city, and capital of a kingdom of the same name, fled thither, under the protection of *Skander Sabeb*; who had lately conquered it, and been made a Nabâb by the *Great Mogol* (T). This *Mohammedan* lord, unable to keep the field, with 11,000 men retired into the citadel; where he defended himself with much valour for two months. *Barâ Sabeb*, his brother, coming to his assistance with 4000 horse, slew in the first encounter 2000 *Mâharâttas*. However they still pushed on the siege, and summoned *Skander Sabeb* to surrender; threatening otherwise to destroy all with fire and sword. In short, 3000 ladders were already prepared to scale the walls, when the Nabâb resolved to put all to the risk, and make a sally with the whole garrison. He did so, but with very ill success: for his brother was killed, his troops cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner. Of all their conquests, the *Mâharâttas* kept none excepting this place; where they left 15,000 men to command the country, till they had their king's orders.

* P. SAIGNES, ubi sup. p. 271, & seqq.

(S) Called by the natives *Pirenki Potey*. *Propag. of the Gospel in the East*, part ii. let. 6. p. 41.
(T) *Soltân Mohammed Shâh*, the late emperor, is here to be understood.

THE

THE design of the *Mâharâttas* was not to stop here. Their intentions were to go and dethrone the king of *Tanjaour*; and, having placed another prince in his room, to return along the coast of *Ghoromandel*, by *Pondicherri*, *Kareykal*, *Sadrâspatan*, *Madras* (or *Fort St. George*), and other cities belonging to the *Europeans*, with a resolution either to oblige them to pay contribution, or to take them by force. Their resentment was levelled chiefly against *Pondicherri*, for having deprived them of the rich prey, in giving protection to *Dost al Khân*, the late *Nabâb's* son, and the treasures of *Arkat*. That lord informed *Azof-ja* (or *Nezâm al Muluk*) of the kind reception given him and his family by Mr. *Du Mas*, the governor; who thereupon received a letter of thanks from the *Wazir*, accompanied with a habit, turbân, and scarf of honour.

A. D.
1740.

their farther designs:

As the *Mâharâttas* make war purely for sake of pillage, and not to keep the places which they conquer, they abandoned *Arkat* six days after they had taken possession of it. Hereupon *Dost ali Khân*, having reassembled part of his troops, to the number of 20,000 horse, he left *Pondicherri*, and returned to that city; where he came to a treaty with the enemy, by paying them a considerable sum of money.

THE *Mâharâttas* had never penetrated so far into this part of the peninsula, since the time that *Aureng Zib* had driven them out of it: because the *Mogol* governors had always, either by their policy or valour, hindered them from crossing the mountains which separate *Karnâta* from their dominions: but jealousy having sown discord among the governors of *Arkat*, *Velour*, *Palour*, and *Tirouchirapali*, although relations, they refused to succour one another; and by that means were beaten each in his turn. On this occasion the empire suffered considerably: not only by the loss of the usual tribute, but the country also was so ravaged, that no provisions were left on the lands; and what was worse, the people had not grain to sow them. It was reported, that the *Wazir* had ordered his son to fall upon the territories of the *Mâharâttas* with an army of fourscore thousand horse, in order to oblige those robbers to return home: but this is all which our memoirs inform us concerning this remarkable expedition (U).

their success owing to Mogol discord.

THE *Mâharâttas*, or *Ganims*, are sometimes confounded with, at other times distinguished from, the people called *Siddis* in the parts about *Surât*, from their prince, who is

(U) These people took part among the governors, and then in the wars which ensued; first between the *English* and *French*.

* P. SAIGNES, ubi sup. p. 275, & seqq.

A. D. 1740. filled the *Grand Siddi*, at least by the *English*. But however fortunate he hath been elsewhere, he has of late years been inroached upon by *Kanva Ji Agria*, a famous *Indian* pirate. *of Agria*. This *Agria*, about the year 1710, first seized *Kanveri*, a little island near *Bombay*, from whence he did the *English* great mischief; and in a short time increased so much in strength by the natives, who flocked to him in numbers, that he attacked and defeated the forces of the *Grand Siddi*; who at length, to get rid of the danger, thought fit to give him his daughter in marriage, and make an alliance with him, which has proved of great use in his wars against the *Great Mogl*. These *Máharáttas* have a peculiar language: for *Fryer* occasionally mentions the *Maratti* tongue.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Kingdom of Golkonda.

S E C T. I.

Description of the Country.

Kingdom
of Gol-
konda:

THE kingdom of *Golkonda* is bounded on the east with the sea of *Bengál*; on the north, with the mountains of the country of *Orixa* (or *Orijsa*); on the south, by that part of *Bijnágar* of *Narsinga* which heretofore belonged to the king of *Viziapúr*; and on the west, by the province of *Balagát*.

weather:

WINTER begins here in *June*, by rain and thunder. The thunder, when our author was in *Golkonda*, continued not above four days; but the rains poured down, with furious storms of wind, till the middle of *July*, with some intervals of fair weather. The rest of that month was pretty fair; but in *August*, *September*, and *October*, there fell great rains, yet without thunder; which swelled the rivers so prodigiously, that there was no passing over the bridges. The river of *Bágnágar* threw down near 2000 houses, in which many people perished. The air was somewhat cold in the night and morning; but the heat, during the day, was as moderate as in *France* in the month of *May*: and thus it continued till *February* following, when the great heats began again. These rains render the land exceeding fertile; especially in fruits. Vines are very plenty there; and of the grapes, which for the most part are ripe in *January*, they make white wine. They have two crops of rice and several other kinds of grain.

produce:

¹ DOWNING'S Hist. of the Indian Wars, p. 1. & seqq. & p. 232. ² Trav. p. 78.

GOLKONDA has some good and well frequented ports *Cities and* on the coast of *Choromandel*; particularly *Masulipatan*, *Palia-kata*, and *Madraspatan*. The first lies E. S. E. from *Bâgnâgar*, on an excellent coast. The *English* and *Dutch* have factories in this place; where our author bought a sheep for twelve pence, a partridge for one penny, and a fowl for less than two pence. Provisions bear the same price almost all over the coast of *Choromandel*, which extends from *Masulipatan* to the cape of *Negapatán*. At *Paliakata* is *Fort Gueldria*, a factory of the *Hollanders*; and at *Madraspatan*, commonly called *Madras*, is *Fort St. George*, the chief factory of the *English* in the *East Indies*. A little to the south stands *Meliapûr*, or *St. Thomas*; which was taken from the *Portugueses* by the natives, in 1662. The kingdom of *Golkonda* extends along the coast from *Siakola*, or *Sikokel*, to about two leagues south of *St. Thomas*; although *Karnâtes* reaches thirty or forty leagues lower to the south of *Sadrâspatan*, where the *Imperialists* have a factory. *ports there:*

THE capital of this kingdom is called *Bâgnâgar* (by the *Bâgnâgar* natives), and *Hayder abâd* by the *Persians*. It is fourteen *the capit-* or fifteen leagues from the borders of *Viziapûr*, in a very *al:* long plain, surrounded by little hills. It is washed on the west side by the *Nerva*, a small river; which, in the rainy season, is as large as the *Seine* at *Paris*. It is crossed by a stone bridge of three arches; which joins the city to a large suburb on that side. The town makes a kind of cross, much longer than broad, being 5,650 paces in length; not in a strait line, but with a sweep. Beyond it is another large suburb. The houses are built with earth, and thatched with straw: they are likewise so low and ill contrived, that they seem no better than huts, excepting those of the quality; but they have all fine gardens.

THERE are several meydâns, or public places, in the city; *king's* but the fairest is that which lies before the king's palace, *palace:* which stands on the north side. Over-against it is a portico, where the musicians repair several times a day to play on their instruments, when the king is in town. The palace, which takes up one side of the square, is 380 paces in length; and is continued to a building call *The Four Towers*. The walls, which are of great stones, have at certain distances half-towers; and facing the square is an open gallery, from whence to behold the fights of elephants, and other spectacles. Nobody enters the palace but by express orders from the king.

* THEVENOT'S Trav. part iii. p. 93, 104. & seq.

Cities.
Bāgnāgar.

the Four
Towers :

THE *Four Towers* is a square building, about forty-two feet high. Each front is sixty feet long, and has an arch in it twenty-four feet wide ; each arch facing a street of the same width. This building has two galleries, one above the other, and a balcony, or turret, at top : at each corner is a decagon tower, sixty feet high, with four galleries each. The whole adorned with roses and festoons, pretty well sculpted. It is arched underneath, and appears like a dome, surrounded on the inside with balusters, and all open. There are several doors in the walls to enter at ; and under the dome stands a large table on a divān, raised seven or eight feet from the ground, with steps to go up. All the galleries serve to make the water mount, so as to be conveyed to the highest apartments of the palace. Although nothing in the city is so beautiful as the outside of this fabric, yet it is surrounded with ugly wooden fruit-shops, covered with straw ; which spoil the prospect ^b.

beautiful
gardens.

THERE are many fair gardens in *Bāgnāgar* ; whose beauty consists in having long walks, kept very clean, and lovely fruit-trees : but they have neither beds of flowers, nor water-works ; contenting themselves with cisterns, or basons of water. The loveliest gardens are without the city ; among which there is one remarkable for its beauty.

A trading
city.

THERE are in *Bāgnāgar* many rich merchants, bankers, and jewellers ; besides vast numbers of very skilful artificers. There are likewise many *Franks* ; especially fugitive *Portugueses* : the *English* and *Dutch* have settled there, and the last make great profits. Public women are allowed in this kingdom ; and the common people give their wives great liberty, as to walk through the town, visit their neighbours, and drink fari, which the *Indians* here are very fond of. Theft is punished by cutting off both the hands.

Golkonda
fort.

THE castle, where the king commonly kept his court, is two leagues west of *Bāgnāgar*, and called *Golkonda* ; from whence the kingdom takes its name. In the middle of the castle rises a hill, like a sugar-loaf ; the sides of which are surrounded by the king's palace. This fortress, for largeness, may be called a city. The walls are built of stones three feet diameter, encompassed with deep ditches, divided into *tanks* full of good water. After all, it hath no fortifications except five round towers ; which, as well as the walls, are mounted with a great many cannon. The palace is very large, and well situated for air, and prospect over *Bāgnāgar* itself. One must pass through twelve gates before he comes to the

^b THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 94, & seqq.

apartment

partment of the prince. All the Omrás and great lords have houses in the castle; where there are several good bazárs, with all sorts of necessaries: but, besides the lodgings of some officers, there is no good building in the castle. The king, before the conquest, used to make jewellers, and other artificers, live in the palace; where the former were fully employed in cutting diamonds, and other stones, of which the king had great quantities. He hath likewise store of excellent bezoars; keeping goats which produce them. It was sold for forty rowns the pound. The sepulchres of the king, who built *Golkonda*, and his five successors, are about two musket-shot from the castle; each in the middle of a garden, with the tombs of their relations about them.

THIS king had vast revenues arising from the property of lands, customs of merchandizes and provisions; but chiefly the diamond mines: for *Golkonda* might be said to be the country of diamonds. They who were allowed to dig those towards *Masulipatan*, paid him a pagod every hour they worked, whether they found diamonds or not. His chief mines were those in the kingdom of *Karnátes* (or *Bishnagar*) in several places towards *Viziapúr*; he had 6000 men continually at work in them, who daily found near three pound-weight of those precious stones: and nobody dug there but for the king.

THIS prince wore on the crown of his head a jewel almost a foot long; which was reported to be of an inestimable value. It was a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches diameter; and on the top of it was a little crown, out of which issued a branch, shaped like a palm-tree branch; but round and crooked at the top. This branch was an inch thick, and about six long. It was made up of several sprigs, which served as leaves, with each a lovely pearl (shaped like a pear) at the end. At the foot of this posie were two bands of gold, in form of table-bracelets; in which were incased large diamonds, set round with rubies. This, with large pearls which hung dangling on all sides, made an exceeding brilliant shew. These bands are fastened to the head by diamond clasps. The king of *Golkonda* had many other rich jewels in his treasury; and surpassed all the *Indian* monarchs in precious stones.

THE Omrás, or great lords of *Golkonda*, were of the same nature with those in the *Mogol's* empire; being for the most part *Persians*, or the sons of *Persians*, and all very rich: for, besides the great pay belonging to their respective offices, they made great advantage by the soldiers; as they kept in pay

* THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 96. & seqq.

The king
and court.

their state.

scarce half the number which they were obliged to maintain. The king also gave them lands and villages for life; when they committed great extortions, by the *Brammáns*, who were their farmers. These *Omrás* always made a handsome figure in the streets; either riding on horseback, or carried in a palanki, preceded by musick, forty or fifty troopers, with an elephant or two, and men carrying banners, at their head. The lord himself is attended by thirty or forty footmen; some clearing the way; others, with fine napkins, driving away the flies: one holds an umbrella over his head, another his tobacco-pipe; others carry pots with water. The palanki, with its porters, come next. Lastly, a camel or two, with men beating of timbrels on their backs, close the procession. When the *Omrá* chose his palanki, he was seen lying in it effeminately, with flowers in his hand, smoking tobacco, or chewing betel. All, who had any considerable pay, imitated the state of the grandees. The *Dutch* interpreter at *Bágnágar* went with such an equipage; nor was there a cavalier but had his umbrella-bearer, his two fly-drivers, and his cap-bearer.

Lesser Om-
rás.

Amir
Jemla.

THE lesser *Omrás*, for there were several orders of them, proportioned their equipage to their revenue: but then the quality of *Omrá* was become so common about the year 1665, and so much liberty allowed to take the title, that the *Indians* who guarded the castle, and the outside of the king's palace, to the number of a thousand, would needs be called *Omrás*; although their pay did not exceed one crown a month. However, some of the great *Omrás* were exceeding rich: among whom might be reckoned the *Amir Jemla*. He was the son of an oil-man of *Isfáhan*, and had the wealth of a prince. He left the service of the king of *Golkonda*; and, going over to that of the *Great Mogol*, died governor of *Bengál*. He was very powerful there; and, could he have drawn his son from the court, would have made himself king of that province. He had in diamonds the weight of twenty mians, which make 408 pounds of *Holland* weight. This vast wealth he got by the plunder which he made in *Karnátes*, at the head of the king of *Golkonda*'s army; when that prince, in conjunction with him of *Viziápúr*, made war on the king of *Bisnágar*. That general took many places in a short time; but finding he could not take the fortress of *Ganditá* (U)

(U) It is within ten days journey of *St. Thomas*, *Melíapúr*, or *Fort St. George*, on the coast of *Choromandel*.

(standing)

(standing on the top of an inaccessible rock) by force, he *its latter* drew out the governor by fair promises, and then detained *state.* him till it was delivered up^d.

S E C T. II.

Latter State of Golkonda, and Conquest by Aureng Zib.

THE king of *Golkonda* maintained in pay above 500,000 Amīr soldiers; but as *Abdo'llah Kot:b Shâh*, who reigned in *Jemla* *en-* 1667, did not keep so good an army on foot as his father, he *vied*: became tributary to the *Great Mogol Aureng Zib*; who about eight years before, when governor of *Aureng abâd*, surprised *Bâgnâgar*^e; which happened on the following occasion. *Amīr Jimola* (or *Jemla*) generalissimo of the forces of *Golkonda*, having been sent to reduce certain rebellious Rājahs, whose territories lay upon the *Ganges*; according to custom, left with the king both his wife and children, as a pledge of his fidelity. He had several daughters, and but one son; who made a great figure at court. During the Amīr's absence, the enemies, whom his reputation and riches had procured him, endeavoured to render him suspected by the king, as if he intended to dethrone his majesty, and set his own son upon the throne. The method they proposed to make away with *Jemla*, was to poison him; and *Abdo'llah*, being easily persuaded, gave them leave to act as they thought most proper for his security. Under this authority they set their instruments to work; but, having missed of their aim three or four times, the Amīr's son got intimation of the plot, and gave his father notice.

As soon as the messenger returned, the young lord, natu- *his son* rally high-spirited, went to the king; and, representing the *ill treat-* great services of his father, who had been the chief instrument *ed*: of setting the crown on that prince's head, reproached him with ingratitude in no very respectful terms. The king, offended with this liberty, having withdrawn, the lords who were present fell upon the Amīr's son, and treated him very roughly. At the same time he was arrested and committed to prison, with his mother and sisters. This affair made a great noise at court; and coming quickly to the general's ears, he resolved to be revenged for the injury done him. To compass his design, he wrote to *Soltân Sujâh, Shâh Jehân's*

^e THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 102, & seq. • Ibid. p. 100.

its latter
state.



second son, who was governor of *Bengál*, near which the general then was; promising, in case he would join him with his forces, to put him in possession of the kingdom of *Golkonda*. But *Soltán Sujáh*, instead of accepting so advantageous an offer, sent the Amir word, that the person who could betray his natural prince might betray him, and therefore he would not trust him.

surprises
Bághnâ-
gar.

UPON this unpolite refusal, *Jemla* wrote to *Aureng Zib*, who was then governor of *Brampûr*; and, not being so nice as his brother, readily embraced the proposal. The two armies, being at length joined, they arrived at the gates of *Bághnâgar*, before the king was in a condition to oppose them. He had only time to escape to his fortress of *Golkonda*; to which the *Mogol* prince, after he had rifled the city of *Bághnâgar*, and plundered the palace (A), laid a close siege. *Kotbb Sháh*, finding himself thus vigorously pressed, sent the *Amir Jemla* his wife and children, in an honourable manner. He did an action still more generous than this: for a cannoneer, observing *Aureng Zib* on his elephant, riding about to view the fortifications of the castle, told the king, who was standing on the bastion, that, if he pleased, he would bring down the *Mogol* prince with a ball. But the king forbade him; saying, it became princes to spare the lives of one another. The gunner obeyed; and, instead of shooting at *Aureng Zib*, took off the head of the general of his army, who was a little before him: which put a stop to the assault they were about to have given. *Abdo'l Jaber Beg*, who commanded the king of *Golkonda's* army (B), understanding the disorder which the loss of their general had put the enemy into, attacked them furiously while they were in that confusion; and, putting them to the rout, pursued them for four or five leagues, till night put a stop to their career. Some few days before this event, the king of *Golkonda*, finding provisions fail in the fortress, was about to have delivered the keys to *Aureng Zib*. But *Mirza Mohammed* (C), his son-in-law, and kinsman to the great *Sheykh* of *Mekka*, snatched them out of his hand, and threatened to kill him if he persisted in that resolution^f.

Aureng
Zib be-
sieves Gol-
konda.

^f TAVERNIER'S Trav. part ii. p. 67, & seq.

(A) *Theruvot* says, even to the plates of gold, wherewith the king's apartments were covered.

(B) *Genelli* says, it consisted of 70,000 men.

(C) In *Ovington's* memoirs of the revolution in *Golkonda*, he is called *Meera Mamood* [that is *Mir*, or *Mirza*, *Mahmûd*]. *Voy. to Surât* in 1689, p. 527.

AURENG Zib, being thus constrained to raise the siege, spent some days to rally his forces; and, having received a reinforcement of fresh troops, returned to the leaguer with new resolution. However, *Amir Jemla*, who still retained some kindness for the king of *Golkonda*, would not suffer the *Mogol* prince to use the utmost extremity: but by his wit and good management obtained a suspension of arms. *Sháh Jehán*, after the battle which he lost against his father *Jehán Ghír*, fled for refuge to the king of *Golkonda*; and, having met with a very kind reception, entered into a strict friendship with him; swearing to his benefactor, never to make war against him, upon any pretence whatever. *Amir Jemla*, therefore, knowing that it would be no hard matter to bring two kings, who had such ties upon them, to an accommodation, wrought underhand with both towards a peace, and so brought it about, that *Abdollah Sháh* humbly wrote a letter to *Sháh Jehán*, wherein he requested "that monarch to become an arbitrator between the prince, his son, and him; promising to submit intirely to his decision, and sign such articles as he should propose." On the other hand, *Sháh Jehán* was prevailed on by the *Amir's* persuasions, in answer to the king of *Golkonda's* letter, to propose a match between his second daughter and *Soltán Mohammed*, son of *Aureng Zib*, on condition that, after the death of the king her father, the son-in-law should inherit the kingdom of *Golkonda*; which proposition being accepted of, the peace (D) was concluded.

As for the *Amir Jemla*, he quitted the service of the king of *Golkonda*, and went to *Brampúr* with *Aureng Zib*; who, by his powerful assistance, afterwards obtained the crown of *Hindústán*. Soon after *Sháh Jehán* made him his prime minister, and generalissimo of his armies. According to our author, who had occasion to speak with him several times, he was a man of great parts and dexterity, in dispatching affairs which came before him.

THE king of *Golkonda* had two other daughters: the eldest *Mirza* was married to *Mirza Mohammed*, a relation of the *Sheykh* of *Mekka*, as mentioned before; whose courtship was attended with some very uncommon circumstances. This *Sheykh* came to *Golkonda* in the habit of a *Fakír*, or religious mendicant:

* TAVERNIER, ubi sup. p. 68, & seq.

(D) *Thouvenot* says, this peace was obtained from *Aureng Zib* by the address of the queen-mother; and that the son-in-law, whom he calls *Mabmúd*, should succeed, in case the king died without children, meaning, doubtless, male issue.

cant :

his latter
state.



cant; and for some months lodged without the gate of the palace, disdaining to give any answer to several courtiers, who demanded what his business was. At length, the affair being made known to the king, he sent his chief physician to enquire the reason of his coming to *Golkonda*. The physician, and some other lords of the court, who likewise discoursed with him, finding him to be a person of great wit and learning, carried him to the king; who was very well pleased with his aspect and deportment: but at length the Sheykh coming to declare to his majesty, that the end of his coming was to espouse the princess, the king was much surpris'd at the proposal, and most of the court lords judg'd that the Sheykh was out of his senses. The *Kotbb Sháh* laugh'd at him at first; but when he found him persist in his demand, and even threatened the kingdom with great calamity, unless the princess was given to him in marriage, he was committed to prison; where he lay a long time. At length the king sent him in a vessel, which carried pilgrims from *Masulipatan* to *Mokka* in *Arabia*, in order to travel to *Mekka*.

his strange
history.

FOR all this bad success, the Sheykh was not discouraged; but two years after returned to *Golkonda*, and managed matters so well; that he espoused the princess, and grew into high reputation, as well as power in the kingdom; which he governed with great applause. Before the siege of *Golkonda* the king had no great love for him; but after that bold action, by which, as before mentioned, he prevented his surrendering the fortress, *Abdollah Sháh* took a great affection to him, and did nothing without his advice. He was a passionate lover of all who understood mathematics, and a zealous *Mohammedan*; so that, to hinder the great pagod in *Bágnágar* from being finished, he threatened the whole kingdom with some signal calamity, if that work went forward^h.

Abdollah
Sháh's
story.

THE third princess of *Golkonda* had been promised to *Selá Sejed*, another Sheykh of *Mekka*; and the day was appointed for celebrating the nuptials: but by the instances of *Abdol Faber Beg*, general of the army, and other lords, the match was broken off, and the princess married to *Mirza Abdol Kasing*; to whom she would have been given before, but for his debauched courses, which however he forsook after his marriage. He had by her two sons (E); which, says *Taver-*

^h TAVERNIER, ubi sup. p. 66.

(E) By *Sheldon's* account, nor was this lord reckoned debauched. hereafter mentioned, he had but one son and two daughters:

nier, quite annulled the pretensions of *Aureng Zib's* son; *its latter* who was then imprisoned by his father in the castle of *Gwa-^{state.}* *liyâr*, for joining with his uncle *Sujâh* against him. Now, continues the same author, the king of *Golkonda* does not stand in so much fear of the *Great Mogol* as before; for, in imitation of him, he keeps his money within his own country, and has already hoarded up treasures sufficient to maintain his wars. Besides, he was devoted to the sect of *Ali*, as well as the king of *Viziapûr*, who was married to the sister (F) of him of *Golkonda*; for which reason the *Persians*, who repaired into *India* to seek their fortune, chose rather to offer their service to these kings than to the *Great Mogol*^h.

THEVENOT, who was at *Golkonda* much about the same Golconda's declining state. time as *Tavernier*, gives an account very different of this prince's affairs; and which seems to agree better with the revolution, which some years after followed in his dominions. According to that author, notwithstanding the peace before-mentioned, the king of *Golkonda* was in continual fear of another visit from *Aureng Zib*. After sending 200,000 men to the assistance of the king of *Viziapûr*, who was vigorously attacked, he was obliged to recall them, and pretend they were sent without his knowledge. This shewed how low the power of *Abdo'llah* was reduced. He durst not put to death his *Omrâs*, even for crimes; for which, on being found guilty, he only fined them, and took the money. The *Dutch* themselves insulted over him, and obliged him to abandon an *English* ship, which they had seized at *Masulipatan*; although he had undertaken to protect herⁱ.

THE weakness of this prince's reign, and power of his chief *Power of* *Omrâs*, is confirmed by the testimony of a later *English* au-^{the} *Omrâs*. thor (G); who hath written the history of *Mirza Abdallah Kossin*, or, as that writer calls him, *Soltân Abdulla Hoosan* (H), till he ascended the throne of *Golkonda*; of which he was the last king. Our author begins with the circumstances of this

^h TAVERNIER, ubi supr. p. 69.
p. 100, & seq.

ⁱ THEVENOT, ubi supr.

(F) *Thevenot* says, to the fourth daughter of the king of *Golkonda*; but other authors say he had no more than three.

(G) Late revolution of *Golkonda*, by Mr. *Daniel Sheldou*, inserted by *Owerton* in his *Voyage to Surât*, p. 527.

(H) It is hard to say, whether by *Kossin* and *Hoosan* is to be understood *Hussayn* or *Hassan*. If this was the king, from whom *Golkonda* was conquered, his name, according to *Frazer*, was *Abu'l Hassan*.

*Its latter
state.*

*Sudden
rise of*

prince's marriage; which he relates at large, in the following manner.

KOTHB Shâh, being old, and perplexed with the factions of his ministers, to whom he had wholly left affairs, resolved to marry his third daughter, whom he loved exceedingly, to some person of quality and courage; who might be able to curb the factions at court, and worthy to become his successor. For he hated *Soltân Mahmûd*, eldest son of *Aurang Zib*, who had married his eldest daughter: nor had any affection for his second daughter, or her husband, *Mirza Mahmûd*; who was an *Arab* of high birth. This princess was courted by *Sind Soltân* (I), another *Arab*, descended from *Mohammed*; and as he was a man of wit and spirit, the king of *Golkonda* thought him a proper person to execute his designs, and accordingly encouraged his addresses: but this person, presuming too much on the favour of the king and princess, by his insolent behaviour disoblged the ministers; who, fearing worse treatment in case he came to the crown, resolved to hinder the match.

*Mirza
Abul
Hassan.*

THE three who managed the business of the state were *Mosâ Khân*, *Sind Mirza Zaffer* (K), and *Musbûk*; for *Mirza Mahmûd*, not being in favour, was out of employment. However he had free access at court, and was respected by all, as one who was likely to succeed the king. These hopes made him jealous of *Sind Soltân*, and put himself at the head of the party, which was formed against him. The old courtiers therefore set upon the king; and having persuaded him to break off the match, by representing the young *Arab* as a person of great ambition, and one likely to form dangerous designs, *Musbûk* advised his majesty to marry the princess to some person of birth and courage, but small fortune, and rather given to pleasure than business; as qualifications which would render him obedient, and divert him from ambitious views. This counsel being approved of by the king, he ordered them to look for a person of that character; and they pitched on *Mirza Abdallâh Hassan**.

*The Wa-
zir's con-
trivance,*

THIS young nobleman was the son of an *Arab* of quality, but low circumstances; who, coming to *Golkonda* to seek his fortune, had a small government conferred on him by the king: from which, by his good behaviour, he was advanced

* OVERTON'S Voy. to Surât, p. 528, & seqq.

(I) This is *Soltân Sejed* of *Tavernier*. It should perhaps be *Syâd*.

(K) Afterwards named *Zind Mir Zaffer*.

to one of the most considerable commands in the kingdom. *Its latter*
 But at his death, the king being heir to his estate, his son *state.*
 was reduced to a very poor condition, and forced for subsistence to enter into the army; where he received the pay of five or six pounds *per* month. As soon as the affair was agreed upon, *Zind Mir Zaffer* sends for the young foldier to his house, that the king might have a sight of him; and, having held him in discourse for some time, about his father's merit and his own circumstances, promised to provide for him, and then dismissed him. When he was gone, *Kothb Sháh* objected, that he was not so comely a person as he had been represented; nor discovered so much life and vigour as he expected. This being imputed by *Mir Zaffer* to the dejection consequential to his sudden fall from grandeur into poverty; he told the king, that he would find a change presently in *Abdallah*, had he but money to make an appearance.

HEREUPON the king, resolved to make the experiment, *to supply*
 orders *Mir Zaffer* to contrive some way to furnish him, *his wants.*
 without letting him know from whence it came. The minister immediately sends for some *Sherafs*, or money-brokers, and orders them to furnish him with whatever money he required; promising to repay them: but enjoined them, under pain of death, not to discover the affair. Away the brokers go to *Abdallah*; and under pretence of desiring his assistance in business they had with some great men (for persons of high birth, though ever so poor, are respected in those countries), after two or three visits, growing more familiar, they told him he looked melancholy; and, as they believed he might have occasion for money, offered to lend him two or three thousand pounds. At first he thankfully refused the offer; fearing to borrow money, which he had no prospect of being able to pay: but at length, overcome by their importunity, and his own wants, he accepted of a considerable sum: for which they not only refused security; but bid him live like the son of so great a father; promising to supply him with more, when that was spent¹.

THE young cavalier, naturally inclined to gallantry, and *He lives*
 high living, presently took a house, with servants, and all *splendidly*:
 things fit for a person of quality. Mean time *Mir Zaffer*, who presently perceived the alteration which he expected both in his person and behaviour, desires the king to see him again; which his majesty does; and now likes him so well; that he orders *Zaffer* to give him frequent opportunities of seeing him; and the more he sees him, the more he is

¹ OVINGTON, ubi supr. p. 527, 532, & seqq.

*Its latter
state.*

taken with him. At length, resolving to marry his daughter to him, without delay, the king one evening sends the *Devir*, or secretary of state, with an *Omrâ*, called *Jabber Beg*, and a guard of horse to conduct *Abdallah Hassan* to court. The young gentleman was entertaining some friends at his house, when word was brought, that some great officers belonging to the court were at the door. His company, with the dancing women, immediately retired by a back-way, while he went out to meet the officers, to conduct them in. As soon as he beheld two such eminent persons, attended with a guard, he was greatly surprised; and his fears were much increased at the sight of a rich vest, which the secretary presented him from the king; for he took it for granted that it was poisoned. However, after mentioning his father's services, with his own fidelity to the king, and apologizing for his present way of living, he put on the vest; and, at the same time, desired the secretary to present his duty to the king, and tell him that his majesty had more reason to preserve such subjects as he was, than to take away their lives only for his pleasure.

*Marries
the princess:*

THE secretary, who had orders to observe every thing which he said and did, having helped him on with the vest, made a low reverence, and assured him, that they were not sent by the king to execute any sentence of his displeasure, but to conduct him to his favour, and the greatest honour which he could bestow on him. On this he goes with them, not very well assured of his safety, till they brought him a fine horse, with rich furniture; on which mounting, he rode between the secretary and *Jabber Begh* to court, where he was the same night married to the princess; and the whole business was managed with so much privacy, that *Mirza Mahmûd*, who had married the king's second daughter, had not the least knowledge of it, till it was made public at court. This news threw him into a rage, in which he railed at the king and his nobility: but finding nobody regarded it, he left the kingdom, and retired to *Dehli*, where *Aureng Zib* received him kindly, and gave him a pension.

*but kept
very de-
pendent.*

KOTHB SHAH was every day more pleased with his son-in-law; but conferred on him no command of soldiers, nor government of a province, nay, nor allowed him any money, for fear he should lay up some: but, at the same time, ordered an eunuch constantly to defray his expences, were they ever so great. The new-made prince, who had an excellent understanding, wisely resolved to submit to the king's pleasure, which not only made his majesty doat on him, but fixed the *Omrâs* and governors to his interest; as believing

that

that if one who seemed to know so little of affairs was once king, they should be their own masters^a. *Thevenot* represents the conduct of the *Mirza Abdol Keffin* (or *Abdâl Hoofan*) who, he says, was called the *King's little son-in-law* (L), in a different light. According to that author, this prince gave *Abdallah Kothb Shâh* a great deal of uneasiness; for being a prince of the blood (M), he pretended to the crown, notwithstanding the agreement made with the *Great Mogol*, and caused himself to be served with as much state as the king. This changed the affection which the king had once for him to a settled jealousy, and made him fear that his *little son-in-law* had a design to destroy him, altho' he was reckoned a person of great integrity^a. Possibly the restraints laid upon him by *Kothb Shâh*, as above-mentioned, might give occasion to such a report.

HOWEVER that be, the king, who was worn with age, and excess of pleasures, at length falling sick, he sent for all the lords of his court; and declaring his son-in-law, *Soltân Abdollah Hoofan*, for his successor, obliged them to swear on the korân to obey his last commands. After this he died, having lived above eleven years since the marriage of his beloved daughter, who had in that interval secured the succession in her family, by the birth of a prince, and two princesses. On the king's death, his second daughter, wife to *Mirza Mahmûd*, having made a small party, seized on the palace, in behalf of a son her husband had by a former wife (for by him she had none), whom she endeavoured to set on the throne: but *Mosâ Khân*, *Sind Mir Zaffer*, and *Musshâk*, the three chief ministers, quickly suppressed the tumult which she had raised, and proclaimed *Soltân Abdollah Hoofan* *padi-shâh*, or emperor.

THIS king, as soon as he began his reign, gave an instance of his policy, in the method he took to gratify the two first of those lords who had advanced him to the throne; and, at the same time, destroy their power, which was grown exorbitant, thro' the indolence of the preceding king. He considered, that the way to lessen their authority was to make them too great, by dividing the administration of affairs between them; knowing that the hatred which they bore each

^a OVINGTON, p. 536—541.
p. 102.

^a THEVENOT, ubi supr.

(L) Possibly on account of the low circumstances he was in just before he married the king's daughter. (M) This must be understood of his being so by marriage only.

*Its latter
state.*

other would soon throw things into confusion, and furnish him with a pretence to dismount them. On *Moso Khán*, therefore, he confers the title of *Khán Khanna* (N); and being a man of courage, makes him general of the army. To *Sind Mir Zaffer* (O) he gives the title of *Amír Jemla*; and being a man of business, makes him *Duán*; in which office are comprised those both of chancellor and treasurer. So that the general being to receive the army's pay of the *Duán*, was sure to find delays and affronts; while the *Duán*, being by his place to inspect into the disposal of the king's money, and payment of the troops, was no less certain to meet with reprisals.

*his corrupt
ministers.*

WHEN the king had thus rewarded these corrupt ministers, as well as others who had deserved well of him, he seemed to abandon business wholly, to mind his pleasures: but at the same time posted himself so conveniently, that he had a perfect knowledge of every thing which passed. In this time of leisure, he often would retire to consider the abuses which had crept into the state, and of the best ways to reform them. He likewise set down, in writing, several rules and maxims, by which he proposed to regulate his future government. Mean while, the two great men strove who should procure the finest women, musicians, and dancers, to divert the king, and continue on him the lethargy, which they imagined he was seized with. But while they to no purpose endeavoured to render him insensible, he had soon the pleasure to see that his medicine wrought its effect with them: for neither of them being able to bear an equal in authority, each watched for an opportunity to accuse and ruin the other, that the whole might fall into his own hands°.

*They fall
out.*

IT was not long before the *Duán*, on inspecting the payment of the army, received many complaints against the general, whose avarice made him defraud both the king and soldiers of great sums. Of this the *Duán* complains to the king, who seems not to believe it. The *Duán*, therefore, resolving to bring such evidence, as should convince the king of the truth, seizes the general's *Brámmán*, who kept the accounts of the army. At this the general is so enraged, that, taking soldiers with him, he resolves to cut the *Duán* in pieces: but the latter was prepared with sufficient guards to keep off his enemy, till the king sent and commanded him to retire. At first he refused; but being advised by his cooler friends,

° Ovington, ubi supr. p. 541, & seqq.

(N) Or *Khán of Kháns*. (O) Fryer calls him *Siegmán jassa*.

at last returned to his house. The *Duân* being now recovered from his fright, repairs to the king, and desires him to consider whether he could be safe in his palace, if such outrages were committed in the garrison. The king tells him calmly, that he will take care of both their safeties, and prevent such violences for the future, by perfectly reconciling the general and him. Altho' the *Duân* knew that was a thing impossible, yet he goes away seemingly contented. The king sends for the general, and acquainting him that he had undertaken a reconciliation between them, advises him to frame himself to it. At first he storms, and calls the *Duân* a thousand names : but growing calmer, returns his majesty thanks, and promises submission to his command.

A FEW days after *Kothb Shâh* sends for the general, as customary, to come to the palace : but that officer reflecting on his rash proceedings, was unwilling to go, till, by the persuasion of friends, that there was no danger, and that the king had secretly more esteem for him than the *Duân*, he went. However, he was no sooner entered within the palace-gate, but he found himself seized by the guards; and was sent in irons to prison. The charge against him was for slighting the king's commands, daring to assault one of his counsellors within his garrison, converting the king's treasure to his own use; and for refusing to pay several sums of money, to *Aureng Zib's* ambassadors, very much to the dishonour of the king, who had passed his word for the payment of them. As soon as he was confined, all his estate was seized on; there being found in his house, in ready money, 500,000 new pagodas, which is about 200,000*l.* besides jewels; wherein he was very rich, for he had been governor of the diamond mine of *Kowlour* (P). Immediately after this, the king musters the army, pays them their arrears, and gives the command to *Musbûk*; but, to their great satisfaction, enrolls them in his own lists, and promises to take care of them himself for the future^P.

THE *Duân* is infinitely pleased at the fall of *Mosô Khân*; The treacher and imagining that he had now no rival in *Kothb Shâh's* favour, surer catches upon him to controul every-body, and turn out of place whomsoever he thought fit. The king lets him go on, without taking notice of small presumptions: so that growing confident, thro' his majesty's neglect, he ventured to give

^P OVINGTON, p. 546, & seqq.

(P) It is the richest of all the diamond mines in *Golkonda*, or *Hayder abad*.

*Its latter
state.*

orders of the greatest importance, without consulting him. The acts of tyranny and injustice which the *Duān* committed by his abuse of power, at last occasioned a general clamour; which made his remove necessary, and gave the king an opportunity of doing what he had so long designed. For this purpose notice was given, that such a morning the king intended to appear at the *Durbar*, where the lords were to come, according to custom, to make their *Salam*, or obeisance. When that ceremony was over, the king commanded the *Duān* to stand before him; and began to speak in so obliging a manner, that every-body thought he was going to do him some new honour. He tells him "how particular a regard he always had for his person; how great a confidence in his fidelity and abilities; inasmuch, that he had left almost the whole affairs of the kingdom to his management, and made him, as it were, king, in power, contenting himself only with the name. But, that to his extreme dissatisfaction, he found himself intirely deceived in him: for that he had made use of the indulgence which was shewn him, and of his own great abilities, only to affront his king, and oppress his fellow-subjects." Then altering his tone, in the sharpest terms he could utter, tells him "of all his insolences, and the affronts which he had offered him, by presuming to do things of the greatest consequence, without acquainting him; he likewise reckons up all the miscarriages of his administration." The king added, "that after committing such high misdemeanors, he had nothing to expect, but to be made a sacrifice to public justice: that, however, in consideration of some former good services, he gave him his life, and the government of such a province; commanding him, under forfeiture of both, to retire immediately to his command, and, for the future, not to meddle with any business but what concerned it." Thus the *Kotbb Shāh* dismissed him (Q), without any further disgrace; and even ordered every-one to pay him the respect due to one in his employment.

*Reformation at
court.*

THE king having thus, with great applause and satisfaction of the people, got rid of his two partners in the government, left his retirement; and dismissing the lewd women and dancers, applied himself wholly to business, ap-

(Q) Dr. Fryer says *Seigman jassa* was an eunuch: he makes him also the general; and says, he then managed all affairs of the kingdom under the king;

so that his disgrace did not happen till after the year 1673, when Fryer wrote. See his *Trav.* p. 28, & seq.

peared

peared frequently in the durbar, looked into all affairs of the *Its latter* kingdom with his own eyes, and examined the accounts re-*state.* lating to his revenues, the auditing of which he gave to *Musshák*, who then became his favourite. He rewarded bountifully those who did their duty; and altho' he condemn'd none to death, yet he punished offenders after other manners, very severely¹. As our author mentions no dates, we cannot precisely fix the beginning of *Abdollah Hoofan's* reign; but judge it must have been between the years 1670 and 1673, when Dr. *Fryer* landed at *Madras*; for he speaks of this king (R) as then on the throne. However that be, we find nothing more relating to the transactions of this king's reign, or of affairs there, till the conquest of his dominions by the *Great Mogol*; with regard to which revolution we are informed as follows.

AFTER the peace made with the king of this country, *Aureng* whom our author calls *Tana Sháh*, on condition of giving his Zib daughter to *Soltán Mahmúd*, as before-mentioned, the *Mogols* attempted nothing against *Golkonda* for several years. But at length *Aureng Zib* having resolved to make a conquest of that kingdom (S), after he had quashed the rebellion of his fourth son, *Akber*, in 1680, sent his second son, *Sháh Alam* (T), with a powerful army, to attack *Golkonda* afresh: but the *Mogol* prince, either thinking the conquest difficult, or overcome by *Tana Sháh's* (U) promises to give him his daughter in marriage, and assist him to secure his father's throne, so managed affairs, as to obtain his father's consent to conclude a peace. And altho' afterwards he received many repeated commands, could never be prevailed on to return to the siege; but casting his sumiter at his father's feet, told him that he

¹ OVINGTON, p. 549—552.

(R) He does not name him; but it appears to be *Abdollah Kofing*, or *Hoofan*, from the account given of his marriage, eleven years before, with his predecessor's daughter; which is related nearly in the same manner as in *Sheldon's* memoir.

(S) To which the claim, in right of his son *Mahmúd*, as before mentioned, was doubtless both a pretence and a spur.

(T) This must be *Mahammed Mauzm*, as in *Frazer*, who succeeded his father.

(U) *Gemelli* here commits a great mistake, by making the king, who gave his daughter to *Soltán Mahmúd*, the same with him who was conquered by *Aureng Zib*; or confounds *Abdallah* with *Abúl Hassan*; as appears from the authority of other credible authors: besides, *Abdallah* had but three daughters, all disposed of before the year 1660 or 1662.

Its latter state. was a Mussulman, and could not violate the peace which he had promised to keep.

besieges the fortrefs, UPON *Sháh Alam's* thus refusing to renew the war, *Aureng Zib*, after he had made himself master of the kingdom of *Viziápúr*, marched in person, with a mighty army, to conquer that of *Golkonda*. At his first arrival near *Bágnágar*, he secured the passage of the river, and that city : then, without staying to fortify it, by the advice of the *Franks*, who were in his service, and gave our author this account, he proceeded to besiege the fortrefs of *Golkonda*, whither the king had retired. As this place was built with stones of vast dimensions, and encompassed with a deep ditch, it held out a siege of nine months, tho' battered with many pieces of cannon, particularly by three pieces of such a prodigious size, that each of them was drawn by 500 elephants, and 200 men : for they could make but a small breach in the citadel, which was not inclosed with walls, but a solid rock. At length want of provisions, and distempers which raged in the place, joined to the presents and promises made by the *Great Mogel*; not only prevailed on the soldiers to desert to him, by getting down the walls at night, but also corrupted the governor, who surrendered the fortrefs against the will of his sovereign. *The king of Golkonda* offered to pay a tribute of three millions and seven hundred thousand rupis, and become his vassal : but *Aureng Zib* refused, and entered the place in triumph, in the year 1687 (X).

and takes it,

(X) *Gemelli* places this event in 1686; but it happened not till the year after. The siege began the second of *February*, 1687, and ended the twentieth of *October* following; which agrees very well with what that author observes about its duration. Scarce any of the travellers mention the exact time of this important conquest. *Ovington*, who was at *Surát* in 1690, says nothing of it : nor does *Frazer* himself mention it in his *Short History of the Great Mogols*. *Braems*, who left *Batavia* in 1696, in his report to the States General [see *Recueil des Voy. de la Comp. Introd.* p. 133.] observes, that according to the last advices which

they had from the coast of *Choromandel*, the *Great Mogel* having subdued *Viziápúr*, was marching to conquer *Golkonda*; as if it happened the last-mentioned year: so shamefully careless and inaccurate are some of those who go into foreign parts. But we learn from *Count Farbin's* memoirs, that on his return from *Siam*, in 1687, the ship put in at *Masulupitan*, at which time *Golkonda* was besieged; and that, being but 30 leagues distant, he would have gone thither to see the *Indian* way of making war, if he could have met with a boat to carry him; *Masulupitan* having been almost depopulated by the plague.

THE

THE king, who had on a collar of inestimable value, *its latter* presented it to *Azem Sháh*, who carried him away prisoner, *state.* on an elephant. *Aureng Zib* observing that his hands were not bound behind him, called out to put his son in mind of it. *Azem Sháh* answered that he was a king, and that they ought to be satisfied with depriving him of his kingdom and liberty. The unfortunate king was shut up in the fort of *Dawlet abad*, where his conqueror allowed him the wretched maintenance of twenty rupis (or about ten crowns) a day (Y). But a son being born to him in prison, a blessing which he never had while upon the throne (Z), in pity to the infant prince, he raised the father's pension to 500 rupis. *Pan Naik* (A), who had with considerable forces assisted *Aureng Zib* in conquering the kingdom, was rewarded with death, upon very slight jealousies. His son, enraged at his father's treatment, refused to pay the tribute, and retired among inaccessible mountains: but a few years after (B), the greater power prevailing, he submitted to pay tribute, and to receive a governor, appointed by the *Great Mogol* to reside within his dominions'.

C H A P. V.

The Kingdom of Kanora, or Kanara.

KANORA, or the *Kanatick* country, begins at *Gongola*, a *Kánora*. village about 40 miles to the south of *Goa*, and extends along the coast to the dominions of the *Zamerhán* (or *Zamorán*) of *Kálekut*; and within land, up to the pepper mountains of *Sunda*, and the district of *Serji Khán*, in the kingdom of *Viziapúr*^a. This country has on the north the principality of *Sundah*; on the west, the sea; on the south, *Malabár*; and on the east it is bounded by the mountains of

^a GEMELLI'S Trav. ap. Churchill's Collect. vol. 4. p. 248, 249, 232.

^a FRYER'S Trav. p. 162.

(Y) Our author says he was 60 years of age in 1695.

(Z) *Mirza Abdallab Kofing*, or *Hoofan*, had a son before he came to the throne; which seems to corroborate the opinion that *Abúl Haffan* (the king here spoken of) was his son.

(A) Mentioned in our description of *Viziapúr*, or *Vijapúr*.

(B) This farther proves, that the conquest of *Golkonda* was not in 1696, according to *Braem's* report; for this must be supposed to have happened while *Gemelli* was in *Golkonda*, where he was in 1695.

Gatti,

*Climate,
soil.*

*Air and
produce.*

Gâtti, or *Gattam*, which divide it from the principality of *Ikkéri*, and part of *Messûr*.

THE air of *Kanara* is very pure, and sufficiently pleasant; the country also is so fertile, that it supplies all *Europe* with rice, besides several parts of the *Indies*^b. Besides this grain, the soil produces store of *betel* nuts, and wild nutmegs, used in dyeing. There is likewise some pepper, but not comparable to that of *Sundab*: and wild elephants are found in the forests.

Bedmûr

the capital.

THE capital city of *Kanâra* is called *Bedmur* (A), situate four days journey from *Mîrja* (or *Merzee*); a castle on the shore at the mouth of the river of the same name, mentioned before. In our author's time, about 1675, it was the residence of the *Rânnâ*, or relict of *Sham Shanker Naig*, or *Naik*, *Râjah* of *Kanora*, who was murdered by his nobility. She then governed, during the minority of her son, *Bassept Naig*, the young *Râjah*, in conjunction with *Timi Naig*; who, from a feller of *Toddi*, by his cunning more than valour, raised himself to be general and protector. He was slain in battle, going to join *Seva ji*^c, as already mentioned.

*Females
govern.*

A LATE author informs us, that this country is generally governed by a lady, who may marry whom she pleases; but her husband never gets the title of *Râjah*; altho', if she has sons, the eldest of them does. Yet neither husband nor son has any thing to do with the management of affairs, while she lives; nor are queens obliged to burn themselves with their husbands^d.

THE *Râjah*, or *Rânnâ*, keeps generally about 15,000 soldiers on their *Malabâr* frontiers, with forts of earth; wherein are kept two or three hundred soldiers, ready to encounter small parties of their neighbours, who slip in clandestinely, with design to rob or steal. There is likewise another army to cover the borders, against the subjects of the *Seva ji*: for those two nations being poor, in respect of the *Kanârîns*, watch all opportunities to borrow their superfluities^e.

*Inhabit-
ants shape
and dress.*

THE *Kanârîns* are of a tawny complexion, and middle-sized, wear their hair long, and dress not unlike the *Hindûs* of *Surât*. They are generally good soldiers, and most ex-

^b DELLON's Voy. p. 154.

164.

^c FRYER, ubi supr. p. 162, 164. ^d HAMILTON's New Account of *East India*, vol. i. p. 282.

^e Ibid. p. 286.

(A) *Hamilton* calls it *Bay-dour*, which he places two days journey from the sea-coast. *Del'Isle* writes *Bednour*, and sets it about 25 miles to the north-east of *Mangalor*.

pert

pert in mining : nor do they fight so disorderly as the *Malabars*; but they are not quite so brave, being more addicted to commerce, which carries them to all parts of the *Indies*. Neither do they follow the laws and customs of the *Malabars*, especially in what relates to the distinctions and degrees of their tribes; but conform themselves, in most respects, to those of the *Hindostán* pagans^f.

THE prime nobility have the title of *Naiks*, or *Naigs*, as those of *Malabár* are called *Nairos*. The language is peculiar, and called *Kandrey*n, being spoken every-where with some variation of dialect, from the borders of *Malabár* as far as *Surát*.

KANARA hath several customs peculiar to it; and many of them have spread into remote countries. Here it was that the practice of widows burning themselves with the corpses of their deceased husbands had its beginning. Before this law was invented by the *Brámmans*, the women were so ready at poisoning, that the least quarrel cost the husband his life. Our author had seen several burned, in different manners, already related; with this addition however, that on the edge of the pit a huge log of wood, at least 500 weight, was placed so as to fall in upon the woman, on drawing a cord, in order to dispatch her the quicker, or at least run her down. There, if the victim hesitates, the priests thrust her in with long poles; at the same time making a hideous noise, to deafen hers, and dancing round the fire^g.

ALTHO' the men do not burn themselves here with their wives, yet they take their turn also in making themselves voluntary sacrifices another way. To explain this, it must be observed, that to the wheels of the waggons, on which their images are carried in procession on festival days, great iron hooks are fastened; and on these some of the superstitious zealots are accustomed to throw themselves; so that being turned round with the wheels, they are cut to pieces. Others lie sprawling on the ground, for the wheels to pass over, and crush them to death^h. The like is done in other parts of the *Indies*.

No man is permitted in *Kanára* to ride on horses, mules, or elephants, but officers of state, or troopers; oxen or buffaloes being the common voiture: nor are any suffered to have umbrellas held over them by servants, but they must do that office themselves, to keep off sun or rain. In all other respects people are at liberty. The laws are so well obeyed

^f DELLON's Voy. p. 154. & seqq. ^g HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 280. ^h DELLON, ubi supr. p. 154.

Sea-ports. in this country, that robbery and murder are scarcely ever heard of among them: and a stranger may pass thro' the country without being asked where he is going, or what business he is about¹. This may be owing, in great measure, to the manner of executing their criminals, which is very cruel: for they strip them stark naked, and thus tied hands and feet, expose them on the sands to the scorching of the sun; and stinging of the flies; where they die a most miserable and lingering death^k.

Onor.

THERE are on the coast of *Kanâra* several considerable places. The most northern is *Onoar*, or *Onor*, situated on a river capable to receive ships of two or three hundred tons. It has a castle on a low hill, about a mile within the bar, built of old by the *Portugueses*: but the *Rajah* of *Kanâra*, unable to bear their insolence, reduced it by famine, after a three years blockade. There is a pagod here, called *Ram-trut*, visited yearly by great numbers of pilgrims. The image, which resembles a monkey more than a man, is sometimes carried in procession. He is placed in a coach, in form of a tower, with a pyramidal top, about fifteen feet high; where eight or ten priests are set to bear him company, and sing his praises. The coach, which goes on four wheels, is drawn thro' the streets by means of a good strong rope, attended by a great mob, who are always fond of superstition^l.

Batakola.

THE next port southward, is *Batakola*, which has the vestigia of a very large city, standing on a little river about four miles from the sea. There is nothing worth notice now remaining, except ten or twelve small pagods, covered with copper and stone. The country produces good quantities of pepper; and the *English* had a factory there: but, about the year 1670, one of their ships coming there to lade, the chief begged a fine bull-dog of the captain; which sometime after killing a cow, as they were out a hunting, the priests raised a mob, who slew the whole factory, eighteen in number. Since which time the *English* never resettled there, but often repair thither to buy pepper.

Barfelor.

AFTER *Batakola* follows *Barfelor*, standing on the banks of a broad river, about four miles from the sea. The *Dutch* have a factory here, about a mile from the river's mouth, which has a castle on the north side for its guard. Their business here is purely to buy up rice, with which the adjacent country abounds, for their garrisons on the *Malabar*

¹ HAMILTON, ubi sup. p. 282.
p. 154.

^k DELLON, ubi sup.
^l HAMILTON, ubi sup. p. 278, & seq.

coast.

coast. The *Portugueses* also get supplies of the same grain *Sea-ports:* for *Goa*; and have six or eight ships there, which carry rice to *Muskât*, in *Arabia*, bringing back horses, dates, pearls, and other commodities, in exchange. To the south of this place, in the road to *Mangulore*, there is a walk eight or ten miles long, planted with four rows of trees, whose spreading branches afford umbrellas to passengers; who are likewise refreshed, from time to time, with fine clear water, given gratis by some old people, placed there in little huts, at the charge of the state. Between *Barseloar* and *Mangulore* lie *Bakkanoar* and *Molkey*; by whose rivers the large quantity of rice which their fields produce are exported^m.

MANGULORE is the greatest mart for trade in all the *Mangulore* dominions; having the conveniency of the united stream of three rivers, which are made by the great rains and dews falling from the mountains of *Gâtti*, twenty-five or thirty leagues distant, and join about a mile from the sea. The town is poorly built along the streams, and has no defence but two small forts, one on each side of the river's mouth. The fields bear two crops of corn yearly; and the higher grounds produce pepper, bettle nuts, sandal wood (or sanders)) iron, and steel, which creates a pretty good trade. The *Portugueses* have a factory for rice at *Mangulor*, and a pretty large church; because great numbers of black Christians reside there: but, says our author, both priests and people are the very dregs of Christianity. The clergy are so shameless, that they will bargain with a stranger to pimp for him; and the laity look on whoring, thieving, and murder, as no sins, provided any gain can be gotten by them.

IN 1695 the *Muskât Arabs* came with a fleet, and plundered the sea-coast of *Kanâra*, burnt *Barseloar* and *Mangulore*, and carried away a rich booty. The same coast was insulted in 1720 by *Konna ji Anguria*; but on landing some men, he found so much resistance, that he embarked again without doing any great mischief.

THERE is only one small sea-port more in *Kanâra*, called *Manguzir* *Manguzir*, about five leagues south of *Mangulore*, and three from *Dekulli*; which is a large fort built on an island, close to the continent. And three leagues farther south is a small river, which divides *Kanâra* from the *Malabâr* territoriesⁿ.

^m HAMILTON, p. 282, & seqq.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 285, & seqq.

Extent,
bounds.

C H A P. VI.

The Dominions commonly called the Coast of Malabâr.

S E C T. I.

The Country described.

Extent and
bounds.

THE country of *Malabar*, taken in its larger sense, contains not only the country under that name, to the west of *Cape Komori*, but also those to the east, as far as *Nagapatam*: for so far the inhabitants are called *Malabârs*; and the *Malabar* tongue extends a great way beyond, within the kingdom of *Karnâta*. Taken in the more contracted and modern sense of the word, *Malabâr* includes only the countries so called to the west of *Cape Komori*, otherwise denominated the dominions of the *Samorîn*. This country begins at the small river three leagues to the south of *Fort De-kullt* before-mentioned, and ends at *Cape Komori*, the most southern point of the peninsula of *India intra Gangem*, the space of about 350 miles. Its greatest breadth is about eighty miles; in some parts it is not more than twenty broad. It is washed by the sea on the west; and on the east is bounded by the mountains of *Gâtti*, or *Gâte*, which divide it from the kingdoms of *Messâr* and *Madûrey*.

Soil and
produce.

THE air all over *Malabâr* is very good, the coast delightful, and the soil one of the most fruitful in all *Asia*; affording two crops a year^o: yet rice is not very plenty, much being imported from *Kanâra* (B): but the coast being low and sandy, it nourishes vast numbers of kokoa-nuts, *bettle*, and *arekka* trees, whose fruit brings in much riches from abroad^r. Here are likewise store of other kinds, excellent in their nature, but very different from those of *Europe*; such as the *jakka*, of a prodigious bulk. Its fruit is divided into many partitions, which contain a substance of a yellow colour, and taste, like melons, inclosing a sort of chesnuts, which are the

Fruit-
trees.

^o CORNW. OBS. on Ind. Voy. p. 55. DELLON, ubi supr. p. 61. ^r HAMILTON. vol. i. p. 292.

(B) Particularly from *Bar-salore*; because the *Malabâr* rice will not keep above three months out of the husk; but in the husk it will keep a year. *Hamilton's New Account*, p. 331. feed.

seed. The *mango* is a much more excellent fruit, resembling the nectarine. They are of different colours when ripe, as red, white, and green; some the size of an egg, others bigger than the largest pears. The skin is hard, and the pulp soft; they are excellent either to preserve or pickle: but the *Malabâr mangos* are the worst in the *Indies*; those towards *Surât* are better, and those of *Goa* best of all.¹

THE higher grounds produce pepper and kardamums; which, we are told, grow no-where in the world except in the kingdom of *Kannanor*, near the mountain six or seven leagues from the coast. They need neither sow nor plant it: it is enough, after the rainy season, to burn the herbs which grow on the spot, whose ashes produce this grain; which is the grand seasoning of the eastern countries. Cinnamon grows on the *Malabâr* coast; but it is not comparable to that of *Seylân*. The arbor de reys, banyan, or war-tree, is no-where so plenty as in this country². The mountains yield iron and steel, but not so good as the *European*. Their woods, besides store of game, furnish teak-timber, and angelique, for building; sandal-wood, or saunders, white and yellow; cassia fistula, nux vomica, cocolus indiz, and other drugs, in plenty³. The soil likewise produces all sorts of pulse; and, among the rest, beans, four inches long, inclosed in a pod a foot and an half in length: but they are only used by the poorer sort of people, as having no good taste.

MALABAR abounds with wild-fowl and tame, the same as in other parts of the *Indies*; likewise with tigers of the three sorts already mentioned; jackalls, or addives, buffaloes, civet-cats, and monkeys: but no animal is so noxious in this country as the adders, especially a green kind, whose poison is incurable. Some, tho' long, are very small; those of the largest size are near twenty feet long, and of so vast a thickness, that they are able to swallow a man. But they are less dangerous than the other sort, because they are sooner discovered, and more easily avoided⁴.

THE country of *Malabâr* was formerly united under one emperor, called the *Samorin* (C), who, in his old-age, turned into king-*Mohammedân*; doms.

¹ DELLON, ubi supr. p. 61.
MILTON, ubi supr. p. 291.

² Ibid. p. 66.
³ DELLON, p. 77, 85.

⁴ HA-

(C) *Hamilton* says, this emperor reigned when the *Portuguese* first entered the *Indies* by sea, in 1498. But *De Faria y Sousa*, and other *Portuguese* authors, place the reign of this *Samorin*, called *Perimal*, 600 years before. As to the division,

Provinces, Mohammedan; and resorting to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. before he put to sea divided his dominions, by will, among his four nephews. To the eldest he bequeathed *Malabar*, whose sea-coast reaches from *Devulli* to *Tikery*, about twenty-four leagues; to the second, whom he loved best, he left from *Tikery* to *Chitara*, the same extent of coast, with the title of *Samoria*; to the third, *Attinga*, which reached from *Chitara* to *Cape Komori*, about fifty leagues: because this part of the country is confined between the sea and the mountains of *Gatti* (D); and divided by rivers from those mountains, by more than 1000 islands, between *Cutma* and *Quilou* (or *Koulam*). The youngest had *Kijl*, which reached from *Cape Komori* to the river of *Nagapetam*, about fifty leagues beyond. In process of time each of these kingdoms became to be divided into many lesser principalities, as it is at present (E). However, many of the *Hindû* tribes continue tributaries to the provinces mentioned in the old king's will; although a much greater number are become independent^{*}.

No villages.

IT is remarkable, that although cities and towns are frequent enough in *Malabar*, yet there are no villages to be seen all over it; every one having his separate habitation and inclosure in the country: and, as it is an established custom among them not to make use of their neighbours water, every house which does not stand by the side of a river has a well of its own[†].

Mount Dellî.

BETWEEN *Dekulli* and mount *Dellî* (F), there is no harbour: but a fine deep river runs all the way for about eight leagues, never above a bow-shot from the shore, and falls into the sea at the foot of the mount, over rocks and sands,

* HAMILTON, ubi sup. p. 291.
p. 108.

† DELLON, ubi sup.

sion, *De Faria* says he gave to the chief of his relations the kingdom of *Koulam*, where he placed the head see of the *Bramman's* religion, and called him *Kobritim*; which is the same as high priest. This dignity was afterwards translated to *Kochin*. To his nephew, *Perimal* gave *Kâlikûr*, with all the temporal dominion, calling him *Zamori*, which is the same as emperor. See *Portug. Asia*, vol. i. p. 100, & seq.

(D) So is the whole country: and this part broadest of all.

(E) Of these captain *Hamilton* has given a list, p. 287, as it was procured in 1694 by the *Heer Van Rede*, commissary-general of the *Dutch East India* company.

(F) Or mount *D'Elî*; that is, *Eli's* mount; as *Dellon*, and some others, name it. *Voyage to East India*, ch. 21. p. 61. *Engl. edit.*

in a chanel half a league broad. A small river also runs on *Cities,*
the fourth side : and three leagues lower down is a spacious *Ports.*
river, called *Balkiapatam* ; where the *English* company had
once a factory for pepper.

Nor far from thence, southward, is *Kannanore*, a town *Kanna-*
formerly belonging to the crown of *Portugal*, with a strong *nore.*
fort, built on a point of land almost surrounded by the sea.
But the *Dutch*, joined by the natives, who were weary of the
Portuguese tyranny, took it about the year 1660, with very
little trouble : for a *Fidalgo* being killed by a cannon-shot,
the first day on which the enemy opened their trenches, the
governor fled in the night, and left the garrison to shift for
themselves ; who capitulated the next day. The *Dutch* de-
molished the town, and with the stones fortified the fort,
which has a garrison but of forty soldiers, their trade being
small. However, there is a pretty large town built in the
bottom of the bay, belonging to *Adda Rájah*, a *Mohammedan* *Adda Rá-*
prince ; who can bring near 20,000 men into the field. His *jah.*
government is neither absolute nor hereditary. He has not
so much as the command of the public money : but, when
there is occasion for any, the *Rájah*, the commissioner of
trade, the chief judge, and the treasurer, meet, to take it
out of the chests, where it is lodged, by means of holes in the
lids, of which each has a key. The coin is all gold.

In 1668, this prince paying a visit to the *Dutch* captain,
his men attempted to surprise the fort, but without *Adda's*
knowledge ; for which the ringleader was put to a cruel death
by his order.

EIGHT or ten miles from *Kannanore* the king of *Kalkitri* *King of*
keeps his court ; whither our author, with another *English-* *Kallitri*
man, went in 1702. His palace was built with twigs, and
covered with *Kadjans*, or kokoa-nut tree leaves, woven toge-
ther. The king, named *Omnitri* (G), was about forty years
old, and successor to the eldest son of the *Samorin* before-
mentioned, who died in his voyage towards *Mekha*. They

7 HAMILT. ubi sup. p. 292, & seqq.

(G) *Dellon*, who calls him. his territories were not near so
Onitri, says it is a title belong- large. See *Voyage to the East*
ing to all the kings of *Kannanore*, *Indies*, part 1. ch. 21. p. 61.
as he makes him to be ; and also ch. 38. p. 117. But ch.
that he was in his time the 40. p. 123, he says the *Samorin*
most powerful of all the kings is the most powerful of all the
in *Malabár* ; and much superior *Malabar* princes.
in strength to the *Samorin*, tho

Cities,
Ports.

paid their compliment each with a gold *Cbekka*, and a few grains of rice laid on it. He treated them with toddi wine, some plantains, and young kokoa-nuts. His dress was only a silk *Lunjey*, or scarf, which was fastened about his middle by a girdle of gold plate, and reached to his knees. He had great jewels of massy gold, set with rubies, emeralds, and pearls, hanging at his ears; but no ornament on his head, except his hair, which hung over his shoulders, and was very beautiful. His queen and daughters were in the same habit, only their hair was tied up behind; being all naked above the navel, and barefooted. Her majesty had a cheerful countenance, and was very affable, distributing *Bettle* and *Archka* with her own royal hands.

ABOUT the year 1680, three princes of the royal blood conspired to cut off *Ommitri*, and his family: but, being detected, they were beheaded on altars, built square, of stone, about three yards high, and four in diameter, two miles from *Kannanore*.

Dormé-
patam.

ADDA RAJAH's dominions reach but ten miles to the south of *Kannanore* to *Tellicherri* river; near which he has a harbour, called *Dormépatam*. The entrance is embarrassed with rocks, and has an island opposite to it, about a league from shore, invironed with the same dangers. The same *Rajah* is likewise in possession of the *Lakka Dive* islands (H), which lie about forty leagues off the *Malabar* coast, between the latitudes of eight degrees thirty minutes, and twelve degrees thirty minutes. Our author had seen eighteen of them (I). They are all low, and have many dangerous shoals about them. There is a large chanel between them and the *Maldivé* islands, called *the eight-degree chanel*. They produce nothing but kokoa-nuts and fish; which latter they export dried to the continent. From the nut-kernels they exprefs oil; and of the fibres of the husk, called *Kayar* (or *Kayro*), they make cordage and cables for shipping. Sometimes in the south-west monsoons they find *ambergisc* floating on the sea. Captain *Hamilton* saw a piece in the *Rajah*'s possession as big as a bushel; and he valued it at

Lakka
Dive
islands.

(H) In *Dellon's Voyage*, p. 118, he is, doubtless, by some mistake of the press, called *Atitaja*; and is said to be king of several of the *Maldivé* islands (instead of the *Lakka* isles); yet subject to the king of *Kannanore*; meaning *Onitri*, or *Ommitri*.

(I) In effect, the large ones do not exceed that number. Captain *H. Cornwall* has given a chart of them in his *Observations on several voyages to India*, p. 40.

10,000

10,000 rûpis, or 1250 pounds sterling. The inhabitants are, like their prince, *Mohammedans* ². Cities,
Ports.

THE next province to *Adda Râjah's* dominions is *Telli-cherri* (K); where the *English* have a factory, pretty well fortified with stone walls and cannon: but to little purpose; since it has no river near it to protect, nor can it defend the road from the insults of enemies. The town is inclosed with a stone wall, and stands behind the fort, within land. Telli-cherri.

TWELVE or fourteen miles farther southward stands *Burgara*, a sea-port belonging to *Ballanore Burgarey*, a formidable prince, whose country produces pepper and the best cardamums in the world. This prince and his predecessors have been lords of the seas, time out of mind; and all trading vessels between cape *Komori* and *Damân* were obliged to carry his passes. Those of one mast paid eight shillings yearly, and those with three, about sixteen. But when the *Portugueses* settled in *India*, they pretended to the sovereignty of the sea; and this occasioned a war, which has lasted ever since. This prince keeps some light gallies; which cruize along the coast from *October* to *May*, in order to make prize of all such vessels as have not his pass. He, without any scruple, went on board Captain *Hamilton's* ship, who was there in 1703, and treated him nobly on shore: but would drink nothing on board; telling the Captain, that his water was polluted by his touch. And, when our author had paid his visit, he caused an apartment of his palace, built with reeds, and covered with kokoa-nut leaves, to be new thatched; because, in walking together, the stranger's hat had chanced to touch the roof. Burgara
port.
Lord of
the seas.

THE dominions of this prince end at *Tikorey*, about twelve miles south of *Mealey* (L). Midway is *Kottika* (M), famous for seizing vessels which traded without their lord's pass. Off *Kottika*, about eight miles, lies sacrifice rock: so called because, when the *Portugueses* first settled in *India*, the cruizers of that place sacrificed on it the whole crew of a *Portuguese* vessel, which they had seized. It is observable, that those Sacrifice
rock.

² HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 296, & seqq.

(K) Or *Tisseri*, as the *French* call it: but its true name is *Tatibere*. See *Dellon's Voyage East Ind.* p. 118, ch. 38.

(L) Or *Meali*, two leagues north of *Bargara* (or *Burgara*). *Dellon's Voyâ.* part ii. ch. 1. p. 138.

(M) This doubtless is *Kota*, or *Kognali*, a *Bazâr*, or market-town; whose lord was a great pirate: but *Dellon*, p. 138, places it not above a mile and half from *Bargara*. *Kota* signifies a fort.

Cities,
Ports.

Samorin's
country.

Europeans could never get one foot of ground in the *Balanore's* country, although they often attempted it^a.

THE country of the *Samorin* (N) reaches along the sea-coast of *Malabár*, from *Tikori* to *Chitwa*, about twenty-two leagues. Its products are, pepper in abundance: *bettie-nut* and *koko-a-nut*, whose tree yields *Jaggberi*, a kind of sugar; and *Kopera*, or the nut-kernels dried, which affords a clear oil. Here are found iron, sandal-wood, *castia lignum*, and timber for building; which commodities are exported to great advantage.

Kalikut,
or Koy
Kota.

THE chief city (if it may be called one) of the *Samorin* is *Kalekut* (O); where he commonly resides. His palace is built of stone; and there is some faint resemblance of grandeur to be seen about his court. He is reckoned the most powerful king on the *Malabár* coast, and has the best trade in his country; which makes both him and his people richer than their neighbours. The *English* had a factory there for many years: but are now removed to *Tellicherry*; whither their pepper is sent from thence by sea. The *French* have a small factory also, settled in 1698; and the *Portugueses* a poor church: but the first have not money to carry on trade; nor the latter credit enough to procure converts.

Road of
Kalekut.

THE *Portugueses* formerly built a town before *Kalekut*; which being undermined by the sea (P), or swallowed up by an earthquake, as some affirm, in 1703, Captain *Hamilton's* ship, which drew twenty-one feet, struck on some of the ruins in six fathom water, in the road of that city^b.

Tannore.

FIVE or six leagues south of *Kalekut* is *Tannore* (Q) (or *Tanor*), a town of small trade, inhabited by *Mohammedans*;

^a HAMILT. ubi sup. p. 299, & seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 318, & seqq.

(N) Or *Zamerlim*, as *Fryer* and *Cornwall* say.

(O) Called in the *Malabár* language *Koy Kota*; that is, *the fort of the cock*, or *cock-fort*; because the *Samorin's* kingdom was of no greater extent formerly than you might hear a cock crow. *Dellon Voya. East India*, p. 140.

(P) *Dellon*, p. 141, imputes this to the inundation caused by the south-west winds, which blow from May to September. The fort, he says, lies half un-

der water: and those inundations removed the trade from *Kalikut* to *Goa*. The same author says, gold dust is found among the sands on the sea-shore.

(Q) The king resides about a league from thence: and though his dominions are not above eight or ten leagues long, and as many broad, yet he is as absolute as any in *Malabár*, and tributary to none. *Dellon Voy.* p. 144.

who

who are a little free state; but pay an acknowledgement to the *Samorin*. Five leagues from thence, towards the same point, is *Pennaney*, before-mentioned; which has the benefit of a river, and was formerly a place of trade; where the *French* and *English* had their factories till the year 1670, when they removed. About four leagues more, to the south, is *Chitwa* river (R), which bounds the *Samorin's* dominions on that side; where the *Dutch* built a small fort, and settled, about the year 1714^c.

MANY strange customs were observed formerly in this country; of which some still continue. One was, for the *Samorin* to reign no longer than twelve years. If he died before that time expired, it saved him a troublesome ceremony of cutting his own throat on a public scaffold; which he ascended for that purpose, after feasting, and taking leave of his numerous nobility and gentry: who, having buried his body with great pomp, elected a new *Samorin*. In place of this custom, at present, at the end of twelve years a jubilee is proclaimed through the *Samorin's* dominions; and, a tent being pitched for him in a large plain, a feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days, with great rejoicings, guns firing both day and night. At the end of which, any four of the guests, who have a mind to gain a crown by a desperate action, may undertake it; which is, to force their way through 30 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill him in his tent: he who gives the bold stroke succeeding him in the empire. One odd custom,

IN 1695, one of these jubilees happened, and was kept at *Pennani* (S), a sea-port, about fifteen leagues southward of *Kalekut*. No more than three men would venture on that extravagant enterprize. They fell in, with sword and target, among the guards; and, after they had killed and wounded many of them, were themselves killed. However, a nephew of one of the desperadoes, about fifteen or sixteen years old, had like to have carried the prize: for, keeping close by his uncle's side, when he saw him fall, the youth got through the guards into the *Samorin's* tent, and, making a stroke at his majesty, had certainly dispatched him, if a large brass lamp, which was burning over his head, had not marred the blow: but before he could make another he was killed. Our author Captain *Hamilton* happened at that juncture to changed for another.

^c HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 322.

(R) It is about ten leagues to the north of *Kochin*. sometimes the place of the *Samorin's* residence.

(8) *Pennaney*, or *Panianey*;

N n 3

fail

Cities,
Ports.

sail along the coast, and heard the guns for two or three days and nights successively.

Marriage
customs.

WHEN the *Samortn* marries, he must not cohabit with his wife till the *Nambourey*, or chief priest, has enjoyed her; and, if his sanctity pleases, he may have three nights of her company. Because the first fruits of her nuptials must be an holy oblation to the god she worships: and some of the nobles are so complaisant as to allow the clergy the same tribute. However the common people cannot have that honour done them, but are forced to supply the places of the priests themselves^d.

Kingdom
of Ko-
chia.

THE king of *Kouchin's* (or *Kochin's*) dominions are next to the *Samortn's*; and extend from *Chitwa* about twenty-four leagues to the southward. So many rivulets descend from the mountains of *Gatti* (or *Gâte*), which reach within eight leagues of the coast, that they reckon above 1000 islands made by their streams, which join at *Kranganôr*, five leagues below *Chitwa*; where they make one great outlet to the sea.

Kranga-
nôr.

THE first place of note after leaving *Chitwa* is *Kranganôr*; where the *Dutch* have a small fort, which retains the same name, standing about one league up the river. Formerly it bore the name of a kingdom, and was a republic of *Jews*; who once could reckon 80,000 families, but now are reduced to 4000. They have a synagogue at *Kochin*, not far from the king's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are preserved their records, engraven on copper-plates in *Hebrew* characters; and when any of the characters decay they have them new cut.

Jews
there;

MYNHEER *Vanreede*, before-mentioned, about 1695, had an abstract of their history translated into *Low Dutch*. They declare themselves of the tribe of *Manasseh*, a part whereof was, by order of *Nebukhadnezzar*, carried to the most eastern province of his large empire, which it seems extended as far as *Cape Komori*: and this journey 20,000 of them performed in three years from their setting out from *Babylon*.

their
history.

WHEN they arrived in *Malabar*, they were received with great civility by the inhabitants, who allowed them liberty of conscience, and the use of their own customs. There, having increased in number and riches, they at length purchased the little kingdom of *Kranganôr*; and chose two sons of an eminent family to govern the commonwealth, and reign jointly over them. But one of the brothers, ambitious to reign alone, killed the other at a feast; and his son, having revenged his

^d HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 309, & seqq.

father's

father's death by that of the murderer, the state fell again *Cities,*
 into a democracy; which still continues among these *Jews. Ports.*
 Many of them, through poverty, have embraced the *Hindu*
 religion; the lands having for many ages reverted into the
 hands of the *Malabars*.

To the south of *Kranganôr*, and within the island of *Bay-pin*, which reaches from thence to *Kochin*, there is an old *Portuguese* fort; and five leagues up the rivulets is a *Romish* church, called *Verapoli*, served by *French* and *Italian* priests; whose superior can raise 4000 men, all of the church of *Rome*. But there are many more *Christians* of *St. Thomas*, who will not communicate with those of *St. Peter*; and some *Portugueses*, called *Topases*, who communicate with neither: for they will be served by none but *Portuguese* priests, because they indulge them more in their villanies, and let them have absolution from their crimes at an easier rate*.

THE water of this country near the sea-coast from *Kran-* *Swelled*
ganôr to *St. Andrea* (T), about twelve leagues to the south, *legs.*
 has the bad quality to give the constant drinkers of it swelled legs; some it affects in one, some in both. Our author has seen legs above a yard about at the ankle. It causes no pain, but itching: nor does the thick leg seem heavier than the small one to the owner. The *Dutch* at *Kochin*, to prevent that malady, send boats daily to *Verapoli* for water to serve the city: and yet Captain *Hamilton* has seen both *Dutch* men and women troubled with that distemper; to heal or prevent which, no remedy hath yet been found. The *Romish* legends impute the cause of those great swelled legs to a curse *St. Thomas* laid upon his murderers and their posterity. But *St. Thomas* was killed (they say) by the *Tillinga* priest at *Meliapâr*, on the coast of *Choromandel*, about 400 miles distant, and the natives there are not afflicted with this distemper.

THE *Portugueses*, who were the first *Europeans* settled at *City of*
Kochin, built there a fine city on the river-side, about three *Kochin*,
 leagues from the sea: but, the latter gaining on the land yearly, it is not now above 100 paces from it. However, the situation among rivulets and canals makes it exceeding pleasant. It was a mile and half long, to one mile in breadth; but the *Dutch* having taken it about 1660, with the assistance of the king of *Kochin*, whose friendship had been destroyed by the

* HAMILT. ubi sup. p. 323, & seqq.

(T) This is only a village priests of *St. Thomas*; who are
 with a church in it, dedicated generally both poor and illite-
 to *St. Andrew*, and served by rate. *Hamil.* p. 332.

Cities,
Ports.



Portuguese insolence, they contracted it to almost one tenth of its former magnitude : it being now about 600 paces long by 200 broad ; but fortified with seven large bastions, and thick curtains. The garrison consists of 300 men. The king of *Kochin*, who at best is but a vassal to the *Dutch*, has a palace built of stone, about half a league from the *Dutch* city ; and there is a straggling village not far from the palace, which bears the name of *Old Kochin*, with a *Bazâr*, or market-place, in it ; where the country merchandizes are sold, but no curiosities. His majesty's ordinary residence is at another palace, six leagues to the south of *Kochin*, and two from *St. Andrea* ; but he keeps only a small court.

Mud Bay
singula-
rity.

ON the shore of *St. Andrea*, about half a league out in the sea, lies *Mud Bay*, a place which few in the world can parallel. It is open to the wide ocean, and has neither island nor bank to break-off the force of the billows, which come rolling with great violence on all other parts of the coast in the south-west monsoons. But on this bank of mud lost themselves in a moment : and ships lie on it, as secure as in the best harbour, without motion or disturbance. It reaches about a mile along shore, and has shifted from the northward in thirty years about three miles.

Porkah
princi-
pality.

ABOUT two leagues south of *St. Andrea* begin the dominions of *Porkah*, or *Porkab*, which are of small extent, reaching not above four leagues along the coast. The prince is poor, having but little trade, although it was a free port for pirates when *Avery* and *Kid* robbed on these shores : but since that time they infest the northern parts, where they find richer prizes, among the *Mokha* and *Persian* traders. The *Dutch* keep a factory at *Porkah* ; but of small consequence.

Kali
Koulam.

KOILKOILOAN (or *Kali Koulam*) is another little principality contiguous to *Porkab*, where the *Dutch* keep a factory : and next to it is *Kayloan* (or *Koulam*), another small principality, and city. It has the benefit of a river, which is the southermost outlet of the *Kochin* islands ; and the *Dutch* have a small fort within a mile of it, on the shore, which they took from the *Portugueses*. It has a garrison of thirty men ; and its trade is inconsiderable. At *Erwa*, two leagues to the south of *Koyloan*, the *Danes* have a small factory, being a poor looking thatched house by the sea-side, with a trade suitable to it : and two leagues beyond *Erwa* lies *Aujengo*, a fort, built by the *English* in 1695. It stands on a sandy foundation, and is fortified by the sea on one side, and a little river on the other : but there is not a drop of

Aujengo
fort.

* HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 325. 328, & seqq.

water for drinking but what comes from the *Red Cliffs*, three *Cities*, miles to the north; which would have been a much better *Ports*. situation. The country produces good quantities of pepper, and long cloth, as fine as any made in the *Indies*. Their factory is in the dominions of the queen of *Attinga*. Before it was built, the *English* had two others in her country, to the south of *Aujengo*; one called *Brinjan* (or *Bringjohn*), the other *Ruttera* (or *Reytora*): but, being naked places, they left them, to avoid the insults of the needy courtiers.

In those times they sent a yearly present to the queen of *Queen of Attinga*, whose court is about four leagues within land from *Attinga*. *Aujengo*: and, in 1685, it being carried by a young beautiful gentleman, her black majesty fell in love with him, and next day made him proposals of marriage. But, although he modestly refused so great an honour, yet, to please her majesty, he staid at court a month or two; and when he came away she made him some presents. About 1720, the annual present being demanded by the queen's officer, and the *English* chief refusing to pay it to any but the queen herself, she invited him to court; where, to appear great, he carried two of his council, and some others of the factory, with most of the military belonging to the garrison: but they were all cut off by stratagem, excepting a few black servants, who made their escape.

TEGNAPATAM (or *Tengapatam*) lies about twelve Tenga-leagues southward of *Aujengo*, in a country producing pepper patam. and coarse cloth. Here the *Dutch* have a factory. *Kolicha* (or *Kolechey*) situate between the middle and west point of *Cape Komorin* (or *Komori*) affords good cloth and salt; but neither the *English* nor *Dutch* trade thither. Close by *Kolicha*, at the said middle point (U), there is a secure harbour for small vessels.

FROM the borders of *Koyloan*, above-mentioned, as far as this cape, is called the kingdom of *Travankôr*: and, as we are told on one hand that it belonged to *Attinga*, and on the other, that it was governed by the queen, it may be presumed that she was the same just now mentioned. Besides the places on the sea-coast already taken notice of, this country has several considerable ones within land; among which are the

* HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 333; & seqq.

(U) By the context our author must mean the point commonly called *Cape Komorin*; but *Kolicha* is above fifty miles to the north-west of it, by the late map of the Jesuits sent from *India*; although *De Lisle* and the charts place it near the Cape.

cities

Cities,
Ports.

City of
Kotate.

Cape
Komori.

Strange
variety.

cities of *Travankôr*, *Kali*, and *Kotate*. This last is situate at the foot of the mountains (of *Gâtti*) about four leagues from Cape *Komori*, and is very large and populous^a; but without either walls or ditches, as are most of the towns in these parts.

AT this famous Cape, which makes the most southerly point of this peninsula of *India*, one experiences two opposite seasons of the year, winter and summer at the same time; for in that tongue of land, which is not above three leagues in extent, sometimes even in the same garden, which is not more than 500 paces square, one has the pleasure to see those two seasons united; the trees being loaded with flowers and fruits on one side, while on the other side they are stripped of all their leaves. This surprising phenomenon is owing to those mountains; and our author, who relates this fact on the testimony of others, himself observed that on the opposite sides of the Cape the winds are constantly opposite, and as if at strife: so that at the same time the winds blow from the west on the west side, they blow from the east on the eastern side¹. More than this, those mountains of *Ballagâte* (or *Gâtti*) being covered with a very fine sand, light as dust, it is carried by the winds as far as the island of *Seylon*, and is very troublesome at *Tutukurin*, on the *Fishery* coast: besides, as this sand is red, the reflection of the sun's rays makes the sky seem all on fire; which is a sight dreadful to behold².

S E C T. II.

The Inhabitants of Malabár.

Inhabi-
tants.

THE inhabitants of *Malabar* are generally well-shaped, all of them black, or at least very deep tawny; but are not near so ugly as the *Africans*. They let their hair grow to a great length: but shave their beards close; excepting a few who wear whiskers. They do not want ingenuity; but very rarely improve it by any useful arts or sciences. They are very treacherous, breach of faith being their daily practice; in which, says *Dellon*, they almost outdo the *Mohammedans* their masters. However, they are generally very patient, and not easily put in a passion. Besides, it ought to be mentioned to their honour, that when injured or affronted, they have recourse to the most generous methods of taking

Character.

^a BOUCHET ap. Lettr. Edif, tom. xv. p. 44, & seq. ¹ TACHARD, ibid. tom. iii. p. 209, & seq. ² NIEBUHOF. ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. ii. p. 262, and BALDÆUS, ibid. vol. iii. p. 583.

satisfaction,

satisfaction, and never revenge themselves by clandestine *Govern-*
means; poison not being so much as known among them. *ment.*

THE *Malabâr* females are for the generality well shaped, and not ill-featured: but little women are in greater esteem than tall ones¹.

THESE people are distinguished, as in other parts of *India*, *Divided*
into several degrees or tribes. The first is that of their princes, *into tribes.*
the second of their clergy; the third consists of their *Nayers*,
or nobles; the merchants make the fourth; and under the
fifth may be comprised the mechanics, husbandmen, fishers,
and the inferior kinds of people.

WITH regard to the first order, or that of the princes, *Crown be-*
in each kingdom of the *Malabârs* there are several families *editary.*
which are branches of the royal stock, superior in rank to all
others; and, for the general, the most antient of all the
princes succeeds without opposition: so that a young sovereign
is the greatest rarity that can be seen among the *Malabârs*.

THE first thing which a new king does, is to appoint a
lieutenant-general, or first minister: for although this post *Prime*
be exposed to sale, yet the king reserves a power of chusing *minister.*
from among the candidates, him whom he judges most capa-
ble of executing that important trust. And whether a *Nayer*
or *Shati* be invested with this dignity, he will make himself
obeyed even by the princes themselves, no less than if a per-
son of the first quality had been elected. The king leaves the
whole management of affairs to his conduct; and, for the
most part, lives in a retired place; but with a great deal of
magnificence. This governor-general has the whole direction
of the treasury, as well as of making peace and war, in con-
cert with the king; in whose presence he always stands. He
permits not any of the courtiers or guards to enter his ma-
jesty's bed-chamber; and never speaks to him without laying
his hand on his mouth. The least neglect in any of these
respects would be attended with the loss of his office, which
is only during pleasure: however, such changes rarely hap-
pen^m.

WHEN the king (for instance, him of *Kannanôr*), goes *The king's*
abroad, he is carried either on an elephant, or in a palanki; *state.*
having on his head a crown of gold, shaped like a ducal
bonnet, weighing somewhat above 200 guineas. It is always
given by the new governor-general, and repositied in the trea-
sury of the chief pagod when the king dies. His majesty is
surrounded with his guard of *Nayers*, before whom certain

¹ DILLON Voy. to Ind. p. 91. 106, 107. 114.
p. 191.

^m Ibid.

officers

Tribe, or officers march to clear the way, and give notice that the king is coming; who marches under the sound of drums, trumpets, and other warlike instruments. The prince and princess, when they go abroad, appear with the same pomp but the prime minister is only attended by his guards, without martial instruments, or any to clear the way; unless it happens to be a prince, and then he enjoys that honour in respect of his birth, and not of the dignity of his office.

The clergy. THERE are in the *Malabar* countries many degrees or dignities in the church, as well as in the state. The clergy consist of three orders; *Namburi*, *Bráman*, and *Bats*. The *Namburi* are the first in both capacities of church and state: and some of them are popes, being foreign princes in both respects. Of these priests there are two ranks or orders; the first called *Iregale Nade*, the second *Nambiar*. The *Bráman* are the second degree of clergy, and concerned in spiritual affairs only. The *Bats*, or magicians, says our author, are next to them, and in great veneration*. Such is the authority of the clergy here, that in all matters which concern religion the kings are subject to the *Namburi* and *Bráman*.

Nayers, or gentry, THE *Nayers*, or, as others write, *Nairs*, *Nahers*, and *Nayras*, are the gentry. These are very numerous†. They may be easily distinguished from the rest, by their civil deportment and conversation.

serve as guides IT is an ancient law or custom for all strangers or others, who are not pagans, never to travel without a guard of one or more of these *Nayers*; inasmuch that the princes never take cognizance of any violence offered to travellers who neglect this precaution. These *Nayers*, whose pay is no more than eight *Tares*, or four pence a day, never betray or abandon those they guard upon the road: but if a man happens to lose his life while he is under their care, they will as survive him. If they should do otherwise, they would be looked on as cowards: and where-ever they chance to violate their trust, none are so forward as their own wives and kindred to be their executioners. For all this, a traveller is more secure under the guidance of a son of a *Nayer*, than of several *Nayers* themselves: because it is a sort of law among the *Indian* robbers never to hurt children, or such as are not able to defend themselves; whereas they spare none who are provided with arms.

to all strangers. WHEN the *Nayers* children go into the country, they only carry in their hand a twisted stick, about a foot and half

* HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 290. 312.
p. 104.

† DILLON Voy.

long, with a handle at top, like that of a dagger, and a large knob at the other end. None but the sons of the gentry are allowed to wear such a stick, by which they are distinguished from others; and their wages is not above three halfpence a day. But although this is the securest way of travelling, yet none but the poorer sort of people use it: because travellers are respected in this country according to the number of their guards from place to place.

THE *Teyvis* are next to the gentry, and the farmers of *Teyvis*. *koko*-nut trees. They apply to husbandry, and gathering the palm wine. These may bear arms; but not without a licence.

MERCHANTS are of all orders, excepting that of *Nam-Chatims*, *bouri*; and are in some esteem.

THE *Maynats*, or whiteners of linen, the weavers, and *Maynats*: those who make it their employment to draw it, are divided into so many different classes or families.

THE *Poulias* produce the labourers and mechanics. These *Poulias* *Hamilton* thinks are inferior to the *Mukwas* (X), or fisher- and *Muk-* men; who are obliged to live near the sea, and are not per-^{was}mitted to follow any other employment, or to bear arms, even in case of the greatest extremity. But *Dellon* says, the *Pouliats* are the vilest and most contemptible of all the *Mala-bars*; if he does not confound them with the *Poulichis* (or *Pukhis*), who, according to the former author, are the lowest class of human creatures, and excluded from the benefit of laws both human and divine.

If a *Poulia*, or *Teyvis*, meets with a *Nayer* on the road, he must go out of the way to let his worship pass, on pain of a severe chastisement, if not of death, at his hands. But the *Poulichis* are in a much worse condition: for, by the law, they *Poulichis* are not permitted to converse with any other tribe (Y); nor to ^{or} *Pulchis*, wear any kind of cloth, but only a little straw to cover their nakedness, made fast by a cord round their middle. They must not build houses or huts (Z) on the ground, nor inhabit the plains where there is corn-land; but are doomed to dwell in the woods, and build on the branches of trees, like birds, with

■ HAMILT. ubi sepr. p. 94. & seq.

(X) In the *English* translation of *Dellon* they are called *Mocenas*; perhaps by mistake.

(Y) *Dellon* says, if a *Nayer* has a mind to try his arms by killing one of the *Pouliats*, he may, with impunity.

(Z) *Dellon* says, they live in wretched huts, made of palm-leaves; and that their whole business is to watch the rice fields.

grafs

*Tribes, or
Classes.*

*used with
rigour.*

grain and straw. If they happen to see any body coming towards them, they howl like dogs, and run away; lest those of quality should take offence at their breathing the same air. Not being permitted to till the ground, they plant fruit and roots in obscure places of the woods, stealing the seed in the night from the neighbouring gardens: but if they are caught, they are put to death on the spot, without any form of law. When they want food, they come to the skirts of their woods, and howl like fomes. Upon this signal, the charitable *Pulias* and *Teyvés* relieve them with rice, kokoa-nuts, and fruits; which they lay down within twenty paces of them, and then withdraw, that the *Pandichis* may come and carry it into their forests. They are very swift of foot, and dextrous in catching wild beasts and fowl¹.

Religion.

THE inferior tribes have liberty of chusing their deities. Our author had seen at the houses of many *Malabars*, or fishers, a stake with a few notches cut about it, fixed in the ground two feet high; and this, covered with *Kadfans*, or kokoa-tree leaves, serves both as a temple and god to that family. Some get a tree consecrated for their worship: others pay their devotion to the first animal, let it be cat, dog, or serpent, which they see in the morning; and this serves for the day. Their temples are neither large nor beautiful, but dark; their images all black and deformed, with lamps continually burning before them. However, they all believe in one supreme God, of whom they never make any image: and the transmigration of souls is a doctrine universally received by them¹.

*Reckoned
infamous.*

THESE people eat carrion and vermin, which contributes to render them so odious; especially their not scrupling even the flesh of oxen and cows which die a natural death. They are so despicable, that no offering to the gods, or presents to the prince, will be accepted from them, unless it be gold or silver: and then they must lay it down at a distance, and retire twenty paces; while the *Nayers*, who are the prince's guards, come to take it up, and give them an answer at that distance. They are often fined in very great sums; which they are able to pay, because they rob the graves of the *Malabars*, most of whose gold and silver is buried with them. But this being considered as a kind of sacrilege, they are looked upon as forcerers, and an infamous generation, capable of the most enormous crimes. For this reason they are, on the least suspicion, accused, and condemned to death; where-

¹ HAMILTON, p. 312, & seq. DELLON, p. 91, & seqq.

² HAMILTON, p. 314, & seq.

as no person belonging to the other tribes can be convicted, without very substantial evidence^r.

Manners,
Customs.

THE laws which forbid an upper *Hindû* tribe or family to have any commerce with an inferior, particularly as to eating and drinking, are no-where more strictly kept up than among the *Malabârs*; or, in other words, the folly of family pride, which reigns in most nations, is carried here to the greatest pitch of extravagance. They will not suffer their victuals to be dressed by one of a lower rank; nor will they drink of the wells used by such: nay, if one of an inferior tribe enters their houses, the *Brâmmān* is sent for to take away the infection, by certain ceremonies used for that purpose. But this rule is observed with the greatest exactness when they *strictly* contract alliances by marriage: nay, the women (A) are even *kept up* debarred having commerce with a man of an inferior degree. Thus, a man may marry a woman of the next class below his own, but not of a superior rank. In such case both parties are punished with death; except the females descended of the *Nambouris* and *Brâmmāns*: for, in such case, they are left to the disposal of the prince, who sells them for slaves; and as they are generally the handsomest among the *Malabârs*, foreigners are eager to purchase them at a dear rate; of which our author saw an instance.

Superiority of families

IF a man of an inferior degree be accused of having received a favour from a lady of a rank superior to his, they *A cruel law.* conduct him, with fetters on his hands and feet, to the prince, where he is put to death. Nor is this thought a sufficient atonement for the offence; but the nearest akin to the lady have liberty for three days to kill all such relations of the criminal as they shall meet with in the district where the fact was committed. The *Nayers* have a power to exercise this cruelty on such occasions against the *Teyul*, and *Sheres* or weavers; as these have the same power over the *Mukwas* or fishermen; and these again over the *Poulchis*. The *Nambouris* and *Brâmmāns* not being allowed to kill any body, their authority extends no farther than to deliver up those poor victims to slaughter. This cruel custom would be intolerable, were it not that they commonly respite the offender for eight days, that his relations may have time to get out of the way, till the three days, allotted by the law for revenging the affront, are expired^s.

^r DELLON, p. 92.

^s Ibid, p. 97, & seqq.

(A) That this Law should respect the Women and not the Men, as in the *English* Transla-

tion of *Dellon*, appears from what follows, which otherwise would be a contradiction.

IN

*Manners,
Customs.*

Habit.

IN point of habit, there is scarce any difference between the men and women in *Malabar*. They wear their hair, which is black, and very long; and go naked as far as the middle. The princes themselves, if they sometimes make use of a small vest, leave it open before. About their middle they fasten a piece of cloth, which reaches to their knees, and never make use of shoes or stockings. In other countries ladies pride themselves in rich gold and silver stuffs: but, on the contrary, in *Malabar* such cloaths are worn by the meaner sort; while the wives of the *Nayers*, and others of chief rank, wear nothing but fine white callico; placing their fondness rather on girdles of gold, and bracelets of silver or horn. They never adorn themselves with any jewels, unless it be a ring. Both men and women have ears hanging down to their shoulders, occasioned by the weight of the pendants, sometimes exceeding two ounces, which stretch the holes to such a degree that one may thrust his fist through them. Some wear gold chains: but these are only such who have merited that favour from the king by some remarkable action.

*Houses and
furniture.*

THEIR houses are commonly built with earth, and covered with kokoa-leaves; it being rare to meet with one of brick or stone. Nor is their furniture more sumptuous, consisting only of some baskets, with a few earthen pots and dishes. Their cups are of the same materials: nor do their kings make use of better. As they have no chimnies in their houses, on account of the heat of the climate, their victuals are dressed without doors, and without sauces, consequently unfavoury. When they eat, they always turn their backs to the light. At night they make use of lamps supplied with kokoa-nut oil. Their beds are nothing but deal boards, which the rich cover with tapestry, and the poor with mats.

*Marriages
of prince.*

PRINCESSES are here married to either the *Nambouri*, or *Brâmans*; and their issue are princes, and capable of inheriting the crown in their turn: but, as there is not a sufficient number of princesses to furnish all those ecclesiastics with wives, they are allowed to marry women of the same rank, or family, with themselves; and their children are either *Nambouri*, or *Brâmans*, according to the quality of their mothers: for all pedigree and inheritance among the *Malabari* runs in the female line. For this reason the princes never marry any princesses, but the daughters of *Nayers*, to whose race the children belong, and not to that of the princes.

DELLON, p. 106, & seqq.

The

The *Nayes* are obliged to marry one of the same quality, *Customs,* or a woman of the next degree or family to themselves; *Mar-* namely, the *Minats*, or the *Sheti*. The other tribes and fa- *riages.* milies have the same liberty in wedlock; but the females must not debase themselves by marrying below their rank, on pain of death.

THE *Malabâr* princes, the *Nambouri* and *Brâmmans*, as *female po-* also the chief *Nayers*, commonly have only one wife; whom *lygamy:* they endeavour, by the most obliging means, to dissuade from taking another husband: for they cannot compel them to refrain, as they are allowed by the law of the country to marry as many husbands as they please¹. Thus says *Dellon*. But, according to Captain *Hamilton*, every woman is stinted to twelve husbands at one time; while the men are not confined to a set number of wives. When a woman is married to her first husband, she has a house built for her; and he cohabits with her till she takes a second, or her legal number. In which case the husbands agree to live with her in their turns, for ten or more days together; each maintaining her for the time².

WHAT is most surprising (and shews the force of custom), *how re-* this female polygamy is not attended with the least disorder *gulated.* or jealousy; for if one husband sees the arms of another at the lady's doors, he is satisfied that the place is taken up; and rests contented till he finds the coast clear. It is some consolation, however, to the men, under this female usurpation, that their marriage-engagements are only during pleasure: and that, whenever the parties are weary of each other, they part as freely as they meet. Nor are these marriages any great expence to them: for the usual present, which the new husband makes his wife, is a piece of linen to cover her³. During the time of such cohabitation, she serves the husband as purveyor and cook; and also keeps his cloaths and arms clean. When she proves with child, she declares who is the father; and after she has brought it to walk, or speak, he takes care of its education⁴.

IT is from this custom of the women marrying so many *inherit-* husbands, and quitting them again at pleasure, that the children derive their pedigree from their mothers; it being impossible to know their true fathers: neither are the sons here considered as the next heirs, but the nephews; who besides must be the sister's sons⁵: and if she has none, then the

¹ DELLON, p. 104, & seq.

² HAMILT. p. 311.

³ DELLON, p. 105.

⁴ HAMILT. p. 311.

⁵ DELLON, p. 105.

*Customs,
Laws.*

nearest in blood from the grandmother; which custom is followed even by the *Mohammedan Malabars*, although they keep a watchful eye over their wives^b, and practise a different kind of polygamy.

*Marry
very
young.*

THEY marry their daughters for the most part at twelve years of age; and many have children before that time, who are generally very small; possibly because their mothers marry so young. For all this, their labour is so easy, that midwives are unknown in these parts (and indeed throughout the *Islands*); any woman, who is somewhat advanced in years, taking upon her to perform that office. The *Malabar*, as well as *African* women, as soon as they are delivered, wash themselves; and take no farther care of their infants than to give them suck.

Burials.

In *Malabar* all dead bodies are interred; excepting those of their princes, the *Nambouri*, *Bráhmans*, and *Nayers*; which are burned: but the privilege of marrying so many husbands as they please, exempts the women from the cruel obligation of burning themselves^c.

*Theft ri-
gorously
punished.*

JUSTICE is administered in *Malabar* with much impartiality. Murder is seldom punished with death, nor does the law appoint any punishment for it; leaving it to the discretion of the kindred to take what satisfaction they think fit: but they are the severest people in the world in case of theft; for whoever steals but a bunch of pepper, or the value of it, pays for it with his life.

*Their pri-
sons.*

THEY have no close or barricaded prisons in *Malabar*; nor are their criminals strongly guarded. They only load them with fetters; which are never taken off till they are either discharged or executed.

*Trial by
ordeal.*

ALL causes, both civil and military, are pleaded before the prince; where both parties produce their evidence: but if witnesses be wanting, or they do not sufficiently clear the point, the accused may purge himself in the following manner. They cause a piece of iron, not unlike a hatchet, to be made red-hot before him; then laying upon his hand a leaf of the bananas-tree, at top of that they lay the hot iron; which he is not to throw on the ground, till after the redness is gone. This done, the superintendent of the prince's laundry wraps a napkin, dipped in rice-water, round his hand; and having tied a cord or ribband about it, the prince puts his seal upon it. Three days after the napkin is taken off; and, if any mark of the hot iron appears on his hand, he is deemed

^b HAMILT. p. 312.

^c DELLON, p. 106, 112.

perjured.

perjured, and punished accordingly^d. In other places, the accused is obliged to put his bare head into a pot of boiling oil; and if any blister appears, the party is found guilty. Our author had been credibly informed, both by *English* and *Dutch* gentlemen, as well as natives, who had seen such trials, that the innocent person had not been in the least affected with the scalding oil (B); in which case, the punishment due to the crime is inflicted on the accuser^e.

THE prince in person always pronounces sentence; from whence there lies no appeal: and if the criminal be condemned to death, he is forthwith led out of the palace, and executed without delay. As the *Indians* of these parts look upon it the most glorious action they can do to obey their prince without reserve, they have no occasion for common executioners; the *Nayers* belonging to the guards being the most forward to do that office. Nay, if the crime be very heinous, it is common for the next kindred of the criminal to strive who shall give him the fatal blow; to wipe-off, as they say, the stain which he has brought on the family. Their usual way of putting to death is by running a lance through the criminal's body: after which they cut it into quarters, and hang them upon trees^f.

THEY have a good way of arresting people for debt. An officer is sent with a small stick from a judge, who is commonly a *Brámmán*; and when he finds the debtor, he draws a circle round him with that stick; charging him, in the name of the king and judge, not to stir out of it till the creditor is satisfied, either by payment or surety: and it is no less than death for the debtor to break prison by going out of the circle.

THE *Malabárs* make no use of pens, ink, and paper; but write on leaves of flags or reeds; which grow in morasses. They are generally about eighteen inches long, and one and a half broad, tapering at the extremities; having a small hole at one end for a string to pass through. This leaf is thicker than our royal paper, and very tough. They write with the

^d DELLON, p. 100. ^e HAMILTON, p. 315. ^f DELLON, p. 101.

(B) That is, they supposed such to be innocent. But nothing can excuse the superstition, as well as stupidity, of this barbarous custom; which not long since prevailed among ourselves, and still subsists in the countries of our enlightened neighbours, where confessions are forced by torture, and witches are tried by throwing them into water bound hand and feet. They must reform these, and many others as irrational customs, before they have a right to reproach the *Indians*.

*Customs,
Arms.*

point of a bodkin, or style; holding the leaf athwart their left thumb-end, over the foremost finger. The impression does not pierce above half way through; and on two or three of such leaves they will write as much as we can on a sheet of small paper. All their records are written in the same manner. After the leaves have been strung, and rolled up in a scroll, they are hung for some time in smoke, and then locked up in their cabinets. Our author saw some such smoke-dried leaves; which they told him were above 1000 years old. The *Malabâr* language is spoken not only in the country to the west of *Cape Komori*, and in the *Maldivé* islands, but also in those to the eastward of it; viz. *Madûra*, *Tanjaor*, and *Karnâta*, as far as the mountains near *Ponganowr*, in that kingdom; in which parts it is called the *Tamul*, or *Damul*, language.

*Their
arms,*

THE arms of the *Malabârs* are the lance, simeter, the bow, and musket; at all which they are exceeding dextrous. Their muskets are very light, though six feet long. In giving fire, they lay the but-end of their piece to the chest, not the shoulder; and are excellent marksmen. Their bows are six feet long, and their arrows three, which they carry in their hands, and not in a quiver, as at *Surât*; and are masters of it to such a degree, that *Dellon* has frequently seen them shoot one arrow into the air, and hit it with a second. Besides these arms, they have fastened to their sides, with an iron hook, a large bayonet, about six inches broad, and a foot and a half long; which they use in close engagements. They who wear simeters, make use of bucklers. All carry their arms naked, and very bright, without scabbards, or other covers. They train their children to the bow, from the time they are able to walk; and in each kingdom there are academies maintained at the prince's charge, where the youth are instructed at their weapons; who often perform their exercises before the king, or others of eminent rank. Some, who have an opinion of their own skill, at certain times invite persons of quality to be judges of their ability, in feats of arms; when the prize is given to such as acquit themselves best. On these occasions, being animated by a double motive, of honour and interest, they attack one another with so much vigour, that it commonly costs the lives of several young fellows.

and exercise.

*Single
combat.*

If there happens to be a family-quarrel among the *Najers*, they choose one or more of their meanest vassals to decide it; who, armed with certain knives, or bayonets, invented for

* HAMILTON, ubi sup. p. 318, & seq.

the

he purpose, fight naked before the king and his whole court, *Customs, Commerce.*
 till one of them is slain ; which terminates the dispute.

THEY march without order, and fight without discipline. *Their wars.*
 When they do go to war, it is barely out of a point of honour ; or, at most, for a little pillage : it being a custom, generally agreed on among the *Malabâr* princes, to restore, as soon as peace is concluded, all that was taken on any side during hostilities ^h,

VERY few of the *Malabâr Hindûs*, especially the *Nayers*, *Commerce.*
 apply themselves to commerce ; which is the reason that most of the commodities, either imported or exported, pass thro' the hands of strangers ; that is, the *Mohammedans*. These have for many ages settled in the country for sake of trade ; chiefly on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the rivers, for the convenience of foreign merchants ; who are for the most part *Europeans*.

THESE *Mohammedans*, living among the *Malabârs*, are *Moham-*
 obliged to accommodate themselves in all respects to their *medans*
 laws and customs, which are not directly opposite to their *scutled*
 religion. They are distinguished from the *Hindûs* only by their *there :*
 beards, turbâns, and vests : but, according to *Dellon*, are a
 vile and treacherous sort of people. Besides, many of them
 live by piracy ; and these are more ignorant and barbarous
 than the rest : for they attack all they meet, without any re-
 spect to religion or nation, sparing friends no more than foes.
 Nor have they the least regard to passes, although given by
 such lords or princes as they stand in awe of. Indeed piracy
 is looked upon as a free exercise in those parts ; and the kings
 take no cognizance of what is transacted on the open sea ;
 which they consider as out of their jurisdiction. The rather,
 as they have an interest in such robberies ; those corsairs pay-
 ing the tenth, of what booty they take, to the prince under
 whom they live.

THEIR vessels, called *paros*, are shaped like galleys, and *great pri-*
 generally carry five or six hundred men ; running with them *rates :*
 all along the *Indian* coast, even as far as the *Red Sea* (or *Ara-*
bic gulf). They very rarely attack *European* ships ; especially
 if of any defence : and when they do take any, it is commonly
 by surprize, not force. They strip all of their goods, but
 seldom make slaves of *Mohammedans* or *Pagans*, unless they be
 persons from whom they expect an extraordinary ransom. But
 they detain all *Christians* ; who are sure to die in captivity,
 unless they are ransomed, or turn *Mussulmans*. In this last
 case, they are much respected, and commonly made captains

^h *DELLON*, ubi. *supr.* p. 112, & *seqq.*

*Customs,
Temples.*

*cruel to
Christians.*

of their *paras*. At their first going abroad with one of these vessels, they resolve to sprinkle it with the blood of the first Christian they happen to take : but of all *Europeans*, the *Portugueses* are most liable to feel the marks of their cruelty. For this reason, they are declared enemies to these rovers ; and when they take any, carry them generally to *Goa*, where they are chained to the oar, or sent in irons to the powder-house, from whence there is seldom any redemption : for these pirates seldom offer to redeem any but captains of their *para* ; and the *Portugueses*, to requite their cruelties, rather choose to let them die in bondage than release them ¹. What our author relates of the cruelty of the *Mohammedans* to the *Spaniards* may possibly be strictly true : but he ought at the same time to have acquainted his readers, that the horrible cruelties exercised by the *Spaniards* upon the *Mohammedans*, especially on their first settling in the *Indies*, is the cause of it.

Pagodis,

THE pagods, or temples of the Pagans, are without the cities ; though some of the richer sort have them in their houses. They are commonly large, and very magnificent ; being generally covered with copper, and sometimes with silver. Each has a basin near it, for the people to wash in, before they approach their images ; and entertains a number of *Brámmans*, according to the largeness of its revenues. Every day, a certain quantity of rice is allowed, as well for the use of the poor who live near it, as of strangers of all religions, who pass that way ; and are entertained in certain barracks, without the pagod (for they must not enter it) ; where they may sleep, if night surprises them in their journey. Besides the ordinary revenues, must be reckoned the daily offerings of the people ; which consist usually of eatables, seldom of money. These are delivered to the *Brámmans*, to set before their images ; who devour them, in the belief of the people : but, in truth, the priests make use of them for the maintenance of their families.

*and church
lands :*

SOME of the richest temples have large territories belonging to them, from whence arise their revenues. These church-lands are held so sacred, that if any person happens to shed blood upon them, though under the greatest necessity, and in his own defence, he is punished with death, without regard to his merit or quality. Nay, they are so rigorous in this respect, that, if the offender escapes by flight, the next a-kin to him must suffer in his stead ; of which our author saw an instance ².

¹ DEBLLON, p. 115.

² Ibid. p. 52, 108, & seq.

THE *Hindús* not only worship many images, which have no resemblance to any thing in the world, but they adore several kinds of living creatures, and above all the sun and moon. All days are alike to them (as to worship); and the sacrifices, which they make to their gods, consist always, like their offerings, of things that are inanimate: nor are their altars ever stained with blood, the shedding of which they hold in the greatest abhorrence of all things. As at the appearance of the new moon they make great rejoicings; so, when she is eclipsed, they come forth of their houses, making most horrible outcries, to frighten away the dragon; who, as they say, is then endeavouring to devour her. They approach their kings with the same veneration as they do their gods; and reverence old-age in so high a degree, that the most eminent of the *Nayers* will not sit down before those who are considerably older than themselves, although their enemies.

Religion.
Festivals.
Objects of
worship.

THEY reckon their time by the moon; yet their festivals are not fixed, but depend on the will of the *Brámmans*. These priests are very exact in their fasts; and upon any solemn day, after notice given, bring forth the image out of the temple, and carry it in procession on an elephant richly harnessed, while the people prostrate themselves before it as it passes along; and the *Nayers*, with fans at the end of long canes, drive away the flies, which would otherwise, as the *Brámmans* say, be troublesome to their gods, or rather themselves. Then one of the *Brámmans*, holding a two-edged simeter, with some little bells at the handle, runs round the elephant; and after a thousand ridiculous postures, which are looked upon by the people as mysterious, wounds himself in the head, offering his blood as a sacrifice to the image. Mean time, the croud make a confused noise with divers instruments, mixed with their joyful acclamations. In short, after they have taken their appointed rounds for that day's solemnity, they carry the image back to the temple¹.

¹ DILLON, p. 52, III.

Provinces
and Cities.

CHAP. VII.

Description of the remaining Countries of the Peninsula.

SECT. I.

Kingdom of Madûra, or Madûrey.

Kingdom
of Madû-
ra.

AT Cape Komori, commonly called *Komortn*, begins the kingdom of *Madûra*, or rather *Madûrey*. It is bounded on the east by the dominions of the king of *Tanjaor*; on the south by the *Indian* sea; west, by the country of *Malabar* (from whence it is severed by the mountains of *Gâtti*, or *Gâte*); and north, by the territories of *Maysfür* (or *Messür*), and those belonging to the governor of *Jinji*. This kingdom is as large as *Portugal*, extending about three degrees and a half from south to north; and is in breadth about eighty miles, where most dilated. It is reckoned to contain seventy *Palleakarens*, who are absolute lords in their respective states; but pay a tax which the king of *Madûra* lays upon them. This prince may easily bring into the field 20,000 foot and 5000 horse. He has besides 500 elephants; which are of great service to him in war.

Capital
city.

THE capital of the kingdom, which lies about two degrees more north than the cape, and bears the same name of *Madûrey*, is inclosed with a double wall; each fortified, after the antient manner, with square towers, having parapets, and well furnished with cannon. The fortress is square, surrounded with a broad and deep foss; whose scarp and counterescarp are both very strong. Instead of the glacis, one sees four handsome streets, which answer to the four sides of the fortress; whose houses are accommodated with large gardens. The inside of the fortress, which one may walk round in less than two hours, is divided into four parts; of which that to the east and south contain the king's palace; which is a labyrinth of streets, ponds, groves, halls, galleries, and colonades, intermixed with houses here and there. When the king of *Madûra* resided there, it was filled wholly with women and eunuchs. The plan of this palace is said to have been made by an *European*; and indeed there are several ornaments of *European* architecture mixed with the *Indian*.

* BOUCHET, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 60, & seqq.

IN the second part of the fortress stands the temple of *Sho-kanaden*, who is the idol adored at *Madûra*, surrounded with a triple wall; the whole magnificently built: and near one of the porticos a stately car, for parading the image on its festival day. Not far distant are three other triumphal cars: one of which is so very large, that it may require 4000 men to draw it, as they say it does; for at these times no fewer than 400 men, of different functions, are placed upon it; and there are five stages, or stories, sustained by great posts, each stage having several galleries. When this machine is covered with painted calicoes, silks of different colours, streamers, banners, festoons, and such like ornaments, it makes a very agreeable spectacle; especially if seen in a dark night, by the light of a thousand torches. The car is drawn under the sound of drums, trumpets, hautboys, and other instruments; and moves so slowly, that they are three days going round the fortress.

Provinces
and Cities.
Procession
of image-
cars.

THE *Romish* missionaries have a church here. The river which passes by *Madûra*, and called *Vayghey*, is a very good one: but they have drained it considerably by canals and ponds. The city likewise has lost much of its antient splendor, since it was ruined in part by the king of *Messur*, and the latter kings transferred their court to *Trishirapalli*; which is thus become the capital of the kingdom ^b.

Court re-
moved to

TRISHIRAPALLI is a very populous city, and of great extent: it contains above 300,000 inhabitants; and is the largest fortress between *Cape Komori* and *Golkonda*. They reckon it forty leagues distant from *Madûrey* (A), on account of the way one is obliged to go about to avoid the woods; which are infested with robbers: but, to make amends, your road lies through an agreeable walk, set with trees on both sides. It has been often besieged by numerous armies, without success; so that the *Hindûs* say it is impregnable. It has a double inclosure of walls; each fortified with sixty square towers, eighty or a hundred paces asunder: the second wall, which is higher than the first, is mounted with 130 pieces of cannon, and divided into two fortresses, called the fortress of the north and of the south. In this latter is a high mountain, which serves to discover the approach of an enemy. Towards the middle of the hill stands the arsenal, and at the foot of it the king's palace. The inside of the interior fortress is agree-

and for-
tress.

^b BOUCHET, ubi sup. p. 65, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p. 74.

(A) It lies about one degree more north than *Madûrey*, and sustained several sieges in the late wars, begun in 1740. Its indigenous name is *Tiru-chirapalli*, or *Tiru-china-palli*.

able

Provinces and Cities. able enough. It is a great square amphitheatre, with stairs on every side to go up to the ramparts. Besides the above-mentioned towers on the walls, there are eighteen others much larger, for laying up provisions and military stores, for which there is not room in the arsenal. The garrison consists of 6000 men, and sometimes more.

River Kâwéri.

THE ditch, which surrounds the fortress, is wide and deep; is full of water, and has some crocodiles in it. The city has four large gates, which face the four cardinal points. Every night the guards go the rounds three times, and sometimes four. The river *Kâwéri*, which is a branch of the *Kolorân*, washes the fortress from west to east; and above *Trisbirapâlli* they have cut from it a large and deep canal, which conveys the water round the city, where one sees many public squares and bazârs: among which there are two considerable ones adjoining to the two principal gates. Beyond the *Kaveri* runs another branch of the *Kolorân*; and between these two great rivers stands the pagod of *Shirangam*, the fairest which our author had ever seen.

The king's palace.

THE palace of *Trisbirapâlli* is not inferior for beauty to that of *Madûrey*. Our author, who had been within it on three several occasions, says it consists in a collection of halls, galleries, and inner apartments. The *divân*, or court of justice, is supported by fine pillars, very high, contrary to the custom of the *Indians*. The gardens are not comparable to those of *Europe*. There are in them four or five jets of water; and, at the entrance of one, a large hall, open on all sides, and surrounded with pretty deep ditches, which are filled with water when the queen goes there to take the air; on those occasions also the pillars of the hall are covered with gold-brocade, and the ceiling with festoons of flowers, and pieces of silk-damask. The *Romish* missionaries have some churches in the city, and another three leagues off; where they reside for more security.

Fishery Coast.

To the kingdom of *Madûrey* belongs most of the *Fishery Coast* for pearls; which begins at *Cape Komori*, and ends at the promontory of *Koil*, in the principality of *Marava*. On this coast there are several places in the kingdom of *Madûrey*; the chief of which are two, *Manapar* and *Tutukurla*. The first lies about the middle of the coast, where the *Dutch* have a factory; which stands on a high ground, about a mile from the sea. It was formerly a beautiful *Romish* church; but si-

Manapar.

* Others make the *Kolorân*, holy river, and disputes precedence with the *Gangé*.
or *Kolbôrâm*, a branch of the
Kâwéri, or *Kaveri*, which is a

terwards

erwards the *Hollanders* converted it to another use. *Tutuku-Provinces* (or *Tutekarin*), is the principal if not only city on the *and Cities*. *Fishery Coast*, the rest being no better than large towns and villages (B). At a distance one would take it for a place filled with magnificent houses: but, although it be well peopled, it is in nothing superior to the other cities of *India*. The *Dutch*, to whom it belongs, have built there a small fortress^d. It stands at the mouth of the river *Peria Arra*; where there is a good safe harbour, made by some islands which lie off it (C). The country produces much cotton-cloth, but none fine. This colony superintends a pearl-fishery, that lies a little to the northward, and brings the *Dutch* company 20,000 pounds yearly tribute, according to report^e. They are bred in oysters (D), of a very large size; some in the flesh, which is rank, yet eaten; others in the liquor, and some fixed to the shell. They yield from five to eight; but all have not pearls in them. They are sized by sifting. Seed-pearl is found in the sand. Sea-horns, or *siankos* (*chankos*), are found on this coast; of which they make bracelets all over the *Indies*. The divers, made use of in the pearl-fishery, are the *Parias*, or *Parvas*; who by use stay a long time under water to gather the oysters. *Pearl fishery*.

THE coast of *Madura* is destitute of grass, herb, or plant; *The soil* excepting thistles and houseleek: nor will cocoa-trees grow *bad* there; yet it abounds with hares and partridges. Here are mice as large as cats, who dare not attack them. This country was part of *Bisnagar*, or *Narsinga*; from which the *Natik*, who was governor, revolted. The inhabitants are by some called *Badegas* (E); good soldiers, but inferior to the *Malabars*^f.

^d BOUCHET, p. 69, & seqq.

^e HAMILTON, p. 336.

^f NIEBUOFF's Voy. ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. ii. p. 260.

(B) *Tutukurin* itself is considered by some travellers only as a village, the chief of seven others, which are sea-ports on that coast, and belonging to the *Dutch*. See *Nieuboff & Baldeus*. Yet the Jesuit *Martin*, who was in these parts in 1700, says it has 50,000 inhabitants. See *Lettr. Edif. tom. v. p. 81*.

(C) *Nieuboff* says, it never

rains here, but 'tis pestered sometimes with sand from the mountain *Gâtî*.

(D) These oysters live six years.

(E) The *Badegas* are the proper inhabitants of *Karnâta*, formerly *Bisnagar*; of which *Madura*, *Tanjaor*, and the other countries to the south of it, were a part.

S E C T.

Provinces
and Cities.



S E C T. II.

Principality of Marava.

Marava.

TO the east of *Madûrey* lies the kingdom, or principality, of *Marava*, or the *Maravas*. It has to the south and east the sea, and to the north *Tanjaor*. The capital city, where the prince resides, is at *Ramanadaburam*, six or seven miles from the eastern coast, and twenty from the promontory of *Koyel*, or *Koil*, the most south-eastern part of *Marava*; which makes an oblong square, about eighty miles in length from south to north, and forty in breadth from east to west.

Adam's
Bridge.

THE point of *Koyel* bounds the coast of the fishery eastward, and begins that of *Choromandel*. Due east about three quarters of a mile, is an isle named by some *Ramananker*, by others *Râmana Koyel*; which signifies the temple of *Râmma*, or *Râma*. This isle is joined to the point by a bridge, not composed of arches, but of rocks, or great stones, which rise two or three feet above the surface of the sea, which is very shallow in that place, and leave gaps for the current to pass through. They are of an enormous size. Our author measured some stones, which were eighteen feet diameter, and others more. They leave spaces between them from three to ten feet wide: and the gaps, or intervals, through which barks pass, are still wider. It is not easy to imagine, that this is a work of art; for one cannot conceive from whence such enormous masses could be taken, and still less how they could be brought hither. But, supposing it to be a work of nature, it is one of the most surprising our author ever beheld. The *Hindûs* say, it was built by their gods, when they went to attack the capital of the island of *Scylan*: but this is certain, that the prince of *Marava* (F), when pursued by the kings of *Madûrey*, used to retire into the isle, by means of great beams laid upon those rocks, which are so many platforms; over which he passed his army, with all his train of cannon and elephants &c.

• Râmana
Koyel.

THE isle of *Râmana Koyel* abounds with cattle; yet is not very fertile. The temple, or pagod, whence the island takes its name, stands near the sea-side, and is said to contain an immense treasure. The foundation is supported by

• BOUCHER, ubi supr. p. 34, & seqq.

(F) He has lately shook off to *Martin* the missionary. See the yoke of *Madûra*, according *Lettr. Édif.* tom. v. p. 99.

Stones

stones of a vast bigness, to break the force of the raging waves *Provinces* when the south winds blow. The *Teuver*, or lord of the *and Cities*.
 isle, has built a strong castle facing the continent, furnished
 with cannon, which command a narrow passage, leading to
Manaar, *Jafnapatnam*, and *Negapatnam*: besides, he might
 at pleasure hinder the navigation, by only sinking a few stones
 in the chanel.

FROM this isle is continued a reef of rocks and sands, com- *Reef of*
 monly called *Adam's Bridge*; which extends as far as the *rocks*.
 island of *Manaar*, on the coast of *Zelan* (or *Seylon*). This
 reef has so little water on it, that the smallest boats cannot
 pass but at *Manaar*; and there the chanel has not above
 six feet water on it, so that none but small vessels can pass;
 besides they must unlade, and pay customs to the *Dutch*;
 then, the vessel being hawled over the bridge, they take in
 their cargo again ^b.

S E C T. III.

Kingdom of Tanjaor.

THE kingdom of *Tanjaor* (G) lies to the north of *Marava*, *Tanjaor*
 and to the east of *Madurey*, being washed on the east by *kingdom*.
 the sea. The lands of this little state are the wonder of all the
 southern *India*, and watered by the river *Kaveri*; which, be-
 ing a branch of the great *Koloran*, divides in several arms.
 The prince's revenues amount to several millions. *Tanjaor*, *The capi-*
 tal, which is the capital city, was originally no more than a pa-
 god, or temple, as were most of the fortresses in these petty
 sovereignties. This fortress has a double wall, like that of
Trisbirapalli; but is not so well built. Its ditches also are
 shallower, and not so easily filled with water. The inner
 fortress is divided into north and south; in the first of which
 is the king's palace, with some pretty towers, but no ap-
 pearance of magnificence. In the southern part is the temple
 of *Peria Oureyar*; to the north of which is a great pond, or
tank, bordered with free-stone. The *Indians* excel in mak-
 ing these ponds, which would be admired in *Europe* itself.
 The country about *Tanjaor* is watered only by a small rivulet;
 but farther north you meet with the river *Vinnarow*, and be-
 yond that the *Kaveri* before mentioned.

^b BALDREUS, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 584.
 HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 337.

(G) By the *Dutch* called *Tan- times Teaver*, according to *Nica-*
göwer, *Tanjouwer*, and some- *boff*.

Provinces
and cities.
Negapa-
tam.

THE coast of *Tanjaor*, parting from that of *Marava*, takes a sweep from south to east, for one half of its extent to *Cape Kalkiamera*, or *Kallamedon*; from whence it runs north: and six leagues beyond it lies *Negapatam*, which the *Indian* call *Negapatenam*; that is, *the city of serpents*¹. It is a *Dutch* colony and fortress, taken from the *Portugueses* by the assistance of the king of *Tanjaor*. It stands on the river *Waddawarri*, which terminates *Golkonda*, and formerly bounded the dominions of *Malabár*; although their language was, and still is, used farther northward (H): however, the waters of this river, which is a branch of the *Káwéri*, and washes the walls of the fort, being found very unwholesome, the town is supplied from another four leagues distant. This colony produces very little besides tobacco and long cloth^k.

Tranke-
bar :

THE next place of note on this coast to the north is *Tarangambouri*, called by *Europeans* *Tranquebar* and *Trinquet*. The name signifies *the city of the waves of the sea*. It is at the mouth of the *Káwéri*. This is a colony belonging to the *Danes* since 1620. The streets are strait, and the houses handsome. The square fortress, called *Daneshburgh*, appears very agreeable when viewed from the sea. A great number of *Portugueses* are settled here; and to them the *Danes* owe the preservation of the fort, when it was besieged some years ago (I) by the king of *Tanjaor*, who was constrained to retire¹. This fort is strong, the sea washing one half of its walls; but the colony is miserably poor. In 1684, they were so distressed, that they pawned three

a Danish
colony.

bastions of their fort to the *Dutch* for money to buy provisions: but next year they redeemed all again by an unknown fund (K). They still keep their fort, but drive an inconsiderable trade. What they live by is the hire, which they freight their ships for to certain parts of the *Indies*. The product of the country is cloth, white and dyed. The *Danish* missionaries reside here^m. Half a day's journey farther north is *Kaveri pattavam*, called by *Europeans* *Kaveri pattam*, which was formerly a great city, and very famous among the *Indians*; but at present lies almost wholly in ruins. The air is good, and the *French* have a factory there.ⁿ

Kaveri
pattavam.

¹ BOUCHET, ubi sup. p. 32, 74, & seq.
ubi sup. p. 348, 351.

^m HAMILTON, ubi sup. p. 351.
p. 32.

^k HAMILT.
¹ BOUCHET, ubi sup. p. 30.
ⁿ BOUCHET, ubi sup.

(H) Hence it is that in letters of the natives, sent from *Tranquebar* in this country, by the *Danish* missionaries, they call themselves *Malabárs*, and the country *Malabár*.

(I) This was written in 1719.

(K) It was suspected that the *English* ship *Formosa* was taken and sunk by two of their ships, which at that time cruised between *Surát* and *Cape Komeri*.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

Kingdom of Karnâta.

Bounds
and Ex-
tent.

Kingdom
of Kar-
nâta :

TO the north of *Tanjaor* lies the kingdom of *Karnâta* (L), *Karnâtika*, or *Karnâtek*, as the *Mogols* call it ; which was formerly a monarchy of great extent, as well as splendor, under the names of *Bisnâgar* and *Narasinga* °. At present it is reduced to much narrower bounds, though still of considerable dimensions ; and is become a province of the *Great Mogol's* empire. It is bounded on the east by the bay of *Bengâl* ; on the north by the river *Krishna*, which divides it from *Golkonda* ; on the west by *Visapûr*, or *Visapûr* ; and on the south by the kingdoms of *Messûr* and *Tanjâor* : being in length, from south to north, about 345 miles ; and 276 miles in breadth, from east to west (M).

THIS large country is for the most part champain, fertile, inhabited and populous. Towards the middle there are some mountains running northward, which seem to be branches of the *ed Bada-Gâtti*, or *Gâte*. The inhabitants are called *Badagas*. To the east and south of those mountains, the *Tamul*, or *Damul*, language (the same with the *Malabâric*) is spoken ; and to the west and north-west of those hills, nothing is in use but the *Talank* (*Talenga*), or *Kanarî* ; which prevails in *Visapûr*, and from *Malabâr* to *Surât*, and the provinces between that city and *Golkonda*.

AN account has been already given of the revolutions in this kingdom, so low as the year 1650, when the monarchy was subverted, and the kingdom over-ran by the kings of *Golkonda* and *Visapûr* ; who divided it between them. The descendants of the *Râjah*, who then reigned, retired to the mountains above-mentioned ; and seem to have preserved some kind of sovereignty in the most southern parts : for at one time we find *Velour* the capital of *Karnate* ; and at another time *Kanjivaram*, about forty miles east by south of the for-

• See before, p. 486. P P. MAUDIT, Lett. Edif. tom. vi. p. 41. See before, p. 486, & seqq.

(L) We are told, that it takes its name from a famous fortress called *Karnâta*, situated on a mountain three leagues from *Attipakam*, a town, or village, about 27 leagues almost due west of *Pondicherry* (on the coast of *Choromandel*), near the borders of

Messûr. See Lettr. Edif. tom. xxiv. p. 187, & seqq.

(M) *Baldæus* says, *Karnatika* is 60 *Badagian* leagues, each equal to three *Dutch* miles, from north to south ; and 40 broad from *Paliakatta* to the *Malabar* coast. *Cherch's Coll. Voy.* vol. iii. p. 588.

mer,

Provinces
and Cities.

mer, the *Râjah*, or king, removing his court, as pressed by those who were in possession of almost all the country. About the years 1685 and 1687, the *Mogols* seized on all which was in the hands of the two kings before-mentioned; and since then have not only reduced the whole in a manner under their power, but are advancing still southwards: with design to subdue the lands as far as *Cape Komori*, containing *Misr*, *Madârey*, *Tanjaor*, and *Marava*; which formerly belonged to *Bisnâgar* and *Karnâta*.

and cer-
tain prin-
ces.

HOWEVER, a great number of the princes of *Karnâta*, called *Paliagarens*, still retain their possessions; either by not being conquered, or by becoming tributary to the *Mogols*, like the *Râjahs* of *Hindûstân*. So that the whole may be divided into *paliagaren*, or little principalities; whose *Naihs*, or princes, are all sovereigns in their respective dominions; tho' many of them are dependant on the *Great Mogol*, as lord in effect of the whole.

WHAT little we know of this country in its present state is owing to the *French* Jesuits; who, in their late missions, have penetrated into the middle of it, and transmitted a map, which gives a quite different idea of that region, from what we find before from others.

Chief
cities.
Jinji:

KARNATA is full of large and populous cities. The first we meet with towards the south is *Jinji*, not many years since the capital of a kingdom of the same name. It stands about twelve leagues north-west of *Ponticheri*, on the coast of *Choromandel*.

Shettam
pettow,
the capi-
tal:

ABOUT five leagues north-west of *Jinji* is *Shettam pettow*, at present the metropolis of all *Karnâta*, and seat of the *Nâbâb*, or viceroy of the *Great Mogol*, in the latitude of about 12 degrees 30 minutes. The capital of this country was *Kanjivoram*, or *Kanjibouram*, a noble city, four leagues distant from the river *Palamalerow*, eighteen leagues northward of *Shettam pettow*, and one day's journey from *Misr*. It contained within its walls more than 300,000 inhabitants, if one may believe the *Indians*; and there were to be seen, as elsewhere, towers of a very large size, temples, public halls, and very handsome tanks. But the *Mogols* having, about the beginning of this century, taken it from the *Hindûs*, they laid it almost in ruins, and made the other place the chief seat of their conquest; which afterwards they removed to *Arkat*, the present capital, about thirteen leagues distant to the north by west.

* BALDÆUS, ap. Church's Collect. Voy. vol. iii. p. 593.
* BOUCHET, ubi supr. p. 78, & seq.

PROCEEDING still northward from *Shettam pettou*, about nine leagues, you meet with *Arani*, a large city on the river *and cities.* *Karva*, or *Karvey*, subject to a *Palli-agars* (+); and four leagues farther *Arkat*, another, on the river *Palaru*, or *Palamalerow*, subject to the *Mogols*, under the government of a *Nabob*. *Arani* *Arkat.*

FIVE leagues west of *Arkat*, on the same river, you find *Velour* *Velour*, another great city, the *Indian* capital of *Karnata* (N), *city.* before it was removed to *Kanjibouram*; but now in the hands of the *Mogols*, and seat also of a *Nabob*. It is the last place which continued in the hands of the *Marasts* (or *Maharattas*), being taken from them by the *Mogols* in 1702, after a siege of several months.

ABOUT twelve leagues north-east-by north of *Velour*, and twenty-two west-north-west of *Fort St. George*, is *Tiroupati*, *ti famous.* *Troupadi*, or *Tripeti*, a city on a hill, with a famous pagod. *pagod.* *Chandegri*, the capital of *Karnata*, or *Bisnagar*, about the year 1590, was in being within three miles to the north, or north-west, of this place, as already observed.

ABOUT twenty-five leagues west by north of *Velour* stands *Koralam*, *Koralam*, or *Koralam*, a great city of the *Mogols*: between the two lie several others, as *Pallikonda*, *Goulialam*, *Jedudourgalow*, *Kadapanattam*, and *Moula-Vakili*, to the north, under the same masters; and to the southward *Peddanajam dourgam*, and *Venkatighirri*, in the hands of *Pallagars*, or *Hind* princes.

STILL more to the south, near the borders of *Messur*, *Kangoni* are *Kangondi*, *Kapiganati*, and *Ani Kallow*, *Palliagarrens* di. likewise; and farther west *Bengoulourgw*, a great city about twelve leagues southwest of *Korolam*, before-mentioned: and eleven leagues to the north-west of this last place stands *Chinnaballabaram*, another.

ABOUT twenty-five leagues west-north-west of *Chinnaballabaram* lies *Shirpi*, a considerable city, the most westward of *Karnata* on that side; and not many leagues from the borders of the territories of *Ikkeri*, adjoining to *Kanara*, on the western coast of the peninsula. *Chirpi*

TWENTY leagues north-east of *Shirpi*, and as many north-north-west of *Chinnaballabaram*, is *Penoukonda*, or *Pennagonda*, on the river *Pennerow*, formerly the capital of the *Penou-*

* P. TACHARD, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. vi. p. 245. before, p. 490.

* See

+ *Palli-agars*, or *Augurs*; whence the word *Augur* seems to be derived.

(N) It was the capital of *Kar-* *nata* about the year 1650, when it was subdued by the king of *Visapur*. See *Thevenot's Trav.* part iii. p. 92.

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P p

empire

Provinces and cities. empire of *Bijāgar* ; whither the *Great Rājāh* removed his residence, after the ruin of the capital of that name by the kings of *Viṣaṭṭar* and *Golkonda*, in the year 1565. It is not in the hands of the *Mogols*.

Gummi Paleam, Kapada.

TWELVE leagues north-east of *Chinnaballabaram* is *Gummi Paleam*, a very considerable city, the seat of a *Palhagur*; and twenty-two leagues more from *Gummi Paleam*, in the same direction, occurs *Kadapa*, a great city, with a *Mogol* governor.

Gandikotta city,

THIS city lies within a few leagues of the river *Pemari*; which passes by *Nellarū*, and falls into the gulf of *Bengāl*, 10 miles beyond *Gangapatnam*. Higher up, on the same river, about 16 leagues north-west of *Kadapa*, stands *Gandikotta*, a considerable city and famous fortress, in the latitude of fifteen degrees. It is the seat of a Nabob, and was taken by *Aṣṭur Jemla*, the king of *Golkonda*'s general, from the *Hindūs*, in the year 1652. *Tavernier*, who arrived there eight days after it was taken, informs us, that it is situated on the point of a high mountain; there being but one narrow ascent, in some places not above seven or eight feet wide, cut out of the hill, which has on the right hand a most hideous precipice, at the bottom whereof runs a vast river. On the top there is a plane about half a league long and one quarter broad, sowed with rice and millet, as well as watered with many little springs. The top of the plane, on the south side, where the city is built, is encompassed with precipices; two rivers running at the bottom, which form the point (O): so that there is but one gate to enter the city from the plane; and that too fortified with three good walls of free-stone: besides moats, paved at the bottom with the same materials. Thus the *Hindūs* had only one quarter of the city, containing 500 paces, to defend. Yet they had no more than two iron guns; one, a twelve-pounder, planted on the gate; the other, an eight-pounder, on a kind of bastion. For all this, the Nabob could not have taken the place, but for the assistance of some *European* engineers, who mounted four pieces of cannon upon an ascent;

and strong fortress.

(O) The junction of two rivers at *Gandi Kotta* is conformable to the map of the *Jesuits*; but, by the same map, that fortress must stand on the north, or north-west side of the plane, not on the south side, it being washed by the *Pennarow* on the

north, and another river on the west. Neither can we reconcile its situation in the map with its distance from *Golkonda*, as given in leagues by *Tavernier*, who travelled the road: and yet we make no doubt, but *Gandi Kotta* is the same with his *Gandikot*.

which

which obliged the Rājah, though famous for his courage and experience, to capitulate, after a siege of three months".

TWELVE leagues south-west of *Gandi Kotta*, and twenty-two almost due north of *Gummi Paleam*, you meet with *Tadimeri*, a great city, belonging to a *Palli-agar*; and eight leagues from thence, north-west by north, another, called *Anantapouram*, on a river which falls into the *Pen-arū*.

To the west of *Anantapouram* eighteen leagues, stands *Raydourgan*, the seat of a *Palli-agar*, on a river which falls into the *Krishna*, the utmost bounds of *Karnata*, northward; and twenty-two leagues west of *Raydourgan*, is *Ranibeddalourou*, another great city, and *Palli-agar*, on the river *Tunje-badra*, which runs north-eastward into the *Krishna*. *Gandi Kotta*, *Anantapouram*, *Raydourgan*, and *Ranibeddalourou*, lie nearly in a line from east to west, and in fifteen degrees of latitude; this last being the most western city of *Karnata*, of any considerable note, and not far from the borders of the countries of *Ikkeri* and *Sonda*; which last borders on the territories of *Goa*, belonging to the *Portugueses*.

LASTLY, proceeding north-eastward from *Ranibeddalourou* about twenty-two leagues, and near the same distance from the *Krishna*, lies *Bisnagar*, the antient capital of *Karnata*, when in its splendour, then known by the names of *Bisnagar* and *Narsinga*, as hath been already remarked. It is situate about forty leagues almost due east of *Goa*, eighteen north-west by north of *Raydourgan*, and three leagues west of the river *Tunje-badra*.

THESE are the principal inland cities of *Karnata*, at least known to the Jesuit missionaries; but among them lie interspersed a great many others, partly in the hands of *Palli-agars*, or *Palli-agarens*, and partly in the possession of the *Mogols*. Having thus given our readers some idea of the inland parts of *Karnata*, let us next give him a view of the sea-coast, commonly called *Choromandel*; which the commerce of *Europeans* has made better known to us.

THE first place of note, which we meet with on this coast, is *Porto Novo*, so called by the *Portugueses*, when the coasts of *India* belonged to them: but when *Aureng Zib* subdued *Golkonda*, the *Great Mogl* set a *Fouzdār* in it, and gave it the name of *Mohammed Bander* (or *Mohammed's (P) Port*). The country is fertile, healthful, and pleasant. Great quantities of cotton-cloth of several sorts are made here, much of which

▪ TAVERNIER'S Trav. part ii. p. 98

(P) It is called by the *Hindūs Pireñki Patay*.

Provinces and cities. is exported to foreign parts. The *Portugueses* are numerous here, but the bulk of the inhabitants are *Hindûs*. The *English* and *Dutch* have also some houses in this port ¹.

Fort St. David.

FORT St. David's is next; a colony and fortress belonging to the *English*, who bought it from a *Moratta* (or *Misharâttâ*) prince, in 1686, for 90,000 pagodas. The fort is pretty strong, and stands close to a river, and the territories extend the distance of eight miles every way. The country is like the former, and watered with several rivers; which are as good as walls to the colony. About 1698, the fort narrowly escaped being surprised by the freebooters, who inhabited the neighbouring mountains, and got admittance under pretence of lodging the *Mogol's* treasure there: but they were all killed, before the ambush without could force open the gate. This colony produces store of long cloths; and, without its assistance, that of *Fort St. George's*, on which it depends, would make but a small figure in trade to what it does at present. The black cattle here are small, but plentiful and cheap; while the rivers and seas abound with fish ². *Kuddelr* (or *Koudelour*, by the *Hindûs* called *Kourralour*) lies about a mile to the southward, on a river capable to receive ships of 200 tons ³.

Ponticherri.

PONTICHERRI (or *Pondisberri*) is the next place of note; a colony settled by the *French*, about five leagues to the north of *Fort St. David*. It is the chief establishment which they have in the *Indies*, and the head-quarters of their missionaries. The fortifications are fine, regular, and strong; but its trade small. The city is large, and the streets straight. The houses of *Europeans* are of brick, the *Indian* of earth. About the year 1690, the *Dutch*, from *Batavia*, besieged and took it by capitulation; the *French*, at that time, being destitute of defence: but, at the conclusion of king *William's* war, they were obliged to restore it ⁴.

Konnimîr.

AFTER *Ponticherri* follows *Konnimîr*, or *Konjimîr*, where the *English* had a factory; which they quitted on the purchase of *Fort St. David*. Near the town are seven pagods, famous for sanctity; and here the persecution began against *St. Thomas*, because he could draw a short tree to a great length (Q), ⁵

¹ HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 353. BOUCHET, ubi supr. p. 30.
² HAMILT. p. 353. & seq. ³ Ibid. p. 356, and BOUCHET.
 p. 31. ⁴ BOUCHET, ibid.

(Q) They say that a lady, in her way to church, wanting to cross a river, which was so swollen that the tree, which served for a bridge, did not reach from side to side, *St. Thomas* stretched it out to give her a passage.

wire-

vire-drawers do metals; and the Pagan priests, being ignorant of such art, declared him a conjurer. Beyond *Konjimſr* *Saderas Patam* (called also *Sadras* and *Sadrats*), a small factory of the *Dutch* for buying up cloth. It stands on the south side of the river *Palamalerow*; and some leagues farther on lies *Kabelon* (or *Kovolam*), where the *Offenders* have settled a factory ^b.

Provinces
and cities.
Saderas
Patam.

THE next place northward, on the coast, is *St. Thomas*, *St. Thomas*, called also *Meliapour*, or, to speak like the *Indians*, *Maylabouram*, that is, *the city of peacocks*; because the princes, who formerly reigned in this country, had a peacock for their arms. The *Portugueses*, to secure themselves against the *Dutch*, surrendered it up to the king of *Golkonda*; but soon after (in 1672) the *French*, under *M. De la Hay*, took it: but, after two years, were obliged to surrender it for want of succours from *Europe*. That king, fearing the *French* might return and retake it, dismantled both the city and fortrefs. The *Portugueses*, however, still retain a part of it; which they have walled, and fortified with little bastions ^c.

Two leagues off there are two hills: one is a little dry rock, called *The Little Mount*, with a cave in it, where *St. Thomas* retired to hide himself from the priests his persecutors. There being no water in the place, he cleft the rock with his hand, and commanded water to flow out: but when he saw the enemy, who had discovered his retreat, approaching the mount, he came down; and at the foot of it, as a testimony that he had been there, stamped with his bare foot on a very hard stone, and left the print of it. This impression is above sixteen inches long, and in proportion narrower at the heel and broader at the toes than the present size of feet among us. From hence he fled for his life to another larger mount, about two miles distant; but, being overtaken on the top of it, was run through with a lance, and there buried (R). The

^b HAMILTON, p. 357, & seqq.

^c BOUCHET, p. 21.

(R) *Tachard*, the Jesuit missionary (see *Lettr. Edif.* tom. xii. p. 273) adds many miracles to those mentioned by Mr. *Hamilton*. The effrontery of popish priests, in propagating such evidently lying wonders, would be astonishing, if the credulity of their sheep was not known to be as great as their clergy's kna-

very. Besides, nothing can be more absurd, than to suppose a man could work such miracles, and yet could not work one to save himself. Christ could have wrought a miracle to save himself, but would not: but *Thomas*, 'tis clear, would have saved himself, if he could have wrought a miracle.

Provinces
and cities.

Portugueses, when first settled there, built a church over the cave and well on *The Little Mount*; and another over his grave on *The Great Mount*, where the lance, with which it is pretended the apostle was killed, is kept as a relique. The city of *St. Thomas* was formerly the best mart-town on the *Choromandel* coast: but at present the trade is very little, and the inhabitants very few, and poor, owing to the neighbourhood of *Fort St. George*, which is but one league distant to the north; a colony and city belonging to the *English East-India* company.

Madras,
or Fort St.
George.

FORT St. George is called also *Madrás*, and *Madrapatan*, from the city of that name, near which it is situated. The natives give it the appellation of *Jenna Pattenam*, or, as the *English* commonly pronounce it, *Chinapatam*. The town is divided into two parts, called the *White* and *Black Towns*. In the former dwell the *Europeans*. It is walled quite round, with several bastions and bulwarks to defend it; so that it can only be attacked at the ends, the sea and river fortifying its sides. It is about 400 paces long, and 17 broad, divided into pretty regular streets, and *Fort St. George* standing in the centre. There are two churches in it; one for protestants, the other for *Romish* service. There is a good hospital, and mint for coining rupis and pagados, in the city; with a town-hall, and a prison for debtors underneath. They are a corporation, with a mayor and aldermen, formerly chosen by burghers; but, at present, by the governor and his council: which, according to our author, is the reason that every thing is carried as the governor would have it; who can annul all decisions in case of debt or otherwise, made by the court, which is properly a court of conscience.

Bad situation.

THE *Black Town* is inhabited by *Jentows*, *Mohammedans*, and *Indian Christians*; viz. *Armenians* and *Portugueses*, who have their respective churches; all religions being tolerated here. It is walled towards the land, the sides towards the sea and *White Town* being open. *Madras* is one of the most incommodious places our author ever saw. It fronts the sea, which rolls there more than in any other part on the coast of *Choromandel*. The foundation is in sand, with a salt-water river on its back, which hinders all fresh springs from coming near the town, within a mile; and, in the rainy season, carries inundations on one side, while the sea often threatens destruction on the other: again, from *April* to *September*, the sun is scorching hot; so that, but for the sea-breezes, the place

* HAMILTON'S *New Account of the E. Ind.* vol. i. p. 358, & seq.

could

could not possibly be inhabited. How so bad a situation could be chosen, when the founder had choice of two very good ones in the neighbourhood, *Kabelan* (or *Kovolam*), above-mentioned, about six leagues to the south, and *Polikat* (or *Pallikatta*), nine to the north, seems unaccountable. However, the diamond-mines being no more than a week's journey from *Fort St. George*, these precious stones are pretty plenty here; although few large ones are brought to market, since the time that great diamond, which governor *Pit* sent *England*, was conveyed hither. Any one may dig at the mines, after agreeing with the *Great Mogol's* officer for a spot of ground; which is walled about, and sentinels placed round it. All stones above sixty grains weight belong to the emperor, and it is death to secret any of them.

*Provinces
and cities.*

THE current trade of *Fort St. George* runs gradually slower; Trade the trader meeting with great discouragements, and often oppressions (S). The colony produces very little of its own growth or manufacture for foreign markets; which yet it supplies with foreign commodities, particularly *China*, *Persia*, and *Mokba*; which commerce it shares with *Surât*. The colony is well peopled, there being computed to be 80,000 inhabitants in the towns and villages; among whom may be reckoned four or five hundred *Europeans*. But, as their provisions are brought from other parts, any enemy, who is superior to them in sea forces, may easily distress them*. This place was surprised by the *French*, in the year 1748; who first plundered, and then left it.

THE next place of note to *Fort St. George* is *Palliakatta*, *Pallia-* called also *Paleakatta* and *Polikat* by authors. This is a *katta*. town belonging to the *Dutch*; who have a fort there named *Gueldria*, with a few soldiers in garrison. There is another belonging to the *Mogols*. It was formerly the principal factory which they had on the coast of *Choromandel*.

THERE are several places northward, which formerly had commerce abroad, but are now neglected. *Armagan* is one, and *Kishnipatam* another; which last has the benefit of a large river: so has *Karera* beyond it. Lastly *Petapoli*, or *Pettipoli*, seated at one of the mouths of the river *Krishna*, had once

* HAMILT. p. 362, 370.

(S) Captain *Hamilton* saw a bargain of wheat taken out of a gentleman's hands, after he had bought it by auction; and says, that they who bid for goods against the governor's servants, were brow-beaten and threatened; so that many trading people were removed to other parts.

Principa-
lity of Ik-
keri.

both *English* and *Dutch* factories settled in it; but they with-
drew many years ago, to avoid the impositions of the inland
Rajahs. This place is the utmost bounds of the kingdom of
Karnâta, upon the coast ^f.

S E C T. V.

Principality of Ikkeri.

Ikkeri
principa-
lity:

IT remains only to give some account of the dominions of
Ikkeri and *Mayssour*; two countries formerly belonging to
Karnâta, and still to be considered as dismembered parts of
it. Among the governors in *Vidia Nâgar*, corruptly *Bisnaga*,
who, after the great revolution in 1567, set up for sovereigns
in their respective districts, he of *Ikkeri*, named *Venkata*
Nayeka, or *Naiika*, was one. This prince had been a mini-
ster of that monarch; and, as he was a good soldier, soon
enlarged his territories by subduing some of his neighbours.
After a defeat which he had given the *Portugueses*, the vice-
roy of *Goa*, in 1623, sent an ambassador, in the king's name,
to cultivate friendship with him.

extent
and
bounds:

THE country of *Ikkeri* extends, in length, from south to
north about 130 miles, and in breadth 50. It adjoins, on the
north, to the *Sunda Rajah's* territories; on the east it has
Karnâta; on the south *Mayssour*; and on the west the
county of *Kanâra*, from whence it is separated by the moun-
tains of *Gâtti*, or *Gate*^g. The chief city is named *Ikkeri*;
lying about three leagues east of the same mountains, and
from *Batekâla*, on the sea-coast. It stands on a fair plain
surrounded with three inclosures; the two outermost consist
of very high canes, very thick, and close planted. They are
a good defence against horse and foot; being hard to cut, and
not in danger from fire: besides they afford much shade, as
well as verdure, from the herbs which creep upon them.
The inner inclosure is a wall, but weak and inconsiderable.
Each inclosure has gates, with forts and ditches. *Ikkeri* is
pretty large, but the houses are thin and ill built. It is mostly
taken up with broad and long streets; some of them shaded
with handsome trees, growing in ponds of water; of which
there are many large ones: besides fields set full of trees like
groves. So that from the mixture of houses, lakes, fields,
and woods, it makes a very delightful prospect. The prince's
palace is in a fortress of no small extent; containing several

capital
city.

^f HAMILT. p. 372, & seq.
p. 93. Engl. Transl. of his Return.

^g DELLA VALLE's Trav.

streets

streets, with houses and shops. The language spoken in the Kingdom of Messûr.
country of *Ikkeri* is the *Kanarî*^b.

S E C T VI.

Kingdom of Mayssour, and the Malleams.

THE kingdom of *Mayssour* (or *Messûr*) has to the north *Kingdom Ikkeri* and *Karnâta*; to the east *Karnâta*; to the south of *Madûra*; and to the west *Malabâr*. This dominion, of all those not yet subdued by the *Mogols*, is become most considerable, by the conquest of several fortresses from *Madûra*, and the other neighbouring states: insomuch that, since the year 1650, it has extended itself from the eleventh degree of latitude to the thirteenth, and beyond. The revenue of the prince is said to amount to near fifteen millions of livres; and he has on foot armies consisting of 30,000 foot, and 10,000 horse.

THAT which has rendered the people of *Mayssour* so formidable to their neighbours, is the cruel and ignominious manner in which they treat their prisoners of war: for they cut-off their noses, and, salting them, send them to court (T). The officers and soldiers are rewarded according to the number of prisoners, whom they use in that inhuman manner. *Cruel custom.*

SHIRANGAPATAM (U) is the capital of this kingdom. Chief cities. It stands in the northwest part of the country, on the river *Kavéri*, about fifty miles from its source, in the mountain of *Gâtî*. The fortress resembles our ancient cities, which were fortified with towers; and has a good ditch. The pagod is famous; but the king's palace has nothing remarkable.

ABOUT three leagues to the south of *Shirangapatam* is the city of *Mayssura*, which has given name to the kingdom. The country is full of towns and villages; especially along the river *Kavéri*: but we meet with no considerable cities besides those already mentioned, excepting two; *Darmapouri*, towards the north-east, and *Darabarou*, in the south, on the borders of *Madûra*: and in the country of the *Malleams*, which makes the southern part of *Mayssour*, or *Messûr*¹.

^b DELLA VALLE, ubi supr. p. 120, 121, 144. ¹ BOUCHET, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. 15, p. 79, & seqq.

(T) Fryer says, they use an instrument made to seize on the noses of their enemies; which in a war against this Râjah. Fry. Trav. p. 163.

(U) Fryer calls it *Saranpatan*. mutilations spoiling the fashion of their faces, few care to serve Sec his Travels, p. 163.

*Kingdom
of Meffur.*
*The Mal-
leams :*

THE *Malleams* have their dwellings properly in the high rocky mountains of *Gátti*, separating *Mayffour* from *Malabâr*; at the foot of which live the Christians of *St. Thomas*. They differ from other *Malabarians* chiefly in their complexion. They are honest, good-natured, charitable, and without deceit; courageous, ingenious, and of good understanding. Theft is a thing unknown to them; for they live with their doors open. They inhabit neither cities nor villages; but only certain inclosures in the valleys among the rocks. Their houses are built with canes, very low, and plaistered-up with clay. Some live in woods, building their houses in trees, for security against elephants and tigers. Their lands are fertile, but they do not cultivate any great quantity. The chief settlement, which they possess, is called *Priata*, thirteen or fourteen leagues from the borders of *Madura*.

*form of
govern-
ment :*

THE *Malleams* are tributary, partly to the king of *Turbula*, and partly to him of *Pugnati Perimal*: yet are otherwise intirely free, being governed by their own laws, under captains, or judges, of their own nation, named *Arley*; each of which have five or six thousand under his jurisdiction. Every inclosure likewise has its own judge, named *Pandera*; to whom they pay strict obedience. Their arms are the same with those used by the *Malabars*. The *Malleams* have but one wife at a time; and pay great respect to the sepulchres of their ancestors. Their dress is the same with the *Malabars*; except on festivals they wear a long gown and turbán, like the *Mohammedans*. At these solemnities, the maidens play on rush pipes, small flutes, and drums. They wear jewels in their ears and noses.

*many con-
verted.*

SINCE the year 1599, a great number of the *Malleams* have embraced the *Romish* religion; and a church was erected to *St. Michael* in the village of *Priata*. Before they had no temples but their houses; where they worshiped domestic gods. They pretend to converse with devils, only to know future events; but not to do mischief^k.

^k NIEBUHOF. ap. Church. Collect. vol. ii. p. 243.

C H A P. VIII.

The Religion of the Hindûs.

S E C T. I.

Of their sacred Books, with an Abstract of the Shâstres.

HAVING now gone thro' the history and description of Hindû ^{religion} the countries inhabited by the people who are properly ^{treated} called *Hindûs*, we come, at length, to treat of their religion: which we reserved for this place, in regard the peninsula of *India* being more independent than *Hindustân*, it is there where their worship appears in its full light. But altho' so many travellers have visited these countries, and missions have been settled in every part of them, for so many years, yet nothing can well be conceived to be more imperfect and confused, than the accounts which authors have given of it. This is doubtless owing to two causes: first, the different ^{confusely} opinions and objects of worship, which have been introduced ^{by authors.} by the *Brâmmans* in different parts of *India*; secondly, from *Europeans* taking their memoirs from what they observe themselves, or gather from the information of the natives, instead of having recourse to their sacred books; which may be presumed to contain some uniform and consistent system, whatever variations are to be found in the popular worship. In effect, the *Hindûs*, like almost all other nations, to derive authority to their own religion, and give it preference to those professed in other countries, affirm it is of divine original, and contained in a book called the *Vedam*, or *Wedam* (A); which they say was delivered to their law-giver, *Brâmma*, by the Deity himself.

THIS sacred volume is divided into four parts, or books; *The Veda* the *Rogo Vedam*, *Iffura Vedam*, *Sama Vedam*, and *Addera dam*, its ^{division,}

(A) Or *Vedant*, the *dh* being pronounced like the *Englisb* *th* in *this*, *that*, and the like words.—Hence the *Mogols* pronounce *Vedh*: *Europeans* write variously, *Ved*, *Bed*, *Bet*, *Beth*, and the like. *Beth*, according to *Bernier*, signifies *science*; because they say all sciences are contained in the four books. *Mem. Mogol. Emp.* part 3. p. 145.

Vedam

Their sacred books. *Vedam*^a (B). Hence the *Vedam* is termed by the *Hindûs* the four books of the law^b. (1), The *Rogo Vedam* treats of the first cause, and the first matter; of angels; the soul; the reward of good men, and punishment of the wicked; of the generation of creatures, and their corruption; what sin is, and how it may be pardoned; by whom it is remitted, and upon what conditions it is done (2). The *Iffure Vedam* treats of superiors, or governors, who are vested with the sovereign power and dominion (3). The *Sama Vedam*, relates wholly to morality, inclining to the love of virtue, and hatred of vice and wickedness. (4), The *Addera Vedam*, treats of the ceremonies observed in the temples, in sacrifices and on festivals: but this last part has been, for a long time, lost (C). The *Brâm-mans* say, that they have lost with it a great deal of their power and authority; and that if it was now in being, they would be in greater power and esteem than the kings themselves. We learn farther, with regard to this *Vedam*, or these four sacred books, that they seem to be only a collection of the superstitious practices of their ancient *Rishi*, or *Mouni*, that is, *Penitents*, and *Anchorites*; to which are joined their opinions concerning the nature of God, the soul, visible world^c, and so forth, as before-mentioned: that the first two books are followed most in the peninsula of *India*, and the

and contents.

Origin and authority.

^a ROGER MOEURS des Brammins, c. v. p. 35. ^b PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabar, p. 4, 11, 37. ^c PONS ap Let. Edif. tom. 26. p. 233, & seqq. ^d Ibid. ^e Ibid.

(B) With Roger agrees *Baldæus*, another Dutch minister, both as to the order and contents of the books; but differs somewhat in the names, writing, 1. *Roggo Vedam*, 2. *Jaddara Vedam*, 3. *Sama Vedam*, 4. *Fara Wana Vedam*. This list is according to the *Brammans*; but by the *Malabars* they are named *Ikka*, *Ikkijba*, *Saman*, and *Adaravan* (1). Pons, a *Romish* missionary, writes *Roukou Vedam*, called *Rek bed* in *Hindûstân*, 2. *Tajour Vedam*, 3. *Sama Vedam*, 4. *Latharvâna Vedam*, or *Brahma Vedam* (2). A *Malaba-*

rian, in his letter to the *Danish* missionaries, places them in a different order; 1. *Sama Wedum*, 2. *Urukku Wedum*, 3. *Edirwarna Wedum*, 4. *Air Wedum* (3). Here *Vrukku Wedum* is the same with the *Rogo Wedum*, and *Air Wedum* with the *Iffoure Widum*, of Roger; but, by some mistake, must be misplaced.

(C) *Baldæus* says, he could never be convinced that the fourth part was lost; yet elsewhere tells us, that the first part is wanting. See *Church Collect. Trav.* vol. iii. p. 767, and 812.

(1) *Church Collect. Trav.* vol. iii. p. 812. (2) *Lettr. Edif.* tom. 26, p. 233. (3) *Phil. Account Malabar.* p. 37. See also *Bernier Mem. of Empire Ind.* part 3. p. 145, and others.

two latter in the north, or *Hindûstân*^d: that they contain the *Their sa-*
theology of the *Brâmmans*^e; and are read solely by them; so *cred books.*
that the *Weinjas* (or *Beniyâns*) must, in their prayers, make
use of the words not of the *Vedam*, but of the *Shâster*; and
the *Soudra*, or common people, must neither mention the
Vedam, nor learn the *Shâster*^f.

AFTER all, these books are not read and explained in the *Not read*
pagods; not only because they contain mysteries surpassing *in Pagods.*
the vulgar capacity, but also because the *Brâmmish* language
cannot be translated into the *Malabâric*^g. Others say they are
not understood by many of the *Brâmmans* themselves^h; and
that they are scarce half understood by their ablest doctors.
The reason is, that they are not written, as hath been reported,
in the *Samskroutam* (or *Sanskrit*), which is the learned lan-
guage known to the *Brâmmans*; but in a language still more
ancient. So that the *Samskroutam* is only of use in explaining
certain passages inserted in their books of theology, especially
those taken from the latter books of the *Vedam*; which ap-
pears, from the difference of language and stile, to be writ-
ten five centuries after the firstⁱ.

BESIDES the *Vedam*, there are two other sets of books; *The*
the first called *Shâster*, the second *Pûrân*; which the *Brâm-* *Shâster.*
mans persuade the people came down also from heaven for
their instruction^k. The *Shâster* (D) contains all the doctrines,
and various ceremonies, found in the four books of the law;
being properly the explanation and comment on the *Vedam*^l.
We are told it was made to settle the sense of the *Vedam*, and
prevent disputes^m; but do not find it has had that effect.
As *Shâster*, or *Shâstrum*, signifies *Science*, we find books
treating of other subjects, particularly philosophy and astro-
nomy, under this title. It is permitted to the *Chuderers* (or
Shudderers), priests of the *Shudderi*, or *Baniyân* sect, to read
the *Shâster*; but they must not touch the *Vedam*, which is
monopolized by the *Brâmmans*.

^d PONS, ap. Let. Edif. tom. 26. p. 233, & seqq. ^e Ibid.

^f ROGER MOEURS Des. Bram. p. 36. ^g Danish Confer.

p. 139. ^h CALMET, ap. Let. Edif. tom. 21. p. 457.

ⁱ Idem. Ibid. tom. 24. p. 438, & seqq. ^k PHILL. Ac-

count of Malabar, p. 4, 40. ^l Ibid. p. 4, 10, 15, 40.

41, 43. ^m ROGER, ubi supr. p. 36.

(D) So it is called by Lord, *Safteran Gol*; *Safteran* being the
and Mr. Frazer. Roger calls it plural of *Sâster*, or *Shâster*;
Jâstra. In the account of the which signifies *Science*; or, ac-
Malabâr religion, the books of cording to others, *System*.
which it consisteth are called

THE

Their sacred books.

THE *Pûrân*, or *Powrân* (E), are the historical books of the law, and contain the explanation of the *Shâster* (F), together with the antient histories of the *Hindûs*, both sacred and profane. These are comprised in eighteen books; to which may be added, the twenty-four *Agamangol*, which are likewise historical^a.

The Pûrân. Legends, or traditions.

THIS is the account we have of the *Pûrân*, from the *Malabârs* themselves. But we have grounds to believe, that they contain the history not only of their first kings, heroes, prophets, penitents, and other eminent men; but also of their inferior gods or divinities. In short, the *Pûrân* joining both the former systems together, seems to have formed the religion of the vulgar; by introducing the doctrine and worship of those inferior deities, whose history is in these poems displayed with monstrous fictions. The *Brâhman*s pretend that the three sets of books before-mentioned were all delivered by God to *Brâhma*: but it is obvious that they were published at different times, doubtless to serve different purposes; and that the *Posûrân* appeared long after the other two, when the present idolatry, to which it is accommodated, came to get footing in the *Indies*.

The popular theology

AMONG the *Pûrân*, or *Powrân*um, which signifies poems, are the *Harma Pourân*um^o, which, we are told, contain the popular theology, or most approved polytheism; and, among the *Shâsters*, is the *Harma Shâstrum*, composed out of the *Brâhman*, and popular divinity. It signifies the *holy science*, or *science of virtue*; and contains the practice of the different religions (or sects), with the sacred rites or ordinances, and laws for administering justice; which treatises of the *Harmasbâstrum*, written by various authors, are multiplied ad infinitum^p.

kept from the laity.

THERE are, besides the before-mentioned, many other books explaining the law; all which are kept out of the hands of the common people, or laity: yet there are a great number of books current among the *Malabârs*, which con-

^a PHILL. Account Malabâr, p. 4, 15, 50.

Let. Edif. tom. 26, p. 233, 239.

^o Penn. p.

^p Ibid. p. 34, & seq.

(E) *Pûrân*, or *Porân*, signifies *Poems*; these histories being written in verse.

(F) All the doctrines and instructions contained therein are taken out of the four books of the law and the *Shâsters*. *Phill.*

Hist. Malâb. p. 11. There is an abridgment of these eighteen books, called *Cbadda Kari naga Mandirum*, *ibid. p. 15.* *Roper* mentions these *Porâns* in his *Manners of the Brâhman*s, p. 64, 68, 102, & *alibi*.

tain the exploits of their gods *Chiwens* (or *Iffuren*) and *Their sacred books*. *Wishtnou*; the history of the wars of the giants with the *cred books*. Gods; with their miracles, and the way of worshipping them. Among these, there are many *porân* and local histories of their gods, peculiar to some places in the country of *Malabâr*; and this, no doubt, is the case in other parts of *India*.

As the *Brâmmans*, or priests, have the keeping of their sacred books, which they will not communicate to their own laity (G), much less to strangers, great sums have been offered, to no purpose, by *Europeans*, for a copy, or only a translation of the *Vedam*; because it is written in a language (H) which is reckoned sacred on that account, and known only to the *Brâmmans*. Some, from the difficulty of coming at them, have supposed that there are no such books in being; for the *Danish* missionaries could never get the *Brâmmans* to produce it: and one of the *Romish* tells us they, for a long time, thought it was impossible to find it; but, at length, he got a copy of it (I), by means of a *Brâmmân* convert. And, doubtless, they might have been had long ago, if properly sought after (K); since the *Mohammedans* have had transla-

* See PHILL. *Malab.* p. 37, 38, 53, 121, 125. Also *Dan. Confer.* p. 140, & seq. BERNIER, *Mem. Emp. Mogol.* tom. 3, p. 161.—*Danish Lett.* part 1, p. 20, 22. Dan. Confer. p. 138, & seqq. CALMET. *ap. Lett. Edif.* tom. 21. p. 456, and tom. 24, p. 437.

(G) Only the tribe of *Kutseri*, or the *Râjabs*, are allowed to read the *Vedam*; and that o *Shudderi*, or the merchants, are permitted only to read the *Shâster*.

(H) Our authors call it the *Samskörtam*, *Samskroutam*, *Sanskrit*, and *Hanskrit*. But it appears, from what has been observed before, to be another language. The *Samskörtam*, which signifies *synthetic*, or *composed*, is harmonious, copious, and strong. The grammar is a wonderful contrivance, and masterpiece of art. It was formerly a living language, spoken in the north, or *Hindûstân*: as the *Grandam* was in the south *India*. The *Danish* missionaries

call this latter the *Kirandam*; and say their sacred books are written in it. Whether it differs from the other, and in what respects, they do not tell us. See *Lett. Edif.* tom. 15, p. 53. tom. 21, p. 457, and tom. 26, p. 22, & seqq.

(I) Calmet was employed to procure it for the French king's library; which he did about the year 1733.

(K) They were procured, by order of the present king of France, to put in his library.--- Mr. Fraser has lately brought from India the *Shâster* and *Pûrân*, in the *Sanskrit* language, but not the *Vedam*. See *Append. to Hist. of Nad. & Shâh*.

tions

Their sacred books. tions of them (L) for a long time, from whence at least a version might have been made, and Mr. Lord procured an abstract of the *Shâster* early in the last century.

Great neglect of THIS abstract is very short; yet as the *Shâster* contains the substance of the *Vedam*, it may supply the place of it until a translation come to be made public: and as we find in the abstract the original of those beings, whom the *Hindûs* present worship as gods, and of the facts on which the *Brâhmans* have grounded so many fictions, it serves as a key to open the mystery, and account for many things which otherwise would be inexplicable. Notwithstanding this, we do not find that any author has made use of it to clear up the confusion and difficulties, which he complains of, in the accounts of others, relating to the *Hindû* religion. Even *Bernier* himself, one of the most intelligent of the travellers, altho' he had read Mr. Lord's book, and tells us he was obliged to him for many things, yet takes no notice of the use that might be made of it on this occasion; as if either he had overlooked this consideration, or thought the matters contained in it were agreeable to the present system of the *Hindûs*.

Romish missionaries.


On the other hand, the missionaries, altho' seemingly diligent in search of the *Vedam*, never took the least notice of this abstract of the *Shâster*; as if it had no relation to the religion of the *Brâhmans*. It is true, neither the *Shâster*, nor *Pourân*, seem to have been known to them till of late years; nor does Lord himself, however it happened, once mention the *Vedam*, much less that the *Shâster* is an explanation of it; on the contrary, by some mistake, he speaks of the *Shâster* as the book of the law delivered by God to *Bremaw*, or *Bramma* (M). However, if this abstract of the *Shâster* had been known to them, we have no great reason to believe that they would have made use of it; since we do not find they have made any of the *Vedam* itself, altho' they have been in possession of it ever since about the year 1730. Perhaps they do not think the best way to convert the *Hindûs*, is to let them see that their religion was originally free from that gross idolatry in which it is at present involved; at least that method would not answer their ends. They

■ BERN. Mem. of Mogol's Emp. part 3, p. 157.

(L) P. Pons tells us it is in the king of France's library, in Arabic. See *Lettr. Edif.* tom. 26. p. 233.

(M) It is true, the *Brâhmans* pretend so; and according to a lay *Ma abâr*, both the *Shâsters* and *Pourâns* are reckoned divine; but yet inferior to the *Vedam*, and as derived from it.

make

make use of images as well as the *Hindûs*; and therefore are *The* obliged to take a more difficult course: which is, to persuade *Shaffer*. them that the *Romish* saints and images are more holy, and  fitter objects of worship than theirs.

S E C T. II.

Abstract of the Shaffer.

THE Great God being alone, and resolving to make his *Creation of* excellency and power manifest, by creating a world *the elements*, stocked with intelligent animals; he, in the first place, as the ground-work, made four elements, earth, air, fire, and water. These elements being confusedly mixed together, he next divided; and, out of them, formed the several parts of the visible world, in the manner following:

FIRST, by some great cane, or like instrument, God blew *and visible* upon the waters; which rising in a bubble of a round form, *world*, like an egg, and spreading by degrees to an immense space, made the *firmament*, which, so clear and transparent, encompasseth the world. Of the earth and moisture which remained as the sediment of the waters, the Lord framed a kind of *ball*, or *globe*; the more solid parts whereof became the *earth*, and the more liquid *the seas*. Then, by a great noise, or humming sound, he placed it in the *midst* of the firmament, every way equi-distant from it, and called it the *lower world*. Next he created a sun and moon in the firmament, to distinguish the times and seasons. The four elements being thus separated, and assigned to their proper places, began to discharge their several offices: the air *filled up* whatever was *empty*; the fire nourished with his heat; and the earth, as well as seas, brought forth their respective animals; to whom the Lord conveyed a seminal virtue, that they might be fruitful in their several capacities.

IN the last place, therefore, God created man, as a being *First man* more worthy than the rest, and capable of contemplating his *Porous* works. At the Lord's command he rose out of the earth, his head first appearing, and then his body, formed with all its parts. God next *conveyed* life into him, which, as soon as he had received, manifested itself: for colour began to redden in his lips; his eye-lids to disclose the two lights of nature; the several parts of his body put themselves in motion; and his understanding being informed, he acknowledged his maker, and rendered him worship.

THAT this man, who was made a sociable creature, might *First* not live alone, God gave him a woman for a companion; *man* Par- who resembled him no less in the qualities of his body than *kouti* mind. This first man's name was *Porous* (or *Porous*),

The
Shafter.

Their four
sons,
Brâm-
mon,

and the woman's *Parkouti*; who lived together as husband and wife, feeding on the fruits of the earth, without the destruction of any living creature. In process of time, these two had four sons, named *Brammon*, *Kutteri*, *Shudderi*, and *Wife*; who differed in their nature, according as the elements prevailed in them. For *Brammon* was of an earthly constitution, and therefore melancholic; being also ingenious, God appointed him to impart his precepts and laws to the people: for which office his grave and serious countenance best suited him. On this account, therefore, the Lord delivered to him a book, containing the form of divine worship, and the principles of religion.

Kutteri,

KUTTERI(N) was of a fiery temper, and had a martial spirit; God therefore vested him with power to sway kingdoms with the sceptre, and bring men into order: for this purpose the Almighty put a sword into his hand, which is the instrument of victory and dominion.

Shudderi,

As *Shudderi* being of a stegmatic constitution, was mild and converfible, it was thought fit that he should be a merchant, to enrich the commonwealth by commerce, and bring home plenty, by means of shipping. To put him in mind of his business, a pair of scales were put into his hand, and a bag of weights hung at his girdle.

Wife.

WISE (or *Weyz*), who was of an airy temper, was endued with invention; and being full of contrivances, was able, at first thought, to form any thing in the handicraft or mechanical way. To help him in his profession, he had delivered to him a bag, with variety of tools or instruments necessary to execute any piece of work which his fancy should devise.

Four wo-
men cre-
ated,

THE world being in this maiden state, the Almighty gave not *Pourous* and *Parkouti* any daughters: but that the work of generation might be free from impurity, God made four women for these four men; and, for better conveniency of dispersing, placed them at the four winds, *Sawatari* in the east; *Toddikastri* in the west; *Visagunda* in the north; and *Jejunogunda* in the south*.

for wives
to the

MEAN time the sons of *Pcurous* growing up, God commanded them to travel each a different way, in order to find out the four women who were to be their wives. *Brammon* travelling eastward, at length met with *Sawatari*, and mar-

* LORD's Discovery of the Banian Religion, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. vi. p. 301, chap. 1.

(N) *Kutteri* signifies a *Dag-ger*; from whence, probably, this martial man and tribe took their name.

ried her, conformable to the rules prescribed in the book delivered to him. *Kutteri*, proceeding westward, found *Toddi-kastri*, and, after a terrible combat between them, which lasted three days, they came to a conjugal agreement. *Shudderi* took his journey northwards; and, after discovering pearls and diamond mines, lighted upon *Visagunda*. Lastly, *Wise*, called also *Viskermah*, or the hand-man, from his skill in manual arts, after crossing seven seas in a vessel, made by him for that purpose, stopped on the coast of *Derpe*, and built him a house there. After some time, he saw *Jejunogunda* walking by the shore, and made his addresses to her: but as she treated him with scorn, *Wise* prayed to God that he would turn her heart in his favour. This request was granted, on condition that he should erect pagods for God's worship, and adore images under green trees; because the Almighty had under their shade manifested himself to him by vision.

THESE things are related at large in Mr. Lord's abstract, with several agreeable circumstances. The four brothers, having in this manner peopled the earth, resolved to return to the place of their nativity, in order to see their parents: so leaving their sons and daughters behind them, in several different places, they began their journeys back towards the middle of the earth; where, on their arrival, they found *Pourous* and *Parkouti*, who received them with banquets and rejoicings. In process of time the four brothers (and their wives) became parents of many new generations, who strictly conformed to their division into four tribes, without mixing; and followed the instructions of their respective founders. But, as multitude and plenty beget many evils, every thing by degrees, fell into disorder: *Brammon* grew negligent in his piety; *Kutteri* became cruel and over-bearing; *Shudderi* cheated his brethren with false weights; and *Wise* set exorbitant rates upon his ware, to maintain his extravagancies. And as they were evil in themselves, so they were evil one to another; for *Brammon* envied *Kutteri*'s greatness; and *Kutteri*, disdaining the quiet and solitary spirit of *Brammon*, forbore to pay him the respect due to his birthright: nay, he carried his contempt so far, as to prize his own laws and government before those of God, only because they came thro' the hands of *Brammon*. On the other side, he delighted in the slaughter of those who displeased him, laid taxes upon *Shudderi*, and drained the profits of *Wise*'s labours; whilst

* LORD'S Discovery of the Banian Religion, p. 303, & seqq: ch. 2, 3, 4, 5.

The
Shafter.
Image-
worship
brought in.

they, to revenge his injurious treatment, defrauded and exacted on their brethren. *Wife* likewise, to render *Brammon* still more contemptible than he was, sought to introduce a new form of religion, concerning the worship of images, and bowing to pagods (O), with other ceremonies, which had been communicated to him in vision, as before-mentioned: but, as these were things not contained in *Brammon's* book, a great dispute arose, whether they should be received as canonical: however, upon *Wife's* swearing that he had them from God, they were admitted as part of the ceremonial law.

World de-
stroyed.

THE ill examples of the parents sowed the seeds of corruption and wickedness, which increased in their posterity: so that at length the Deity growing angry, the heavens put on a face of darkness and terror; thunder and lightning flashed from the poles; while the seas, swelling in a frightful manner, sent a flood upon the earth, which overwhelmed all the race of mankind: but altho' their bodies were destroyed, their souls were lodged in the bosom of the Almighty. And thus ended the first age of the world, named *Kurlayn*².

Second age.

HAD things continued in this ruinous state, the design of creation would have been frustrated. God therefore determined to renew the race of mankind, and begin the second age with three persons of greater perfection and excellency than the former. In order to this, descending from heaven upon a great mountain called *Meropurbattl*, he said, *rise up Bremaw* (P), *the first of living creatures in the second age*: hereupon the earth brought forth *Bremaw*, who immediately worshipped his maker. In like manner, by a second and third command, *Vistney* and *Rudderi* (Q) were produced, who, with no less reverence, adored their Creator. The design of making these three persons, was that they might act as deputies to God in the work which he was about to perform: to *Bremaw* therefore he assigned the office of making the creatures; to which purpose he indued him with the power of creation and production. To *Vistney* he gave the charge of preserving the creatures: for this end he constituted him

Three per-
sons crea-
ted:

Their of-
fices.

² LORD'S Discovery of the Banian Religion, p. 309, & seq. chap. 6.

(O) By pagods, doubtless, our author means images; and uses a term different from what is here used in the *Shafter*.

(P) He is called by others

Bramâ, Bramâh, and Brammâ.

(Q) *Vistney* is by others written *Visnou, Wistnou, Wistnow,* and the like. *Rudderi* is written *Rudderen, Rutteri.*

lord

lord of the sun and moon, of the hills and vallies, of the *The* weather and seasons: he likewise made him the conferrer of *Shafter.* riches, health, honour, and whatever conduced to the well-being of man, and other animals. Lastly, he vested *Rud-deri* with a commission to destroy his creatures, because he knew they would be wicked, and deserve a punishment at his hands: for this end he appointed him lord of death and judgment, with all the train of common evils, such as sickness, famine, war, pestilence, and whatever else might be deemed a punishment for sin; the better to enable him to be the executioner of divine justice.

To each of these three persons was allotted a time for *Time on* remaining on earth, conformable to the nature of his office. *earth.* Because the work of creation was finished in the second age, therefore *Bremaw* was to be taken up to heaven at the end of it: and as each of the following ages were peopled by some who were reserved from destruction in the preceding ages, therefore *Vishnay* was kept on earth double the term of *Bremaw*, because there was longer need of him, in his preserving quietty. Lastly, in regard the world was to end by a general destruction, therefore the continuance of *Rud-deri* on earth was to be three times as long as theirs.

THESE three persons being thus created with full powers, *Bremaw's* the next business was for them to put those powers in ex- *labour.* cution. Hereupon *Bremaw* consulting with himself how to discharge his commission in the best manner, was seized with such extraordinary pain in all parts of his body, as foreboded some great alteration was to follow, as in effect there did: for he fell in labour; his belly swelling to such a degree (that altho' he far exceeded the stature of common men), he felt grievous torture, till, at length, the burden forcing its way thro' both his sides, there sprung forth twins, male and female, at full growth. These two having given worship to God the creator, and to *Bremaw* their producer, this latter named the *Brings* man *Manow*, and the woman *Seteroupa*: after which they *forth* were sent to a mountain called *Munderpurush*, from thence *twins.* to spread their generations towards the west, north, and south. Being arrived at the place appointed, *Seteroupa* brought forth six children, three sons, *Priauretta*, *Outanapautha*, and *Sûmeraut*; the three daughters were named *Kammah*, *Sûnerettaw*, and *Sumbû*. When these persons grew in years, they were dispersed according to *Bremaw's* command: *Pri-* *The world* *auretta* and *Kammah* were sent westward, to the mountain *repeopled.* *Segund*; *Outanapautha* and *Sûnerettaw* to the mountain *Bipola*, in the north; *Sûmeraut* and *Sumbû* to the mountain

The
Shâster.

Supars, in the south; who all encreased (R) and multiplied.

THUS *Bremaw* made man and woman, and replenished the earth with other living creatures; while *Vishney*, on his part, provided all things necessary both for the support and preservation of them: on the other side, *Rudderi* dispersed calamities, sickness, death, and judgments, according as the sons of men did by their wickedness draw down those evils upon them*.

New book
of the law.

THE Almighty knowing that there would be no good order, where there was not the establishment of his worship and fear, by proper laws, among this new race of mankind; therefore descending upon the mountain *Merôpurbati*, he called *Bremaw* to him; and telling him, out of a dusky cloud, which yet revealed some rays of his glory, that his reason for destroying the former inhabitants of the earth, was because they did not observe the instructions set forth in the book delivered to *Brammon*, put another into the hand of *Bremaw*, commanding him to acquaint the dispersed generations with the matters contained therein; which he accordingly performed.

called the
Shâster.

THIS book, called by the *Banlyans* the *Shâster* (S), consisted of three parts: the first contained their moral law, or precepts, with the explanation of each, and its application to the tribe or tribes which it concerned: the second comprised the ceremonial law; setting forth the rites which were to be observed in worship: the third tract divided mankind into tribes or classes; and prescribed the rules which were to be observed by each. To speak more particularly with respect to each of these tracts;

The moral
law

THE first tract, containing the moral law, consisteth chiefly of eight commandments. The first forbids the *killing* of any living creature whatever; because it has a *soul*, as well as man.

* LORD'S Discovery of the Banian Religion, p. 311, ch. 7.

(R) Here brothers and sisters go together; which was not suffered in the first age, as a thing in itself evil.

(S) We are much at a loss here. The chief book of the law among the *Hindûs* is the *Vedam*, or *Wedam*; of which the *Shâster*, which signifies a *System*, is only the explanation or comment: but as our author *Lord*

says this latter was delivered to *Bremaw*, and we are informed elsewhere that it is believed, as well as the other, to have come from God; therefore we must either suppose the *Vedam* was the book mentioned in the text, as delivered to *Brammon*; or else, that *Lord* has mistaken one for the other.

THE

THE second forbids beholding, giving ear to, or speaking, *The what is evil*; also the drinking of wine, and eating of flesh; *Shaffer.* with the touching of things defiled.

THE third commands the observation of times of devotion, with washings, worshipping, and prayers to God. *how distributed*

THE fourth forbids telling lies, with design to defraud others in dealings, bargains, or contracts.

THE fifth commands charity to the poor, in meat, drink, and money, according to his necessity, and the giver's ability.

THE sixth forbids oppressing, injuring, or doing violence to the poor; likewise to use one's power unjustly, to ruin another.

THE seventh commands the celebration of certain festivals, without excess; also, to set apart certain seasons for fasting; and break off some hours of sleep for watching, in order to be fitter for devotion.

THE eighth forbids stealing any thing, how small soever, of what is committed by another to one's trust, in the way of his business or profession; and commands being content with the hire which such person gives him: because no man has a right to what is the property of another.

IN dividing these eight commandments among the four *among the tribes.* tribes, two are appropriated to each: the first and second are assigned to the *Brammans*, who are the priests, as placing the strictest parts of religion in the preservation of living creatures from destruction, and abstinence from things forbidden. These precepts are likewise enjoined the merchantmen, who, in their way of worship, nearly agree with the *Brammans*: however, the third and fourth, which enjoin devotion, and forbid fraud in dealing, are more particularly intended for *Shudderi*.

THE fifth and sixth commandments are ascribed to *Kutteri*, that is, to rulers and magistrates; because those in power are most guilty of oppression, as well as most able to relieve the necessities of the poor. Lastly, the seventh and eighth, are referred to *Wise*, as the handicraftsmen have need sometimes of recreation, yet are apt to squander their earnings; and as they work in other people's houses, they are therefore restrained from theft.

EVERY tribe is obliged to observe all the commandments in general; but is more particularly exact in keeping those which are appropriated to their own. And as there is great conformity between *Brammon* and *Shudderi*, in their customs and religious worship, so is there a like between *Kutteri* and *Wise*.

^b LORD'S Discovery of the Banian Religion, p. 312, & seq. chap. 8.

The
Shafter.

THE ceremonial law, or injunctions, comprised in the second tract delivered to *Bremaw*, relates to the following particulars :

Ceremo-
nial law.
Frequent
washing.

FIRST, They are obliged to frequent washings of their bodies in rivers, after this manner : on their entrance they besmear themselves with mud, as an emblem of man's filthiness and corruption by nature ; then, walking farther in, and turning their faces towards the sun, the *Bramman* utters this prayer ; *Oh Lord ! this man is foul and polluted as the mud of this river : but the water thereof can remove the defilement : do thou, in like sort, cleanse away his sin.* Then the party plungeth himself three times in the stream, whilst the *Bramman* repeats the name of that (T) and other rivers, famous for such ablutions. Being risen up, he shakes in his hand some grains of rice ; and, having received absolution (of the priest) for his past sins, is dismissed.

Anointing.

SECONDLY, They use a kind of unction in the forehead, with red paint, and certain grains stuck in it ; which be tokens that God has marked them for his people. This is done to keep them in mind of their baptism ; and, as the sign wears off, it is daily renewed by them, according to their washings : the action being accompanied with certain words, to put them in mind of being such as become God's mark.

Grove
worship.

THIRDLY, They are enjoined to tender certain offerings and prayers under green trees : which practice was introduced by *Wise* (or *Weyz*) ; to whom God appeared in a vision under a tree, as before-mentioned. The *Brammans* therefore under such green tree erect temples to pagods (U), where they attend to perform religious rites and ceremonies. [The tree appropriated to this kind of worship is called by

(T) " Wherein he washeth, "saith *Lord*, called *Tappee*, with "those of *Gonga* (or *Ganga*), " *Nerboda*, and the like." These must be the words of *Lord*, and not those of the *Shafter* ; which he has, throughout his abstract, mixed with his own, in such a manner that often they are not to be distinguished one from the other. The *Tappi*, or *Tapti*, is the river of *Surât*, and the other two are in its neighbourhood ; where the *Baniyans* chiefly dwell.

(U) We observed before, that

this word cannot be taken from the *Shafter* ; as a farther proof of which, our author confounds the temple with the image : for pagod is a corruption of *Isht Gheda*, a Persian word, signifying the house of idols ; and therefore used only by the *Mahomedans* ; the name for a temple among the *Hindûs* being *Deura*, which we presume signifies the same thing. See *Ovington's Voy. to Surât*, p. 195, and *Bernier's Memoirs of the Great Mogol's Empire*, tom. iii. p. 1, 1, & passim.

some

some the *Indian fig-tree* (X). From the branches stems shoot *The* downwards, and, taking root, produce another tree, whose *Shafter*. branches propagate in like manner: so that one tree spreads over a large space of ground. This tree is supposed by the *Hindûs* to be so sacred, that they believe some great mischief will befall the person who hurts the least bough of it. To this tree they bring offerings: under it they receive unctions, and sprinklings of variously coloured powders. There they pay their adorations; which they number by a clapper of a little bell. There they pray for health, riches, a numerous issue, and the like. In short, there they often celebrate their festivals, with a great concourse of people.] (Y).

FOURTHLY, They are commanded to say certain prayers in *Prayers to* their temples, [not unlike those used among the Christians.] *God*. This devotion consists in the repetition of certain names of God, explained and descanted on. They likewise use processions, with singing, and loud tinkling of bells; which chaunting is among their commandments (Z); with offerings to images, and such like services (A).

FIFTHLY, They are enjoined pilgrimages to remote rivers, *Pilgrim* as the *Ganges*; there to wash their bodies, and pay their of- *ages*. ferings: [so that the gold and jewels thrown into that famous river are of immense value.] The person likewise whose palate, when dying, is moistened with *Ganges* water, is accounted blessed, and purified from sin.

A SIXTH article of their worship is the invocation of saints; *Invocation* to whom they attribute the power of assisting their votaries *of saints*. on many occasions. They who would be happy in marriage pray to *Hurmount*: they who undertake works of architecture, to *Gunnez*: such as want health, to *Vagenaut*: the soldier, going on to attack an enemy, cries *Bimohem*: the miserable call upon *Siyer*; and they who are in prosperity offer up their orisons to *Meykasser* (B).

SEVENTHLY, They are commanded by their law to wor- *Creature* ship God, upon sight of any of his creatures after sun-rise: *worship*. [particularly they pay their devotion to the sun and moon, which they call the two eyes of the Deity. Likewise to

(X) By the *Portugueses*, *Arbor de Reys*, by others, the *Banians* tree, and the war tree.

are these commandments referred to? for he has produced none in which chaunting is enjoined.

(Y) We have put between hooks such matters as seem to be additions of Mr. Lord, and not to be contained in the *Shafter*.

(A) Here is an omission of certain rites.

(B) Did the *Romish* church take invocation of the dead from the *Indians*, or fall into it as a natural consequence of idolatry?

(Z) This is spoken as if the other rites were not. But where

some

*The
Shafter.*

some beasts, whom they hold more clean than others, their treatment is exceeding kind; such as kine and buffaloes. To these they ascribe so much innocence and goodness, on account of the souls of men entering into them, as they believe that they besmear the floors of their houses with the dung of those cattle, and think the ground sanctified by that means.

*Other
precepts.*

THE eighth precept relates to baptizing, or naming their children; the ninth to marriages; and the tenth to burials, which have been already set forth among their civil customs.

*Division
into tribes.*

THE third tract of the book delivered to *Bremaw* treated of the order and distinction proper to be observed among mankind. And, because nothing could be more commodious than to have, as in the first age, *Brammans*, to instruct the people in matters of religion; *Kuttereys*, to sway the sceptre and keep men in obedience; merchants, to follow traffick and commerce, like *Shudderi*, and mechanics, to supply mankind with necessaries of their manufacture, as did *Wij*: therefore they were by this tract divided into the same tribes or classes, and obliged to confine themselves to their respective tribes, as well as the employments peculiar to each.

WE have already given an account of the three last tribes; and, as we shall postpone that of the *Brammans*, till we come to speak more particularly of the priests among the *Hindûs*, we pass on to the other matters contained in the abstract of the *Shafter*.

*The law
promulgated.*

THE book above-mentioned, comprising the plan of religion and government which was to be established in the new world, having been delivered to *Bremaw*, as before set forth: it was by him communicated to the *Brammans* of that times, and by them published among the people, who readily conformed themselves to the injunctions prescribed in it. They divided themselves into four tribes, and each tribe began to exercise the function appointed for them. The rulers kept the people in order; the priests or *Brammans* counselled them in matters of devotion; the merchants pursued traffick; and the handicraftsmen followed their several professions.

*Men grow
wicked.*

THUS all things had a good beginning in this second age: religion was cultivated; prayers were offered up to God, and the three persons, *Bremaw*, *Vistney*, and *Rudderi*; the banks of the rivers were frequented, and daily washings were not neglected. But as mankind multiplied, they became worse and worse: the *Brammans* grew full of hypocrisy and ostentation; the *Kuttereys*, swelled with pride and ambition, sought to enlarge their territories and power by unjust means; the

* Loan's Discovery of the Banian religion, ap. Church. Col. lect. p. 317, & seq. ch. 9. Ibid. p. 320, ch. 10.

merchants

merchants committed all sorts of fraud in their dealing; *The* and the mechanics grew idle, setting too great a price on *Shafter.* their labour. The Lord, provoked with the iniquity of the world, descended on mount *Meropurbati*, and acquainting *Bremaw* with what he had observed, this latter went down, and gave them notice of the impending judgment; which, for a while, wrought a reformation in their manners: but, by degrees, they returned to their old course of wickedness. Hereupon *Bremaw* interceded with God for the human race (C); but the Almighty would not be pacified: on the contrary, the time of *Bremaw's* abode on earth being expired, the Lord took him up into his bosom, that he might not behold the evils of the time to come.

THEN God made known his purpose of destroying mankind *The world* to *Vistney*; who, in virtue of his office, as preserver of the *destroyed.* world, interceded likewise for them: but the Lord, resolving not to withhold his wrath, commanded *Rudderi*, whose office it was to bring judgments and destruction on sinners, to cause a wind to rise out of the bowels of the earth, and sweep the nations as dust from off the face of it. *Rudderi*, in obedience to the Almighty's order, put the winds in a violent motion; which, bursting from their subterraneous prisons, set the great body of the world a trembling. The day seemed to change colour with the night; the mountains and hills were torn from their foundations; and, as some report, the river *Ganges* was forced out of her wonted channel to take another course. In a word, this furious tempest destroyed the whole race of mortals, excepting a few, whom the Lord permitted *Vistney* to cover with the *skirts of his preservation*; as a reserve for the propagation of mankind in the third age. And thus concluded the second age, called *Duaper*.*

RUDDERI having at length restrained the stormy *The third* winds, all became calm again: but it was lamentable to be- *age.* hold the universal desolation which overspread the earth, especially the dead carcases of men and animals, which covered its surface; some blown from the tops of mountains, others bruised to mass, all drowned and destroyed: inso- much that the Almighty repented him of what he had done; and *Rudderi* was sorry to have been the instrument of so great fury and havock. But because the ill government of the kings and rulers was the source of all the disorders in the second age (as they had been in the first), therefore the Lord

* LORD'S Discovery of the Baniâ religion, ap. Church. Col- lect. p. 325, ch. 13.

(C) This is like *Abraham's* intercession for *Sodom*.

utterly

The
Shaffer.

The Kut-
teris ex-
tirpated.

Brâm-
mans
made
kings.

A third
destruc-
tion.

The pre-
sent age.
Kishney.

utterly rooted out all the tribe of the *Kuttereys*; those who were preserved being only some few of the other three tribes. However, as that tribe or order of men was so necessary to the world that it could not subsist without them; therefore that it might be renewed from a more holy stock, the Lord appointed that the line of the *Rājabs* should be restored from that of the *Brammans* (B). This was performed in the person of *Ram*, youngest son of *Duserat*, chief of the *Brammans* (C), who were preserved by *Vishney*.

It was presumed that this person, being religiously educated, would favour piety as well as policy; and, with benevolence joined to prudence, govern men in their several tribes. Accordingly *Ram* was a patron of the *Brammans*, and exceedingly promoted religion. [This prince became so memorable for his worthy actions, that to this day his name is honoured among the *Hindûs*; who, when they meet, salute one another, saying, *Ram! Ram!* as a word importing the wishes of every thing that is good.]

It is likely that many worthy kings succeeded him: but the world degenerating in length of time, the same wicked practices which had infected the four tribes in the two former ages, began to infect them anew; till at length, the Almighty being incensed that mankind should not be warned by so many judgments, spoke to *Rudderi*: who, by his order, caused the earth to open and swallow them up alive; reserving only some few of each tribe, as a last trial, for people of the world. Thus ended the third age, named *Tetrage-*

AMONG those who were preserved was one *Kishney* (D): famous ruler and pious king, the most renowned in the beginning of this fourth and last age. As he was exceedingly zealous to propagate religion, virtue flourished in his reign.

† LORD'S Description of the Banian religion, ap. Church Catalog. p. 326, ch. 14.

(B) Yet it does not appear that all the *Rājabs* are *Brammans*; for all those of *Hindûstan*, as well as many of those in the peninsula of *India*, seem to be of the *Kutteri* race.

(C) According to the vulgar tradition, *Duserat* (or *Dufferat*) was one of the *Rājabs* who, with his wife, had been destroyed; but both were reani-

mated it seems by the souls of two departed *Brammans*; and thus produced the race of *Bram-Kutteri*. So that Mr. Lort must have committed a mistake here, or the *Brammans* must have altered the tradition, in order to make the fact more agreeable to the present state of things.

(D) By others, *Kishna*, *Kishna*, *Krishna*, and *Krishna*.

AT this period, *Vistney's* time of residing on earth being *The* expired, the Lord took him up also into heaven, as there *Shaster.* was no farther need of his preserving care: for, when the present age is brought to a conclusion, there will be a final *Last day.* end of all things. [However, the *Brammans* say, that this age, named *Kâli*, will be longer than any of the former; and that at the end thereof *Rudderi* shall be taken up into heaven, as *Bremaw* and *Vistney* have been already.]

As to the manner of this final judgment, they hold that it will be more dreadful than any of the former; and it shall be by fire: that *Rudderi* shall then summon up all the powers of destruction: that the moon shall look red, and the sun shed his purling light like flaming brimstone: that the lightning shall flash with unusual terrors; and the skies change into all sorts of colours; but that fiery redness especially shall overpread the face of heaven: that the four elements, of which the world at first was constituted, shall be at variance, till, by this last agony, she is turned into her first confusion.

THAT the final destruction of the world shall be by fire *Final de-* they infer from a supposition, that it shall be brought to its *struction.* dissolution by the same principles which gave it a being: and that as it hath already been destroyed by three of the elements, it shall be ultimately destroyed by the fourth. Then (say they) shall *Rudderi* carry up with him to heaven the souls of *No resur-* all mankind, there to rest in the bosom of God; but their *rection.* bodies shall all perish; being of substances too gross to enter into so pure a mansion^s.

THIS is the intire substance of Mr. *Lord's* abstract of the *Primitive* *Shaster*, which teaches the belief and worship of one only Hindû God, called the Almighty and Supreme Being, not of many: *religion.* that *Bremaw*, *Vistney*, and *Rudderi* (named also *Eswara*, or *Isbura*, and *Chivens*), who are now worshipped as so many Gods, were no more than three persons, or beings, created by the Deity as his deputies or workmen, to make the visible world, and under him govern the affairs thereof for a limited time, pursuant to certain powers delegated to them: likewise that *Ram*, and *Kistney*, or *Kristna*, who are at present adored in their pagods with so much devotion, were no other than two men, famous for their good actions in the ages wherein they lived. In short, in *Lord's* abstract we find nothing of those wild genealogies, and romantic adventures, told by travellers, of the *Hindû* gods; nor even so much as the famous transformations (E), of *Vishnú*, or *Wisbnu*, which fill their *Pûrán* with fables and their temples with statues.

^s *LORD'S* Description of the Banian religion, ap. Church. Collect. 326, ch. 15.

The
Shafter.

Free from
idolatry,

THUS the primitive religion of the *Hindûs* seems to have been intirely free from idolatry: for although in the *Shafter* we find the worship of images introduced, yet it is evident, from the place itself, that it was not originally a part of the *Indic* religion; since it is expressly said there was no mention of these things in the books delivered to *Brammon*, which was the first *Hindû* bible, or revealed book of the law: nor is image-worship taught in the eight commandments inserted in the said book delivered to *Bremaw*, which is the second revealed book of the law. It may be farther observed, that images were to be worshipped under green trees, as not worthy of being placed in temples, where we find them at present: the pagods seeming at first to have been dedicated solely to the worship of the one God; and in the *Shafter* itself this image-worship is not established as a point of doctrine, but only brought-in, as it were by the by, among the ceremonies of the *Indian* religion.

and other
modern
extrava-
gances.

BESIDES this silence of the *Shafter* with respect to the present idolatry, we meet with nothing in it which in anywise tends to authorize the extravagant notions which obtain concerning the number of different worlds and heavens; the long duration of this world; the creation of man, and human state; with many other absurd opinions. Nay, we do not so much as find any mention of the favourite doctrine of the transmigration of souls, though as old at least as the time of *Pythagoras*. Which shews, that this, as well as all the rest, were invented by the *Brammans*: since the *Shafter* was written, and imposed on the people by means of their *Park*, which are properly the legends and traditions of the *Hindû* church.

(E) It may be objected, that *Lord* has possibly suppressed things of both these kinds; and the rather as he tells us, in his introduction, that he had, for the most part left out such prodigious fictions as seemed independent on sense and reason. It is true *Mr. Lord* has omitted many things, relating to political and other matters: but then he gives his readers notice. Neither is it probable, that if *Bremaw*, *Vishney*, and *Rudderi*, were either termed gods, or declared to be such in the *Shafter*, or had any worship assigned them, that

he would have suppressed matters of so much consequence: especially as he has not concealed the introduction of image-worship. Nor indeed do these matters come within the construction of prodigious fictions, which alone his suppressions must be confined, whatever the transformations aforesaid may: yet even these are so essential a part of the present religion of the *Hindûs*, that we cannot think he would have been intirely silent about them, in case there had been any mention made of them in the *Shafter*.

S E C T.

SECT. III.

An Account of the present Idolatry of the Hindows.

One supreme Deity.

Cautious to be observed

It is not our intention to enter into a large detail of the Hindû religion, as at present taught and practised in the Indies; the account we have given of their antient principles, and objects of worship, may save us a great deal of that trouble. After having shewn from their sacred books what was the original of all things, as well as of those beings whom they now principally worship as gods, it will be enough to point out the chief additions which priestcraft, never satisfied with enlarging, hath farther added thereto; without collecting all which authors have written on the several subjects, or engaging ourselves far in the recital of those endless fictions and extravagant romances, invented to propagate the different superstitions, and link them together.

With regard to the variation which is found in the accounts of authors relating to those several particulars, and which contributes not a little to perplex the reader; it is to be ascribed in good measure to the different traditions and opinions of different countries and sects of Brammans dwelling in them. Thus, the Brammans of the western Malabâr seem to have one set of doctrines and legends; those of the eastern Malabâr another; those of Karnâta, a third set; and those of Hindûstân, or the Mogol's empire, a fourth. This appears from the relations of authors, particularly Bakdaus, the Romish and protestant missionaries, Abraham Roger, and Bernier (F); who visited different parts of India, and whose disagreement in most respects is owing to those local variations.

That the sacred books of the Hindûs establish and require the belief of one only God, is manifest from the abstract already given of the Shaster; and there is a particular sect of the Brammans who acknowledge no more than one God^b. The rest, who are engaged in supporting the popular religion, or polytheism, yet acknowledge one supreme God, who created all the rest, as his deputies or vicegerents, to create, and, under him, govern all other beings^c. To this supreme God they give infinite names, according to his various powers

^b See hereafter. ^c PHILLIPS's Account of Malabar, p. 71, 170. Dan. Confer. p. 2. 6. 166, & seq.

(F) To these we may add the account given by de Faria y Sousa, in his Portuguese Asia; which seems to be that which Roger, in his preface, p. 2. says

and

One su-
preme
Deity.

one su-
preme God;

his attri-
butes,

and attributes (G); the number of which last they make to be one thousand and eight^k. The *Brammans* of Hindû call God the Creator, *Ashar*; that is, *immoveable*, or *immutable*^l. *Tampiran* is the name of God among the *Malabarians*; who stile that being *Barabara Wastu*, or *Parabara Wastu*, that is, *the supremest being of all*; also *Saru Wefure*, and *Dewadda Durwam*. Sometimes, more expressly, *Barabara Wastu Wagbira Saru Wefuren*; that is, *the supreme independent being, Lord of all*^m. We are told also, that the *one* Divine Being is called *Isfaretta*, which signifies *the Deity*, who is the cause of all things. Every sect seems to have its own names for the supreme God: and indeed to confound the inferior gods with him; which authors do not sufficiently attend to; and hence in a good measure arises this diversity of names. The *Baniyâns*, we are told, call the Deity *Ma-ha-dew* (H), or *the great God*: but one sect of *Brammans* ascribe that name to *Isfburen*, or *Ruddiren*; another to *Wistnu* or *Visknum*, two of the subordinate divinities. As to the confidence of this Prime Being, they place it above that of the other gods; assigning three mansions or heavens, called *Kolafom*, *Lilaweykontam*, and *Weykontam*, for his abodeⁿ.

To this supreme Deity, or God of gods, they ascribe the sublime attributes of power, wisdom, and goodness. They say, there is no government or motion but through him; and that the other gods cannot move a single hair without his permission^o: that he is incomprehensible, and without form; nor to be considered under any material figure^p. Agreeably to this notion, they make no image of the Supreme Being. The *Malabars* (both priests and laymen) likewise declare, that they worship but this One Divine Being (I), who is the author or cause of all other beings^q. And yet no prayer is directly addressed to him; nor any hymn offered in his praise in the pagods^r. He is likewise considered as the author both of good and evil^s; or as the foun-

^k PHIL. Malab. p. 50.
part iii. p. 145. 150.

^l BERNIER Mem. Mogol. Dan. Lett. p. 85, 166. *Da*
Confer. part i. p. 29. part ii. p. 19. ^m ROGER, ubi sup.
p. 102. ^o PHIL. Malab. p. 42. 170. ^p Ibid. p. 11.

^q Dan. Confer. part ii. p. 19. ^r PHIL. Malab.
p. 171. ^s Ibid. p. 7. 313.

(G) The *Brammans* have found in this name, in *Dewatta*, and in other words, has a great affinity with *Deus*.
Supreme Being. Dan. Confer. (I) This those say who yet worship *Wistnu*, or *Isfburen*, as the supreme God.
p. 165.

(H) The word *Deu*, or *Dew*,

the supreme God.

tain from whence both proceed, seeing all things are believed to be derived from him. They likewise say, that the subaltern gods and other beings were made for his pastime: that he diverts himself with beholding the wicked as well as the good actions of mankind; and, in short, that this world is one of the sixty-four comedies with which he is entertained¹. As to his providence they tell us, that the Deity does not mind things of little moment in this world; but leaves them to his three created vicegerents: who have, for that purpose, their subordinate gods disposed in proper stations². However, one of the missionaries, that he never met with so much as one atheist, or a person who denied the existence of a Sovereign Being and a future state³.

THIS in general is the substance of what the *Brammans* believe and teach concerning the supreme God. With regard to the subaltern or inferior gods, they are divided into three classes. The first consists of those three created beings, *Bramma*, *Vishnou*, and *Ruddiren*. The second class comprises the wives, children, and prime friends or favourites of the first three. The third class is composed of those they call *Deutas*, or *Dewetas*; who are a kind of angels, employed to govern and take care of the several parts of the universe⁴, under the gods of the first class. To these may be added a fourth class, comprehending those they call *Ashuren*, who are giants or demons. All these gods, whose number is excessively great, have their respective offices, degrees of power and worship, their wives and children. The *Brammans* have likewise furnished them with officers and equipages suitable to their stations: among the rest, they have taken particular care to provide every one of them with a *Wahannam*, or beast of carriage; which serves him instead of a horse, to carry him instantaneously from one part of the world to the other.

I.

Gods of the First Class.

THE three gods of this class have a great number of names assigned to them. One of them has often more than a hundred⁵; for every act done by him intitles him to a new name⁶. But the appellations by which they are most generally known are those of *Bramma*, *Vishnou*, and *Ruddiren*,

¹ PHILIPS'S Malab. p. 45, 173.
p. 20.

² Ibid. p. 24.

³ See ROGER'S Mœurs de Bramins, p. 240, & seq.

⁴ PHILIPS'S Malab. p. 41, 71.

⁵ Dan. Lett. part ii.

⁶ See ROGER'S Mœurs de

⁷ Dan. Lett. part ii. p. 11.

Created gods. or *Isburen*; which yet vary according to the different languages, dialects, or humours of people, in different parts of India (I). Thus *Brama*, or *Bramma*, is by some pronounced *Brama*, *Bruma*, *Brumma*, *Biruma*, and *Ram*; *Visnou* is named *Vishnou*, *Vistnow* or *Wistnow*, *Vistnum*, and *Besben* or *Beshno*; *Isburen* is named *Isfuren*, *Isora* or *Isbora*, and *Ewara*^b. These three divinities are included under the general denomination of *Dirumurtigol*^c; by which name the class or order is distinguished from the rest.

Opinions of them various; IT is difficult to give a clear account of the *Hindû* beliefs concerning these three gods, from the writings of travellers or even the missionaries; who either deliver the opinions and doctrines of some particular sect for those of the whole, or mix those of different sects together, without distinguishing them, and, in a manner, not to be separated; from whence chiefly arises that great disagreement and confusion which we find in their relations.

by some created ACCORDING to some authors, these are three beings created by the sovereign God, and vested with the powers mentioned in the *Shaster*; *Bramma* to create, *Visnou* to preserve and *Ruddiren*, or *Isburen*, destroy. From this number of three, and the offices of those beings, some would infer, that the *Hindûs* have some notion of the *trinity*^d: but this does not appear from their sacred books; and Mr. Lord rightly observes, that there is rather a quaternity, since the supreme God will make the fourth^e. Besides, it is probable that those books were in being long before the Christian era. However that be, we are told by the same authors, that they are not held for gods, but only considered as God's servants and soldiers^f; that they are no more than God's ministers, to execute his commands; and, at best, his deputies and viceregents (K), to govern under him^g: that they have but borrowed beings, subject to various changes, as well as other creatures; and are vested with precarious employments, each having his fixed time of life and government, to continue

and subordinate gods;

^b See BERNIER's Mem. Mogol, part iii. p. 150. BALDÆUS ap. Church. Coll. Trav. vol. iii. p. 766. PHIL. Malab. p. 491. Dan. Confer. p. 167.

^c PHIL. Malab. p. 494.

^d BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 151. BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 766.

^e LORD's Relig. of the Banians, in his conclusion.

^f Dan. Lett. p. 57. part i.

^g Dan. Confer. p. 168.

(I) The same may be said as mediators, to present the petitions of the *Malabârs* to the Great Supreme Being. PHIL. Malab. p. 5.

(K) They are considered also

only

only till the restitution of things^b. For all this, they are reckoned omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, as well as most holy, just, and good : and it is upon this supposition that the *Brammans* say they direct their prayers to them, and honour their altars with burnt-offerings; alleging for so doing the strict orders of the Supreme Being¹. But it is not mentioned where those orders are to be found; although some *Brammans* have quoted the *Vedam* in support of this creature-worship, as appears from *Roger*.

THESE are not to be considered as the sentiments of all the *Brammans*, much less of the people; but only as the opinion of some particular sects, or private persons, who adhere more strictly than others to the documents of the *Vedam*. For we learn elsewhere, that both the *Brammans* and people ascribe much higher prerogatives to these three beings; especially two of them, *Wistnow* and *Eswara* or *Ishuren*: some affirming the first to be not only a god, but the Supreme God (L); others the second^k. And between these two opinions the generality of the *Hindûs* in all parts of *India*, at least the southern, seem to be divided; each party contending zealously for the superiority of his god: whence some *Bramman* sects assume the name of *Vishnouists*, others *Ishurenists*. However, we are informed by the same author, that there are some of the first-mentioned sect, who say neither of those two is God; but that both sprung from *Chekti*, who is the Sovereign Being¹. In consequence of exalting the three deputies to the rank of true gods, those sects have also given them a genealogy also, different from the *Vedam* and *Shaster*; each likewise in favour of their own god, or according to their fancy.

SOME tell us the *Malabârs* believe, that the *Dirumurtigol*, or three gods above-mentioned, were born of the goddess *Chaday* (or *Chattî*), who originally existed in the Supreme Being as the feminine faculty, and was afterwards separated from the masculine power^m. According to others, the same people look for the origin of all things in the *Linga*, or privy-member of their god *Ishora*ⁿ. Some of them say, the

^b Dan. Conf. *ibid.* and Dan. Lett. part ii. p. 21, & seq. ¹ Dan. Confer. p. 168.

^k ROGER Mœures des Bram. p. 17. 22, 23.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 26.

^m PHIL. Malab. p. 3, & seq.

ⁿ BALDÆUS ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 813. Portuguese Asia, vol. ii. p. 378.

(L) That is, the same with produced by him; namely, out of himself. the supreme God, as we apprehend, and yet derived from and

Creat.d
gods.
1st class.



Linga or *Quivelinga* (which is the privities of both sexes in conjunction) sprung from an egg, into which the *Ishoretta* or *Isparetta* transformed himself: and others, that the *Quivelinga* is the Deity himself°. As the *Linga* relates to *Ishuren*, who is the favourite god of the *Malabârs*, these genealogies are, doubtless, calculated to honour him, though different among themselves: and we meet with one differing from the rest; wherein the three deities are deduced in the following series. First, we are told, that the Being of all Beings or the Supreme God, created eternity: eternity brought forth *Chiwen* (M): by this *Chiwen* the goddess *Chaddi* was created. This goddess produced *Putadi*, or the elementary and visible world: by *Putadi* the sound, or ringing, was framed. The *Sound's* offspring was nature: *Nature* afterwards begat the great god *Chata Chiwen*: and this again brought forth another great god called *Maghesburn*: from *Maghesburn* sprang *Ruddiren*, or *Ispuren*; from *Ruddiren* the great god *Wistnum*: and *Wistnum* created *Bruma* P (or *Bramma*).

contrary
to the
Vedam:

In this jargon-genealogy of the three gods two things are remarkable. First, *Ruddiren*, who, according to the *Vedam* and *Shaster*, was created last, is here produced first, and made the parent of the other two. Secondly, that *Bramma* is not qualified with the title of *Mahadew*, or *great god*, like the other two: the reason is, that he is in no great esteem with the southern *Indians*. On this occasion it must be observed, that each of the three gods has his particular party or votaries. The *Brammans* and *Hindûs* of the *Mogol's* empire seem to adhere to *Bramma*: those of *Karnâta* prefer *Wistnou*, and the *Malabârs* exalt *Ruddiren*, or *Ishuren* (N). The interest of *Bramma* is so much declined in *Karnâta* that they will not allow him a pagod, at least in the country about *Pattiahatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*: and although the inhabitants of that country, and *Malabâr* in general, allow him the privilege of creating (which however some divest him of), yet they do not even that was delegated to him by *Wistnou* (O). But of this and the *Linga* more in particular, when we come to speak of these gods separately.

° Dan. Lett. part i. p. 19, 20. 56. P Ibid. partii. p. 21.

(M) *Ispuren* is the same with *Chiwen*; or this is one of his names.

(N) Agreeable to this, *Baldæus* observes, that some acknowledge *Vistnum* for their su-

preme God; but most of them *Ixora* (or *Ishuren*). See *Church Collect. Voy.* vol. iii. p. 754.

(O) This is, doubtless, supposing *Vistnou* to be the supreme God.

IF it be objected to those above-mentioned sects, that in making these three subordinate gods the same with the supreme God who created them, they contradict their own principles, and assert a manifest absurdity; they endeavour to defend themselves, by saying: that those deities are the same with God, as being comprehended in the divine essence; and that therefore there can be no great difference between them and the Supreme Being. For they hold that all things are parts of God, or produced out of his essence; into which at the end of the world they shall return⁹.

BUT, supposing this reasoning was admitted to be sound, the qualities and actions which their *Pourân* ascribe to these three gods do not at all correspond with the perfections which belong to the nature and character of the Divine Being. For there they are represented not only as full of imperfections, some of which have been mentioned already, but even as being guilty of the most exorbitant vices and enormous crimes, such as adultery, theft, and murder; of which instances will be produced in the short history we are going to give of each of them.

I. Of Brâmma.

ALTHOUGH the *Vedam* and *Shaster* declare expressly, *His origin.* that *Brâmma* (P) rose out of the ground at the command of the supreme God, yet the *Brâmmans*, not fearing to contradict their sacred books, give him different origins. Some say, that when God was disposed to create the world, he caused to float on the water (which then only existed, besides the Deity) the leaf of a tree, in the form of an infant with its big toe in its mouth; and that from his navel he caused to spring out the flower *Tamara* (Q), from which *Brâmma* had his existence¹. This is probably the account of the *Wistnou* sect: but others, who seem to be the votaries of *Isbûren*, derive his origin from the *Quivelinga*². All the remark we shall make on this occasion is, that the *Brâmma's*

⁹ PHILLIP'S Malabar, p. 141, & seq. ¹ ROGER MOÏNES des Bram. p. 141. ² BALDÆUS ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 812. See also the Genealogies before recited.

(P) The word *Bramma*, or *Brabma*, from whence the *Brâmmans* derive their name, signifies *penetrating into all things*. Bernier Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 150. But this probably is a forced explication. (Q) Which is common in *Indies*, growing in their *Tanks*, or ponds.

Created
gods.

1st class.

His offi-
cers.

swerving so egregiously from the express letter of their sacred books, is a plain evidence that they do not believe them to be divine, as they pretend they are.

BRÂMMA having been thus produced, the Almighty gave to him the power of creating the universe, and all the beings existing in it: that is, he himself created the several worlds, families, and tribes of people; but left to others, his deputies, to create things of small moment, such as herbs, plants, and the like; which power, however, the *Panyans* and *Malabârs* say was communicated to him by *Wisnum*¹. On the other hand, the *Brâmmans* ascribe to him the preservation of animals²; which yet is *Wisnum*'s province, according to the *Shafter*. This shews that the sects change and contradict their sacred books at pleasure, in opposition to one another. The *Brâmmans* attribute to *Brâmma* not only the creation of the world, but the conduct and government of every thing in it. They say, that God does not meddle with those matters; but like a king, who, to avoid the trouble of minding all affairs himself, commits many things to the care of his officers. They likewise affirm, that *Brâmma* fixes the fate or fortune, good or bad, of all people, and the time they have to live: that all events are by his direction; and, in short, that nothing happens in this world but by his special order³. To ease *Brâmma* in this troublesome employment, they assign him a reasonable number of assistants: that is, a governor to each of the eight worlds; with a governor-general over them⁴, who is as it were his prime minister.

Created
with five
heads.

To these fictions about *Brâmma* they have added a multitude more. Among the rest, they pretend that originally he had five heads; and, whereas he is represented by his image with only four, they say, that he lost one of them in a quarrel with *Isburen*. This is related several ways, like every thing else: according to one account, *Brâmma*, swelled with pride of his own power, having spoken contemptibly of *Isbura*, this latter, in his anger, brought forth *Beyrewa*, who with his nail scratched or cut-off the middle head of *Brâmma*. They add, that *Bramma*, having atoned for his fault by a copy of verses made in praise of *Isburen*, *Isburen* was well pleased, that he promised the other should enjoy his four heads with satisfaction ever after; and clapped the fifth, which had been scratched-off, upon his own⁵. Others give

¹ ROGER, ubi sup. p. 141, ch. i. & 176, ch. v. p. 176, & BALDÆUS, ubi sup. p. 812.

² Ibid.

ubi sup. p. 145, & seqq. BALDÆUS, ubi sup. p. 812.

³ ROGER.

ibid. ⁴ ROGER, ubi sup. p. 144.

⁵ Idem.

a different relation. They say, that *Isbora* (or *Isburen*) hap- ^{Created}
 pening one day to drop some words, which seemed to inti- ^{gods.}
 mate that he was the greatest being in the world, *Bramma* ^{1st class.}
 and *Wistnum* raised a contest about it : to decide which, *Isburen* ^{Vestnum}
 told them, that whoever of them could take a full view of ^{cuts off}
 him from head to foot, should thenceforward be accounted ^{one.}
 the greatest. *Vistnum*, after digging in the ground, in shape
 of a hog, to come at his feet, desisted, on meeting with a
 poisonous serpent, which startled him : but *Bramma*, soar-
 ing in the air, mounted on his *Wabannam*, or bird of carriage,
 was gotten very high ; when three flowers, which met him,
 told him, his labour was in vain, *Isburen's* head reached to
 so vast a height. *Bramma*, discouraged at this news, changed
 his resolution ; and, to come-off the better, desired the flow-
 ers to tell *Isburen*, that he was prevented from proceeding
 any farther by a sudden giddiness in his brain. This they
 promised to do, and performed : but *Isburen*, being sensible
 of the deceit, cut-off one of *Bramma's* heads (R), and cursed
 the flowers for their pains *. The reader has here at once a
 sample both of the great contrariety and extravagance which
 reigns through the *Indian* legends.

If it be asked where *Brâmma* has his dwelling, they tell ^{His resi-}
 you, that he resides in *Brâmma Lokon*, or *Logum* (S) ; which ^{dence :}
 is the highest of the eight worlds, and next to heaven, where
 God himself resides ^b. They likewise hold, that he is to die at
 a certain period of time (T), and be revived again. Nay, ac-
 cording to some legends, he dies and comes to life again
 every year ^c.

THE *Hindûs* give to *Brâmma* two wives. The first ^{wives and}
Sarvasati (U) ; who, we are told, was his own daughter. ^{children.}
 Whence comes the proverb, *You must not do like Brâmma* ^d (X).

* BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 757.

^b ROGER, p. 148. 181.

^c BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 813 & 755;

^d Ibid. p. 813.

(R) On this occasion, we are
 told, that *Ruddiren* stabbed
Wistnu, or *Vistnum*. *Danish*
Conferences, p. 105.

(S) According to *Baldæus*, he
 resides in *Sattialogum*, or the
 highest place in heaven.

(T) According to the *Sbafter*,
 he was taken out of the world,
 when his time for being on
 earth was expired.

(U) So named by *Roger*, in
 his *Manners of the Bramins*,
 p. 152. The Letters of the
Malabars call her *Sarasubadi*
 (*Phill. Account Malabar*, p.
 94.), and *Baldæus*, *Sarossodi*,
 ubi supr. p. 813.

(X) They who made the
 proverb were better men than
 either *Bramma*, or those who
 forged his history.

Created
gods.
1st class.

The second, *Quintri*. This last was barren (X): but by the first we find mention of a son, named *Dasha* (Y), who was the father of *Parvati*, *Ishvari's* wife^d: and from the blood which flowed from his neck, when his fifth head was scratched or cut-off, sprung up his son *Sagatrakavashen*, who had no fewer than 500 heads and 1000 hands^e. *Brâhma* had likewise the power given him by God of producing sons at pleasure; of which number was *Kassopa*, father of the good and bad angels; and perhaps^f another, whom we find mentioned under the name of *Wishnukra*^g.

his temple. ALTHOUGH *Brâhma* was the first created, and consequently the eldest of the three gods, or celestial triumvir; yet, as we have observed before, the *Wishnouists* have degraded him in their genealogies, to give precedence to *Wishnou*. In those places too, where that sect prevails, there are probably no temples erected to his honour; which made the Dutch minister at *Palliakatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*, who found none in that country, conclude there were none dedicated to him any-where else^h. However, that does not prove to be the case: on the contrary, he has his pagods, as well as the other two, in other parts of *India*; and even no farther off than *Tranquebar*, only a few days journey lower on the same coastⁱ.

II. Of Vishnou, Vishnum, or Wishtnum.

Names of
Vishnum:

THIS name seems to be the same with *Besben*, which *Benier* gives to the second of the three gods of the first class, according to the *Brâhman*s of *Hindûstân*, and interprets *penetrating into all things*^k. Besides this name, and that of *Perumal*, by which too he is most generally called, he has many others, with several surnames; among which last are those of *Naraina* and *Aquanama*, almost continually repeated by his votaries during the fast of *Masampasa*, celebrated in his honour^l.

^d ROGER, ubi sup. p. 152.

^e BALDÆUS, ubi sup. p.

758.

^f ROGER, p. 168, 185.

^g BALDÆUS, p.

798.

^h ROGER, ubi sup. p. 243.

ⁱ Danish Lex.

part i. p. 20.

^k BERN. Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p.

150.

^l BALDÆUS ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p.

820.

(X) *Baldæus* says both were barren.

(Y) Or *Dasha*; in *Roger*, *Dasha*; which is pronounced alike.

THIS

THIS god also, according to the *Malabars*, draws his origin from the *Quivelinga*^m; or, according to others, from *gods*. *Ruddiren*, or *Isburen*ⁿ, who is the god most generally worshipped by those people. However, *Wistnum* is in great esteem among them^o, being accounted the second in rank, next to *Isburen*^p; and is held by some for the Supreme God, instead of *Isburen*^q. Thus his votaries ascribe to him infinite extension, affirming that he fills all space^r; and yet he is said to reside in the *Milk Sea*^s: of which more hereafter. They likewise give him for a bed a serpent called *Annaken*, with five heads; two whereof serve him for pillows, one for a bolster, and two for resting his hands upon. Upon this account they reverence serpents as celestial spirits, and never kill them, although often hurt by those reptiles^t.

THE votaries of *Wistnum* are not content to ascribe to him the office of preserver of the universe, which is given to him in the *Vedam* and *Shaster*, but they strip *Bramma* of his prerogatives to confer on his rival: for they will have it, that he not only distinguished mankind into three sorts, as to wealth, namely, rich, poor, and middling; but that he also created the several worlds, and even *Bramma* himself^u.

IN consequence of this, they vest him with the power of appointing guardian spirits in several parts of the universe; of whom *Indre*, or *Devendiren* (*Bramma*'s prime minister) is the chief^v: and also of changing and removing them at pleasure. Thus he first made *Mavali* king of the infernal regions, and then door-keeper of paradise^w. The injuries, which the *Wistnouwists* have done to *Bramma*, do not end here: for, whereas the *Vedam* and *Shaster* declare, that the prime sacred books were delivered to him by God, they affirm, that *Wistnum* found the *Vedam* inclosed in a *Chanki* shell (Z). Hence it is, that the *Vedam* and *Chanki*, as well as the *Sak-karam*, or sword, are found in the hands of his image^x.

WISTNUM, it seems, had a great number of wives; *his wives*: whom he took for a time to indulge his amorous inclinations, and then dismissed. There were among them only two whom

* BALDEUS, ubi supr. p. 766. * Danish Lettr. part ii. p. 21. * Ibid. p. 22. * BALD. ubi supr. * Ibid. p. 754. and ROGER Mœurs des Brâm. p. 22. * BALD. p. 744. * Ibid. p. 755. * Ibid. p. 766. * Ibid. p. 774. & Dan. Lettr. part ii. p. 21. * DE FARIA, Port. Asia, vol. ii. p. 384. * BALD. ubi supr. p. 777. * Ibid. p. 768.

(Z) By us called the trumpet-shell, of the periwinkle kind.

Created
gods.
1st class.

he never parted with, and kept for sake of getting children by them^a. The first was called *Laetzemi*, *Lesbimi*, or *Maga Lesbimi*. She was the goddess of fortune^a; others say, she was the *Indian Venus*, and sprung from the froth of the sea^b: or, according to another legend, she was found in a large rose floating in the sea of milk. It is added, that her office is to scratch her husband's head^c. She is always near him in the pagods, in a little chapel^d. The second wife is named *Siri Pagoda*, also *Pumi Divi* (A), that is, *the goddess of heaven*. In her lap *Vishnum* lays his feet; which she is to rub with her hands^e. Besides all these wives, he had a thousand concubines in his seraglio. For all this, we do not find that he had more than one son, called *Kashen*, or *Kushen*; whom *Chidey* bore to him. This infant, it seems, being brought to the *Risbi*, or prophet, in whose house it was born, for his benediction, while he was intent at his prayers over it, with his eyes probably turned upwards, the mother came and stole her child away. The prophet, who was no conjurer, concluding that some wild beast had carried off the infant, made a fine baby out of a log of wood; and, being endowed also with the gift of lying, would persuade *Chidey*, that it was her own. She could not but be surprised at this adventure. However, the child was brought up by her, and called *Lewen*; so that, adds the *Malabâr* (who wrote this idle story, and believed it as true as gospel), we may say *Wishnu* had two sons^f. To these may be added a third, named *Vareu*; who, we are told, proceeded from the blood, which came out of *Wishnu's* cut finger^g.

concubines
and chil-
dren :

his ten in-
carnati-
ons :

THIS is in brief the account given us by authors of *Vishnou*, or *Wishnum*: but that which renders this god most famous in the *Indies*, is the history of his ten transformations. Under these, we are told, are hidden the chief mysteries of the Pagan religion, on both sides of the *Ganges*^h; and the *Brâmmans* are so industrious to conceal these things from strangers, that *Roger* could never prevail on one of them, who explained other matters to him, to open himself freely on this chapter. Particularly he declares, that he could never thoroughly learn the reasons of the third, fourth, sixth, ninth,

^a ROGER, ubi sup. p. 151, 155. ^b PHILL. Malâb. p. 95.
^c ROGER, p. 150. ^d BALD. ubi sup. p. 766. ^e ROGER, p. 151.
^f BALD. p. 766. ^g PHILL. Malâb. p. 95, & seq. ^h BALD. ubi sup. p. 758. ⁱ Ibid. p. 766.

(A) Elsewhere we find it written *Puma denty*; perhaps it should be *Devy*.

and

and tenth, transformations ¹. Nay, the *Danish* missionaries, *Created* after all their enquiry, tell us, that the *Indians* don't pretend *gods.* to any certainty themselves, in relation to the eighth ²; altho' ^{1st class.} *Roger* seems to have been better acquainted with that than any of the rest: and *Baldæus* long ago has published a copious account of it, accompanied with cuts. This last author, resolved to come at the knowledge of these mysteries, which *Roger* could not attain to, at length procured it from a *Brâman* who had turned Christian ¹; and it is to him chiefly that the public is beholden for the discovery.

THE *Brâmmans* pretend, and the *Hindûs* believe, that this ^{1st incar-} god *Wisbñum* has been already incarnated nine times, and ^{nation:} will appear in the flesh once more. His first transformation was into a shark, called *Matja*, in order to recover the *Vedam* from a certain demon (B), who had stolen it from the *Devagol*, or *Dewetas*, and hid himself at the bottom of the sea ^m.

THE second transformation of this *Indian Protæus* was into a *Kourma*, or tortoise; in whose shape he got under the world, when sinking with the weight of the mountain *Merowa* (or *Maha-Merû*), which was thrown into the sea, in order to find the *amortam* (or ambrosia). This *amortam* was to be an antidote against a certain virulent poison. But there are different accounts given of this matter by the different sects ⁿ.

THE third metamorphosis of this god was into a hog; to follow a very tall giant, who had rolled up the earth like a ^{3d incar-} sheet, and carried it on his shoulders to the infernal regions, ^{nation:} called *Padalas* (or *Patalas*): but, not being able to place it upright again, employed a little saint, who was no more than an inch high, to set it strait; which he not only did, but, the sea having laughed at him for his pigmy size, he drank it all up, and then pissed it out again; from whence comes its saltness. But the *Baniyans* and *Jentews* of *Hindûstân* give a different account of this transformation; which takes up 2700 years in the first age, or period of time ^o.

¹ ROGER, ubi supr. p. 158.² Danish Lett. part i. p.³ BALD. ubi supr. p. 767. ^m Ibid. p. 766.

ROGER, ubi supr. p. 159.

ⁿ BALD. ibid. p. 768, & seqq.^o Ibid. p. 771, & seqq.

(B) *Roger* names these demons *Raetsjasja*; which we write *Râsbaja*; and *Baldæus*, *Raxi-axa*, according to the *English* orthography *Rasbiafa*. This

last author adds, alias *Adirem*; and says he is called by the *Baniyans* *Sere Miafben* and *Sankasoor*.

Created
gods.

1st class.

4th incar-
nation :

5th incar-
nation :

6th incar-
nation :

7th incar-
nation,
Ram :

VISTNUM's fourth transformation was into a monster, half man and half lion; which shape he assumed to punish a giant, who, through power given him by *Bramma*, having subdued the whole earth, would suffer no-body to be adored but himself. He was torn in pieces by the *Man-Lion*, and thus ended the first period of time¹.

His fifth transformation was into a mendicant *Brâhman*, to cheat *Mavali*, an inferior god, out of the government of the world; in order to introduce a distinction of degrees and circumstances among mankind, who were then upon a level every-where. To effect this design, he begged of *Mavali* three feet of ground only to build a hut upon; which being granted him, he re-assumed his own form, and covered the whole earth with one of his feet, and paradise with the other: then, removing it, he placed it over the infernal regions, and thus got all three into his possession. However he made *Mavali* door-keeper of paradise².

VISTNUM's next incarnation was in the shape of *Prasaram*, or *Paresha Rama*, a beautiful boy; who, in obedience to his father's commands, cuts-off his mother's head: but, at his request, his father restores her to life. He then devotes himself to *Vistnum* for twelve years, by sitting cross-legged on the ground without intermission. Mean time, a potent *Rajah* slays his father, although his brother-in-law; because he refused to give him *Kamdaga*, the white cow of plenty, which he had borrowed of *Rajah Inder*, king of the blessed souls, in order to entertain his relation handsomely. *Prassaram*, being informed of this by the cow, went and slew all those of the race of *Rajahs*, or *Kutteri's*, to be found on earth. However, the souls of his father and mother were sent to reanimate the bodies of *Rajah Dasserat* and his wife, by order of *Vistnum*, who had promised to exalt their posterity; as an earnest of which, they had a son named *Ram*, who makes the subject of the seventh incarnation. The design of this sixth seems to be to promote the doctrine of the metempsychosis; and also to shew, conformable to the *Shaster*, how the race of *Kutteri's* were first destroyed, and then restored.

RAM, or *Rama*, called also *Siri Rama*, and *Dajerratha Rama* (D), to distinguish him from *Paresha*, or *Pareja Rama*, before-mentioned, married *Sittra*, daughter of a potent *Ri-*

¹ BALD. p. 772, & seqq.

² Ibid. p. 777, & seqq.

³ Ibid. p. 775, & seqq.

(D) Perhaps rather *Dasserata*, from *Dasserat*, his father.

jah; whom he won by shooting in opposition to the giant *Created Rawan*. This giant, besides ten heads and twenty arms, *gods* obtained from *Isburen* the privilege to live many thousand *1st class* years. Some time after, *Ram's* brother having cut-off the ears and nose of *Rawan's* sister, by his order, and slain several armies sent to revenge the injury; *Rawan*, in the shape of a mendicant *Brámmán*, carried-off *Sitha* to the isle of *Seylan*. *Ram* pursues, and by the assistance of *Hanuman*, or *Anamonta*, and other apes (E), passed the sea (at *Ramanakoil*) into *Seylan*, over a bridge of swimming stones; and after a great many strange exploits, in which invention is stretched to the utmost, kills *Rawan*, and recovers *Sitha*. Eleven years after his return, he ascended to heaven, and thus ended the second period of time'. This is the legend, according to the followers of *Wistnum*; but the sect of *Isburen* relate matters differently: and, to exalt their god, add that *Ram* built a famous temple at *Ramanakoil*, in honour of *Isburen*. We are told also, that in all the pagods dedicated to *Isburen*, or *Es-wara*, that *Ram* is represented with ten heads and twenty arms, in memory of the destruction of *Rawan*".

THE eighth appearance of *Vistnum* was in the person of *8th incarn-Kisna* (F), and is reckoned the most considerable of all the *nation*, rest (G): nor can this be denied, if what is most monstrous *Kisna*: and incredible, as well as most ridiculous and absurd, makes a thing considerable. The subject of the legend, which our author has given in great detail, is this: *Rajah Kans*, king of *Mottera* (or *Matura*), to the north of *Agra*, in *Hindústan*, finding by palmistry, that his sister *Deuki* (or *Dukki*), married to a *Brámmán* of the cow-herds, would bear a son who should deprive him both of his kingdom and life, confined her, and ordered her children, as soon as born, to be destroyed. *Kisna*, the youngest, was conveyed away by his own power and direction; and, though yet a sucking infant, slew several giants, who were sent to kill him, and slew with him into air. During his childhood, he performed several

* BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 781.
166.

* ROGER, ubi supr. p.

(E) According to *Roger's* account, they were *Devetas*, or good angels, who assumed the form of apes on this occasion, as *Rawan* and his associates were *Rashtrijas*, or demons. Both sorts sprung from *Kassipa*, a *Brámmán*.

(F) Or *Kisna* and *Kisna*. Others write *Krisna* and *Krisnu*.

(G) For they say, in others, he appeared with only part of his divinity; but in this he brought with him the whole godhead.

Created
gods.
1st class.

reckoned
most emi-
nent :

miracles ; as separating rice, milk, and herbs, after they had been mixed ; and stretching his hand from the cow-field to the house, to reach a milk-vessel : yet he made no scruple to tell lies ; for after stealing butter from his mother, he denied it stiffly. When he grew up, he performed many great exploits against giants and serpents ; yet left not off his childish tricks or lying. One time he stole the women's cloaths while they were bathing, that he might see them come naked out of the water ; another time meeting some milk-maids, he broke their pails ; and then denied it, when taxed by his mother. *Rajah Kani*, alarmed at these miracles, sent several giants and armies against him ; but he killed them all, and at length the *Rajah* himself. After this, *Kishna* did many other famous actions ; restored the lame to their limbs, the dead to life, metamorphosed cottages into palaces, pulled down tyrants, and restored injured kings ; punished oppressors, and succoured the distressed. Mean time, the cow-herds, who had made him their king, and were increased to five hundred and sixty millions, grew daily more wicked as they became more numerous ; wherefore *Kishna* let them at variance, so that they destroyed one another. After this, having conveyed his 16,000 wives, with a few others who remained, into heaven, he ascended thither himself. The *Hindûs* say, that if the earth was of paper, it would not contain an account of all the miracles wrought by *Kishna*, during the space of one hundred years, in the third period of time^x.

9th incarnation :

VISTNUM's ninth incarnation was in the form of *Boudha*, or *Bodha*, by some called *Bhavam*, who, according to the *Baniyans*, has neither father nor mother, and is invisible : but that, whenever he does appear, it is with four arms (H). He spends his whole time in praying with a dejected countenance to the great god, called *Mahadew* by the *Baniyans* ; and after having continued 34,030 years, without performing any miracles, his time on earth will be expired with the fourth period of the world, which is the present and last^y. This is all we learn from *Baldæus* : to which it may be proper to add, that this *Boudha* is the same with the god *Fo*^z, who is worshipped by more than one half of *Asia* ; and is believed to reside at *Lassa*, in the great *Tibet*, in a human form. It is probable, that these ten incarnations had their rise from the ex-

^x BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 789, & seqq.

^y Ibid. p. 809.

^z Lettr. Edif.

(H) *Kircher* gives *Bodha* four heads also ; but this, our author says, is an error.

ample

ample of *Fo*, who often disappears; and that the drift of the *Created* forgers of this ninth in particular, was to derive the religion *gods.* of *Tibet* from their own.

THE tenth and last transformation of *Viṣṇum* into a white winged-horse, called *Kallentkin*, is yet to come; and is to put an end to the present world. The *Baniyâns* say, that this *Indian Pegasus* stands in heaven upon three feet only, holding up his right fore-leg, without intermission. They say also that, at the beginning of this metamorphosis, they shall live piously and happily; but that, by degrees, they shall degenerate into all manner of impiety and wickedness, for the space of 40,570 years. At the expiration whereof, the winged-horse shall strike or stamp on the earth with his uplifted foot, with such prodigious force, that the serpent *Signaga*, being no longer able to support the world, will creep from under it; when the tortoise, finding the whole burden laid upon his back, will run into the sea and drown the earth (I): which is to put an end to this last period or age of time; and then the first is to begin again^a.

1st class:

10th incarnation:

III. *Ishuren, or Ruddiren.*

THIS god, we are told, has no fewer names than 1008^b; *Names numerous:* but of these three or four are chiefly in use. The name which he goes by in the *Vedam* and *Shaster*, is *Ruddiren*, or, as some pronounce, *Rutren*; yet the name by which he is commonly known in the *Indies*, at least the southern provinces, is *Ishuren*, or *Iffuren*, as it is pronounced in some parts of *East Malabâr*, or *Ispuren*, in other parts of it; *Ispara* in *West Malabâr*, and *Efwâra*, or *Esvâra*, in *Karnâta* and *Cheromandel*, if the difference does not proceed from some fault in our author's spelling. This deity is, by the *Baniyâns* and *Gentews* of *Hindûstân*, qualified with the title of *Mahadew*, or the *Great God*. The *Malabars* likewise give him the same name, or title^c; that is they who are of the sect, which account him the chief of the three gods of the first class: and we are told, that he is the principal of all the gods of the *Malabarians*^d: yet in *Karnâta* he is only accounted the sove-

^a BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 810.

^b PHILLIPS'S Account of

Malâb. p. 42.

^c BERNIER'S Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii.

p. 150. BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 766.

^d Dan. Lettr. part i.

p. 21.

(I) This is contrary to the *Shaster*; which says the earth shall be destroyed by fire.

reiga

Created
gods.

1st class.



reign god by some * ; for there *Wistnum* seems to be most in vogue. He has likewise another name adapted to this superiority which is ascribed to him by his votaries, and that is *Chiven*, or *Chivens* (K), signifying the *True God*, or *Supreme Being*; of whom the *Vedam* and *Shaster* treat †. This name he obtained for guarding the *Chive Linga*, whereof an account will be given presently.

attributes
and office:

THE votaries of this god ascribe to him immortality; which they say he obtained by the ashes which remained within the shell, after the *Chive Linga* was burned §: and though, agreeable to the *Vedam* and *Shaster*, they say his office is to destroy or put a period to all things at last; yet they give him also the power of creating, at least, two men, named *Birapatren* and *Quatraquale* †. They assign him for his *Wahanam*, or *bed of carriage*, a bull-calf called *Irisbipatan*, instead of a horse; but seem to differ as to the place of his residence. Those of *Karnâta* say, that he resides with his wife *Parvati*, in *Kaylasom*, which is one of the three places, or heavens, where God converses ‡. According to the *Malabârs*, he dwells in *Kala-ja*, a silver mount, and kind of paradise, to the south of the famous mountain *Maha Meru* †; again, other *Malabârs* will have it, that his abode is in *Chiwalogum* ‡; which signifies the world of *Chiwens*.

his person,

To come to the history of *Isburen*. They say, with respect to his person, that he is of so vast a bigness, as to encompass all the seven heavens above, and the seven worlds (L) beneath*: but one day, boasting before some other spirits of his immense size, *Bramma* and *Vistnum* took it ill, whereupon a contest arose; the consequence of which was, that *Bramma* lost one of his heads, as hath been already related in our account of him. Though *Vistnum* be black, *Isburen* is bright, and white as milk, with three eyes, one of them in his forehead; which last they say is so full of fire, that it consumes whatever it looks upon. He has no fewer than sixteen arms, and holds

and dress: something in each hand. His apparel is a tiger's skin; his

* ROGER, ubi supr. p. 22.

† PHIL. Malâk p.

§ BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 816.

‡ BERNIER, ubi supr. p.

150.

† BALD. ubi supr. p. 756, 763.

* ROGER, p.

156, 183.

† BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 757.

‡ PHIL.

Malab. p. 25.

‡ Danish Lettr. part i. p. 21.

(K) De Faria writes *Jivens*, *Port. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 379; and *Baldæus*, *Quivens*, p. 755.

(L) They say, that the serpent *Batriga*, which embraces

the seven worlds and seven seas, was not long enough to serve him for a girdle *Baldæus*, p. 755.

cloak the hide of an elephant surrounded with serpents. He wears about his neck a collar of fur, with a bell fastened to it; likewise three chains. One is intermixed with roses, and other sweet flowers. The second is made of the heads of *Bramma*: for they say *Bramma* dies and revives every year; and that *Isburen*, gathering his heads as often as he dies, made this chain of them. The third is made of the bones of *Chatti*, one of his wives, who dying likewise annually, he every time that happens takes one of her bones, and adds it to the rest. He carries also the same beads as the *Brâmmans* do; his whole body being besmeared with ashes (of cow-dung) (M), and thus rides in triumph through *Kalaja* upon his ox *Irisbipatan*, to whom they offer certain sacrifices.

THE *Brâmmans* say, that *Isburen*, to expiate the crime of cutting-off *Brâmma*'s fifth head, turned mendicant for twelve years; begging for alms, with the skull in his hand: for tho' he received a sufficient quantity from time to time, yet it was instantly consumed by the fiery rays which darted from his third eye. One day, as he was collecting alms among the *Mumis*, or *Risbi*, who inhabited the woods about *Kalaja*, (the place of his residence, where they spent their time in sacrificing), their wives came running with ladles full of blood to fill the skull; but they were so surprised at his flaming eye, that they not only dropp'd their ladles but their cloaths. The *Mumis*, seeing their wives naked, fell furiously on *Isburen*; one with an axe, another with a serpent, a third set a tiger upon him, and a fourth a wild elephant: but he slew all those animals, and carried off their skins as trophies. At length *Vistnum*, to deliver *Isburen*, appeared to the *Mumis* in the form of a beautiful virgin; which so surprised them, that they fell into a trance; and thus the god escaped from the men. Towards the end of the twelfth year, *Isburen*, being tired of his mendicant life, had recourse to *Vistnum*; who, commiserating his condition, put out the fiery eye, which consumed the alms as fast as he received them; and then wounding himself in the finger, filled the skull with the blood, which put an end to *Isburen*'s pilgrimage; but gave birth to the order of the *Joghîs* (N), who, in memory thereof, lead a mendicant life to this day.

* BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 755.

• Ibid. p. 757, & seqq.

(M) This is the form in which he is represented in the pagods. His attendants are *Pudas*, *Pisbaras*, and *Pes*. *Baldæus*, ubi supr. p. 756.

(N) Rather perhaps the *Goghis*, who are *Brâmmans*; the *Joghîs* of another tribe.

MOD. HIST. VOL. VI.

S

AMONG

Created
gods.

1st class.

outrages
committed
by him,

AMONG other extravagancies related of this god, we are told that, during his pilgrimage, *Jeksha Prajava* (O), king of the *Peringales*, and father of his wife *Paramefferi*, or *Parvati*, having a desire to see his daughters in their full glory, invited *Bramma* and *Vistnum*, who were also his sons-in-law, to a magnificent feast; but neglected to do the same by *Isburen* (P): yet, on considering the matter, invited him at last. This, however, the mendicant god took so heinously, that he resolved to spoil the feast. His anger was farther provoked by the treatment his wife received: for having obtained leave from him to go to the banquet, he ordered her to put on her best apparel; and, to set her off to the most advantage, lent her his serpents, his umbrella of peacocks tails, his chain of bones, his tiger's skin, and his elephant's hide. Thus equipped, she mounted upon an ox; and with a large attendance of drummers, *Pudus* and *Pisbares*, came to her father's palace. Her sisters and the other guests, who met her at the gates, seeing her in such a droll equipage, instead of bidding her welcome, burst-out into laughter; which so vexed *Paramefferi*, that, without alighting, she returned to *Kalaja*, loudly complaining of the affront which had been put upon her.

at Praja-
va's feast.

ISHUREN, thinking himself concerned in the ill-treatment given his wife, sent his sons *Quenavadi* and *Superbennis* to spoil their mirth: but *Vistnum*, knowing that the first was fond of cakes, and the latter of hearing stories, took care to throw those amusements in their way, so that they forgot their errand. *Isburen* hereupon sent his daughter *Patragali*; who being likewise detained by some good-cheer she met with in the hall (for she loved her belly dearly), he resolved to go himself. As soon as *Vistnum* and *Bramma* got notice of this, they made an apology to their father-in-law, as not being, they said, able to cope with *Isburen*; and withdrew, leaving only the *Sun* and *Moon* behind. The angry god, entering the palace presently after, seized *Prajava* by the hair. At the same instant there stepped forth (the offspring of his anger) a warrior armed cap-a-pie, called *Virapatren*, who cut-off the king's head, with the hands of the god of fire, and beat-out

(O) Roger calls him *Dasba*, as the reader will find in the history of *Brâmma*.

(P) According to Roger, p. 153, the reason he gave for not inviting *Eswara*, or *Isburen*, was that as he lived by begging

his bread, and had not cloths to cover him, he was not worthy to be invited; on which his daughter *Parvati* replied, *no I neither*; and so leaped into the fire prepared for sacrifice, and was consumed.

the

the teeth of the Sun ^{p.}. This is the *Malabâr* legend : but *Created* that of *Karnâta*, which differs in several particulars, says, *gods.* the Moon also had a hearty banging; whence her black spots : *1st class.* and that the king got a goat's head instead of his own ^q.

As *Isburen*, or *Ruddiren*, is the true, and, very likely, the *The In-* original *Priapus* of antiquity, so many things are related *dian Pri-* of him suitable to that character : among the rest, he once *apus :* forced a young she-slave, who refused to comply with his lustful desires ^r. He is often spoken of as shedding his semen on the ground ; which always gave birth to something. As this happened one time just after enjoying his wife *Paramesferi*, she covered it with some earth ; from whence sprung-up a palm-tree, whose liquor so well pleased *Isburen*, that he often made use of it. His wife, observing that he always returned intoxicated from the wood, followed him one day ; and, finding the juice agreeable, tasted so long of it, that she became fuddled herself ^s : so frail, or rather so addicted to vice, are the *Indian* gods and goddesses. It is perhaps owing to this liquor, that *Isburen* is, as we are told, everlastingly dancing ^t.

NOR is *Isburen* without his incarnations, or appearances in human form, any more than *Vijñum* : for they say, that he appeared no fewer than sixty-four times, and acted so many comedies before a great many people in the city of *Madurey*, capital of the kingdom of *Madurey*, under the name of *Tjabokenaden*. Our readers may judge of the rest by an account of one ; the substance of which is, that he appeared to a widow in the above-mentioned city, and offered to be her servant, on condition that he should never want for victuals. His mistress readily agreed to the bargain, expecting a good deal of work at his hands : but she quickly found herself deceived in him ; for he not only devoured as much as would satisfy several men, but in short would never give over eating ; so that neither persuasions nor menaces could prevail on him to do any other business. At length, the widow complained to the king of this insatiable glutton : but, although his majesty gave the lubber such a swinging blow, that it was felt all over the universe. Yet this correction could not make *Isburen* perform his bargain : for, rather than work, he thought fit to quit the widow's service, and disappear immediately ^u. Are not such

*other extra-
vagancies :*

^p BALDÆUS, ubi sup. p. 765.

^q ROGER, ubi sup. p.

155. ^r Danish Confer. p. 105.

^s BALDÆUS, ubi

sup. p. 759. ^t Danish Confer. p. 106.

^u PHILLIPS'S

Account Malab. p. 45. Danish Confer. p. 105, 171.

Created gods. comedies, or rather farces, as these, very becoming the character of a God ?

1st class.

his wives:

As the traditions of the different sects and countries differ in other things, so they do with regard to the wives and children of *Isburen*. In *Karnâta* they seem to allow him but one wife, named *Parvati*: in each of the *Malabârs* they give him two: but their names in one country are so different from those used in the other, that we cannot tell whether they be the same or not. In *East Malabâr* they are called *Ispari* and *Kenkabewanani**; in *West Malabâr*, *Grienga* and *Chatti*, or *Paramesseri*†. As each has many names, the disagreement may possibly arise from thence, different names being used in different places. *Parvati* was the daughter of *Dasba*, son of *Brâmma* by *Parasvati*. She taking it ill that her father had not invited *Isburen*, as well as *Brâmma* and *Vishnum*, to the *jagam*, or feast, before-mentioned; and taking still worse his reason for the slight, which was that *Isburen* begged his bread, and had not cloaths to his back, for mere vexation cast herself into the fire prepared for the sacrifice, and was consumed to ashes. *Isburen* was so enraged at this affair, that he sweated for anger; and from his sweat sprung *Virepadra*, who, by his command, committed the outrages already related. As for *Parvati* (who by similitude of facts appears to be the same with *Paramesseri*), her soul passing into another body, became the daughter of the mountain *Kimmurwanda*, who likewise bestowed her on *Eswara*, or *Isburen*, for a wife a second time. This god became so fond of her, that he gave her half of his body, and thus became an hermaphrodite; on which occasion the *Brâmmans* call him *Ardhanari*, that is *half-man and half-woman*‡, or a *man-wife*§. This *Parvati*, otherwise called *Chatti* and *Paramesseri* (according to those of *West Malabâr*), dies and revives once a year, as hath been already mentioned. His second wife is named *Grienga*, or the goddess of the seas; whom he always carries in his hairlocks^b.

his children:

WE find a local difference likewise as to the number and names of *Isburen*'s children. Some give him two sons, others three, and some four: but it must be observed, that they distinguish two sorts of children belonging to this god; namely, those gotten by copulation, and those who were produced by his will; of which kind there were two.

* PHILLIPS, ubi supr. p. 96.

p. 757.

p. 756.

† ROGER, ubi supr. p. 152, 154.

‡ Ibid. p. 755.

§ BALDREWS, ubi supr.

* BALD.

ACCORDING

ACCORDING to the tradition of *Karnâta*, he had two sons Created by his wife *Parvati*; the first *Wikneſwara*, or, as the eastern gods. *Malabârs* call him, *Wikneſburen*; he is likewise named *Pul-leiar*. Some say he was only the offspring of his father's will^c. 1st class.

THE second is named *Komara-Swami*, or *Shawmi*^d; and likewise *Subhiramanien*. As *Churapadbama*, who ruled over fourteen worlds, and had a thousand millions of soldiers, offered many injuries to the subordinate gods, this *Swami* was created on purpose to chastise him, which he did, riding on a peacock, by destroying him and all his race; and for that service obtained the highest degree of happiness^e.

HIS sons of volition, were *Viereſpaddra*, who sprung from several his anger and sweat, as before-mentioned; and *Beyrewa*, sons: the offspring likewise of passion; being he who scratched-off the fifth head of *Brâmma*, and is sovereign of the devils, or judge of hell^f.

BESIDES the two first, the *Malabârs* also give *Iſburen* two children. One called *Waididianada Shwami*, to whom they pray for children: the other *Arrigari buddiren*; who, we are told, rose out of his semen, which he shed on the appearance of *Wiſbtû*, in the form of a beautiful woman, who came to commit uncleanness with him. To this *Arrigari* they always make offerings when they begin any enterprize^g.

ACCORDING to the western *Malabârs*, *Iſburen* had five sons one son an and one daughter. Three of the sons were by his wife *Pa- elephant: rameſſeri*, or *Parvati*. The first, named *Quenavadi*, had the head of an elephant: for one day, as they were walking by a wood, *Parameſſeri* saw two elephants copulate; which so raised her appetite, that she persuaded *Iſburen* to transform them both into elephants, and play the same pranks; the effect of which frolick was this young monster, to whom she durst not give suck, for fear of having her breast torn in pieces by him. He is represented with long hair, like his father's, tied about with a serpent, an half-moon on his forehead, and red pimples all over his elephant's face. He has likewise four hands, with a large belly girt with a red piece of linen. His body shines like gold, and his legs are adorned with gold rings and bells. They say, that his father caused him to be castrated; because, being once in his mother's arms, he touched her privy parts with his trunk. Others say, he

^c ROGER, ubi sup. p. 175. PHILLIPS, ubi sup. p. 34, 96.

^d ROGER, ibid.

^e PHILLIPS, ubi sup. p. 101, 141.

^f ROGER, p. 144, 175.

^g PHILLIPS, ubi sup. p. 90, 96.

Danish Confer. p. 105.

Created gods. actually enjoyed her; and that therefore the elephants have no testicles.

1st class.

*longgrant-
ing petiti-
ons;*

THE Hindû mechanicks and others offer the first fruits of their labour to this *Quenavadi*. After they have devoted themselves to his worship for twelve years, he moves one of his ears to let them know, that they must serve him twelve years more; at the end of which he shakes the other ear, to let them know that he expects still more at their hands: if they hold on twelve years longer, he then opens his eyes, and grants their requests. This god is very voracious: for they say he could devour the world; nor is to be satisfied, but in the *Sugar Sea*, where he has his residence, and is attended by beautiful women, who are continually employed to lade sugar, mixed with honey, into his mouth; while the musicians divert him with their instruments^h. One night, returning late from a banquet, with his umbrella in one hand, in the other a poem, and under his arm some cakes, of which he was very fond, he ran against a post, although it was moon-light, and fell down, all his things flying about. As the cakes were his greatest concern, he laid hold of them while he lay sprawling, and took a good bite or two, before he offered either to rise, or look for his book or umbrella. The moon, who beheld this pleasant spectacle, could not forbear laughing; which *Quenavadi* perceiving, he uttered this curse, *Whoever, O Moon, shall see thee for the future on this day, shall be damnified in his privities*. Hence it is, that the *Hindûs* will not stir abroad on the fourth day after the new moon in *August*, or look into the water for fear of seeing it; although they observe the *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Mohammedans*, to view that planet at the same time, without receiving any injury.

*a mere
glutton;*

*second son
an ape;*

ISHUREN and *Paramesseri* were both celebrated dancers. She for her part was so nimble, that one time dropping an ear-jewel while she was in the height of her dance, she took it up with two of her toes, and put it in again, to the incredible surprize of the spectators (Q). Another time, while she and her spouse were dancing, before a great assembly of celestial spirits, invited for that purpose, she happened to see two apes sporting in the adjacent wood; and, taking a fancy

* *BALDEUS*, p. 758, & seq.

(Q) Hence *Baldeus* supposes the custom arose among the ladies of the *Nayros* (or *Nabers*), who when dancing at a

certain feast in honour of one of their idols, on a sudden let slip all their clothes, and remain naked.

So do the like, prevailed on *Isburen* to transform them into *apes*, which the uxorious god did; and the fruit of this *Created gods.* Frolic was an ape: but when the mad fit was over, she, being *1st class.* ashamed of her burden, got the *Wind* to convey it into the womb of *Anhema*, one of the ladies attending on the other spirits. Thus the ape got a new father and mother, who brought him forth. He was as white as *Isburen*; and, being endowed with many peculiar virtues, performed abundance of notable exploits; some already mentioned in the history of *Siri Rama*¹, under the name of *Hanuman* (or *Anemonta*). This name was given him by *Isburen*; because he received no harm from a great knock in the pate, which he received from his father's iron rod, for endeavouring to leap up and snap at the *Sun* when he was hungry. Another time, quarrelling with *Akrpadia*, a white elephant, on which *Devandran*, king of the celestial spirits, was mounted, he happened to be killed. At this, his presumptive father the *Wind* was so afflicted, that he hid his face under-ground, till *Isburen*, at the request of the inhabitants of the earth, ready to perish for want of air, restored *Hanuman* to life, and recalled the *Wind* to his proper office.

THE third son of *Isburen* was called *Superbennia*, who had six faces and twelve hands; which happened on the following occasion. As *Paramesseri* was washing herself one day in a cistern, six weavers chanced to pass by, who looking upon her with very amorous desires, she became inflamed no less than they, and the same instant conceived. But, fearing her husband's anger, she spat out the embryo upon the ground; which immediately assuming the form of twelve arms and six faces, very much resembling the six weavers, they carried him with them, and gave him an accomplished education. One time *Isburen*, entering into an argument with him, was so taken with his wit, that he received him for his son, assigned him a residence at *Kala ja*, and presented him with a peacock to ride on^{*}. *third with six faces,*

FROM this circumstance he appears to be the same with *beats out Subhiramanian* of the eastern *Malabârs*, before-mentioned. *his brother's tooth.* Once upon a time *Isburen*, desirous to try the agility of this son and *Quenavadi*, offered a very fine fig, as a reward to him who should ride round *Kala ja* with most expedition. The two brothers started together: but as *Quenavadi*, who was very heavy, and rode only upon a mouse, knew that he would lose the race; he took the opportunity, when *Superbennia* was gotten a good way before him on his peacock, to turn short

¹ See before, p. 620, & seq.

^{*} BALDÆUS, p. 761:

Created
gods.
1st class.

and seize the fig. *Superbennia* having won the prize, and not finding it as he expected, fell with such fury upon *Quenavadi*, that he beat out one of his elephant's teeth. However, *Ishura* bestowing on him another fig, the difference was soon composed: but not knowing what to do with the tooth, he gave it to *Vistnum*, desiring him to restore it to the proprietor. The method *Vistnum* took to do this, was to put it in a fig, which he presented to his nephew; who, going to eat it, found his tooth. *Quenavadi*, instead of putting the tooth into his head again, converted it into a nice pen, which he kept to write his poetry with¹.

A fourth
monster.

BESIDES these three sons, the western *Malabars* give *Ishuren* two more. One stiled *Ega Sourubum*, or the true god, is represented with an elephant's head and eleven hands. He is to be worshipped only by the *Brâhmins*, although others also sacrifice to him. The other son is named *Sewsi*. This son had his origin from the impurities which came from the body of *Paramesseri* one day when she was washing herself in a pond. *Ishuren*, perceiving a man at a distance, and imagining him to be her gallant, hastened thither, and cut off his head; which, falling at the foot of mount *Kala ja*, became a coco-tree: and hence the *Indians* say that the figure of a human face was impressed on the coco-nut. As *Paramesseri* grieved exceedingly at her son's death, *Ishuren* made an apology for his mistake; and, to comfort her, cut off the head of a white elephant, and, fixing it on *Sewsi*'s shoulders, restored him to life again².

Ishuren's
daughter,

So much for *Ishuren*'s sons: but his daughter is something still more extraordinary: her production was on the following occasion. The giant *Darida* having, beside of a book and some bracelets, obtained from *Brâhma* the gift of being invulnerable, and appearing as if he had a great many heads, became so vain-glorious that he challenged *Ishura*. The god, knowing his strength, sent against him a female named *Sorga*, with six other women; who cut off all his false or imaginary heads, but could do him no farther injury. On this, *Ishuren* consulted *Vistnum*; who, while they were talking, sent forth from his body a certain monster, which, entering that of *Ishuren*, passed out again through the eye in his forehead, and falling on the ground, in an instant became a female; whom *Ishuren* acknowledged for his daughter, and distinguished by the name of *Patragak*, or *Patrakoli Pagoda*.

¹ BALDEUS, 761.

² Ibid. 761.

THIS daughter had eight faces and sixteen hands, as black as *Created -*
 a coal, with great round eyes, and teeth like tusks of a boar. *gods.*
 Instead of pendants, her image has two elephants in its ears, *1st class.*
 and her body is covered with serpents, instead of a garment. *with boar,*
 Her hair-locks are the tails of peacocks; and in each hand *tusks,*
 she carries some instrument; such as a sword, a trident, a
 china basin, a rope, an ape, and the like. This monster
 went immediately to revenge her father's quarrel, and fought
 the giant for seven days; but found, after cutting-off seven
 of his false heads, that he was not vulnerable, so long as he
 was possessed of the book and bracelets given to him by
Brâmma. She therefore applies to *Sorga*; who, going to
Darida's wife in his absence, asked in his name for the said
 things; which were forthwith delivered to her. By this
 means *Darida*, being deprived of his strength, in the next
 conflict had his real head cut-off by his female antagonist.

PATRAGALI, elated with this victory, hastened to *Isburen*; *abuses her*
 who, being undressed, leaped into a cistern to avoid being seen *father:*
 by her; and from thence gave her some flesh and some blood.
 But finding her not satisfied, he bad her hold out her basin;
 and, cutting-off one of his fingers, filled it with his own
 blood. She, far from being yet contented, threw one of her
 gold chains in his face; which raising many pustules in the
 skin, he cried out, with great surprize, *Basuri!* that is,
O you revengeful woman! and, desiring her to desist, created *bow ap-*
 two young men, named *Birapatrem* and *Quetraquele*, whom *peased by*
 he bestowed on her; which made her easy. From this time, *him:*
Basuri signified the *small pox* among the *Malabars*; who say
 it is the sword of *Patragali*, and for that reason endeavour to
 mitigate her wrath by sacrifices. They affirm, that her chief
 residence is in the pagoda of *Kranganor*, called the *temple of*
pilgrims, from the vast number of zealots who flock thither.
 In this temple, near her statue, stands a huge man in marble;
 whom every day the *Brâmmans* beat on the head with ham-
 mers, to keep him from growing.

ISHUREN, to get rid effectually of *Patragali*, besides *passes to*
 her gallants, presented her likewise with a ship of sandal wood, *Malabar:*
 ordering her to take a voyage into the world, and reside there
incognito; yet to require vows and sacrifices from the inha-
 bitants. But while he was found asleep one morning, little
 dreaming of a visit from his termagant daughter, he was sud-
 denly awaked by her overturning his bedstead: for, being
 attacked, as soon as she had put to sea, by some fishermen and
 ape-hunters, she was forced to return to *Kala ja* to crave her
 father's assistance; who having endowed her with new vigour,
 she

Created
gods.
1st class.

she defeated the ape-hunters, and landed safely at *Kalang*, a city of *Malabâr*; where the Queen entertained her for twelve years as her own daughter. After this term she was married to the son of the lord of *Kouleta* (R); and there lived twelve years more without ever cohabiting with her husband, as boasting herself to be the daughter of *Ijburen*. Afterwards her father and mother-in-law having been robbed at sea of all their riches by the ape-hunters, she gave her gold foot-rings to her husband to dispose of. He, on the road, met with a goldsmith; who, pretending to buy them, brought him to *Pandi*, and there accused him of stealing such rings from the queen of that place, which he himself had stolen not long before. On this accusation, the stranger was imprisoned, and afterwards impaled on a palm-tree. *Patragali*, after waiting six days without hearing of her husband, set-out in quest of him, asking news of him from every thing she met with; but experienced very indifferent usage from some of them. A mango-tree was so churlish as not to afford her an answer; a cow gave her a hearty kick by way of reply; a *Naira* let her fall into a pit, which he had covered over with twigs to deceive her; and a *Nairo's* daughter only flouted and laughed when she asked her the question. However, she gave those rude creatures her curse; and, to make her some amends, was treated with great respect by two birds, a *Jako-tree*, a *Polea*, and a *Parrea*: so that, although they were not able to give her any intelligence, yet she gave them her blessing. At length she came to the fatal palm-tree; which being too high for her reach, she obtained by her prayers that it broke, and so delivered her husband: but, although she had not power of herself to make the tree bend down to her, yet she had power, it seems, to bring the dead man to life again.

her ad-
ventures
there.

Ijburen

worshipped;

diren. Thus much for the wives and children of *Ijburen*, or *Kut-diren*. Let us next see in what manner he is worshiped by the *Hindûs*. He is represented in the pagods in two different manners; one is in the form of a man, with three eyes, and 16 hands, dressed in the way already described: the other manner of representing him is in the shape of the virile member, or rather the privy parts of both sexes in conjunction, which they call *Linga*, or *Lingam*. In the countries of east and west *Malabâr* he is worshipped in both these forms (S);

* BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 762, & seqq.

(R) A country seven leagues of *Nandi*. Compare *Phil. Ma-*
to the north of *Kalekut*. *lab.* p. 34. and *Roger*, p. 175.

(S) He is worshiped also un- 342.
der the form of an ox, and name.

but

out in some parts of *Karnata* he is represented in temples solely in the form of the *Lingam*. This at least is the case in the country about *Paliakatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*, according to the account of *Abr. Roger*; who at the same time observes, that in processions he is carried in his proper figure; the human form is more acceptable to the people than the *lingam*.

THEY seem to be hard put to it to find a reason for the *lingam* worship: they say that a *Muniswara* (T), going to sit *Isburen* one day, when he was in private with his wife *arvati*, was kept waiting so long by the porter, that he grew angry, and dropped some offensive words; which *Isburen* over-hearing, asked the *Muniswara* why he spoke so? the saint begged pardon, saying, he was in a fret; and made request, that they who worshipped the figure of the *Lingam* might receive more benefit than those who worshipped his image with hands and feet: which request *Isburen* granted. However that be, *Isburen* is no less famous on account of this obscene way of representing him, than *Vishnum* for his ten transformations. There are several sects particularly devoted to the worship of the *Lingam*, which figure they wear in their loins, and about their necks (U), wrapped up in linen: say, about *Goa*, and in *Kanara*, the infatuation for the *Lingam* is so high, that brides are carried to this *Priapus* to be dewed, before they can be enjoyed by their husbands; who thank the bawdy God for saving them so much trouble.

THE *Brâhmans* observing that all animals were produced by copulation, made a deity of the instruments of generation; and account for its origin in this manner. They say, that 14 worlds being produced from an egg, *Isburetta*, or the deity, taking his place in the highest heaven, there arose on earth the mountain *Kalaja*: that on the top of it stood a singular substance; and this produced a round substance, called *Chive Linga* (X); which they say is *Isburetta*, or the

ROGER Mœns des Bram. p. 155, 157. Ibid. Ibid. p. 2, 23, and 157. Phillips Malab. p. 20, 34, 41. BALDÆUS, supr. p. 754.

(T) The *Munis* are great ascetics; and *Muniswara* seems to be compounded of *Munis* and *swara*, or *Isburen*, to denote his particular attachment to it. No doubt there are many also devoted to *Vishnum*.

(U) The *Joghis* do this, and regard it their best virginals.

(X) This he explains the members of both sexes; yet after saying, it signifies the *Lingam*, or member of *Quæren* (rather *Chiven*, or *Chiwên*). But this seeming contradiction may be reconciled, on considering that *Chiven*, or *Isburen*, is supposed to be of both sexes.

divinity

Gods of the divinity itself. This circular figure, was inclosed in three 2^d and 3^d distinct rinds, or shells, which were transmuted into three Gods, *class*.



Bramma, Vistnum, and Chiven (or Ishuren). *Chiva Linga* thus stripped of its shell, was burnt to ashes, and fixed in the triangle; and being thus become without sense or motion, it was requisite that it should be guarded by somebody. This *Bramma* and *Vistnum* refusing to do, *Chiven* undertook the task, constantly attending on it with prayers and sacrifice of flowers. As by this means he deserved to be ranked before his brothers, he obtained the title of *The Great God* [*Ma Dew*] as their poets call him*.

Ishuren's described.

THIS doubtless is the legend, or tradition, of the *Linga* sects (for all have an equal right of forging). The name of the divinity *Ishuretta* is from *Ishuren*: *Kalajah* is his place of residence; and the name of *Chive Linga*, which is the thing in his keeping, shews it belongs to, or is a part of, him. In effect, they make him the offspring of his own privities and worship them as a God, the producer of all animal creatures. It is no wonder therefore that they so much exalt and magnify the penis of *Ishuren*: for although they ascribe to him such a prodigious height, as has been mentioned, & they say it reached to his forehead; and that being so large, he could not enjoy his wife *Chatti*, he was forced to cut it in 18 Pieces: after which he lay with her, and from this conjunction proceeded all living creatures, both rational and irrational. Hence it is, that in *Kanara*, between *Kanar* and *Mangalor*, there is a certain religious order, living constantly in the pagods, who appear in the streets stark-naked; and as their ringing a bell, the women, of all conditions, even the queens, come running out to touch (our author might have said also, to kiss) their privy members†.

S E C T. III.

Gods of the Second and Third Class.

Inferior gods.

AS the sons and daughters of the gods of the first class make those of the second, and we have already given the reader a sufficient account of them; there remains little more to be said upon the subject, excepting what relates to a few *Devetas*, or divinities of the third class: who, on account of the services done to the gods of the first class, have obtained the privilege of being ranked among those of the second, and found a place in the temples of their patrons.

AMONG the principal lesser gods, whose statues are less within the inclosure of the great temples, which the *Hindus*

* BALDÆUS, ubi sup. p. 754.

† Ibid. p. 813, 814.

§. 8. Religion of the Hindûs, or Indians.

owas build in honour of their *Wistnow* (or *Vistnum*) one meets *Gods of the*
 with those of *Garrouda* and *Annemonta*. The former had the *2d and 3d*
 hape of a red spar-hawk, with a white ring about his neck; *class.*
 and sprung from an egg, laid by his mother *Diti*, which *Garrouda*
 was hatched after it had remained 500 years in the ovoid state. *the Spar-*
Diti having brought herself into slavery to *Kaddrowa Winneta* *Hawk.*
 (or *Additi*) another wife of the *Bramman Kassiope*, through a
 silly wager, which she lost by the artifice of her rival; *Gar-*
rouda, to free her and her offspring from that oppression,
 conveyed himself to *Devendre Lokon*, where the *Amortam* was
 kept; and after a desperate conflict, forced it from the *Dewetas*,
 and brought it away. His mother being delivered from her bon-
 dage, by drinking of that immortal liquor, *Wistnow* afterwards
 took *Garrouda* for his wahannam, or bird of carriage.

WITH regard to *Annemonta* or *Hanuman*, an account has *Anne-*
 been already given of his exploits in the service of *Wistnow*. *monta, or*
 As to his original, we are told, that at the same time *Wistnow* *Manu-*
 had commanded the *Dewetas* to transform themselves into *man, the*
 apes, in order to fight the *Rasbajas*, that is, giants or demons, *Aps.*
 there appeared a female ape, who conceived without con-
 versing with the ape her husband, and brought forth *Anne-*
monta; who, it seems, is properly the wind, ushered into the
 world in form of a monkey. For the services done to *Wistnow*,
 when in the shape of *Ramma*, he has been honoured with a
 small temple, within the inclosure of that god's fane; and
 while *Garrouda* attends him in heaven, *Annemonta* remains
 on earth, as *Wistnow's* agent to transact his affairs here, till
Bramma's time is expired. After this when *Wistnow* shall ap-
 pear again in the world, *Annemonta* is to be in the place of
Bramma; and *Bramma* is to perform the office of *Annemonta*,
 the wind.

THESE are the gods of the second class, in great esteem *Attend-*
 with the *Wistnowas*: on the other hand, the *Seyvias*, or wor- *ants of*
 shippers of *Efwara*, or *Isburen*, join to the children of that *Ishuren.*
 god certain other beings for the objects of their devotion;
 namely, *Pudas*, *Pisbaros*, and *Pes*, who are the attendants
 of *Isburen*, and always found in his temples. *Pudas* is re-
 presented like a thick short person, with a huge paunch, and
 no beard, but serpents hanging down from his head, instead
 of hair. He wears serpents also for bracelets on his arms and
 thighs, and carries a staff in his right hand. The *Pes* and
Pisbaros are represented much taller, holding lighted torches

* ROGER, Mœurs des Bram. p. 3, 168, & seqq. * See
 before, p. 621. † ROGER, ubi sup. p. 172, & seqq.

Gods of the 1st and 2d class. in the night time². As Roger mentions none of these gentry, it is probable that they are not found in the pagods of *Karnata*. However, that author, besides the sons of *Ishura*, saw in his temples *Nandi*, otherwise called *Bafwa* and *Isanna*, who has the figure of an ox³; but others say this is *Ishuren* himself⁴.

Gods of the 3d class. THIS is all we find relating to the gods of the second class. As for those of the third order, they consist of such as we call spirits, or angels, both good and evil. The good angels or spirits, they call *Dewetas*; and the evil ones, *Rasbajas*. These, according to the *Hindu* tradition, were not immediately created by the gods of the first class, or begotten by them, but had a human original; being the offspring of the first *Bramman* who was in the world, named *Kassiope*. This *Bramman*, who was the son of *Bramma*, had two wives, one called *Diiti*, who was the mother of the *Dew-etas* (Y); the other *Aditi*, who brought forth the *Rasbajas* (Z), or demons. Some of these latter have been wicked men, and therefore are condemned for their sins to wander about the world in the shape of men, and live by begging. As these devils are under the command of *Beyrewa*, the son of *Eswara* (or *Ishura*) he takes care that they shall not do any hurt to mankind, or pluck so much as an ear of corn, without their permission. The rest of these *Rasbajas* are those to whom that name properly belongs, and are really devils; having it in their power to do mischief to mankind, and even disturb the *Dewetas*, or good angels themselves, as appears from the histories of *Rawan*, and others already related. These are met with all over the world, and even in *Surgam*, or the worlds under heaven; but not in heaven itself. These devils have stinking bodies, and very deformed shapes. As there are of them both males and females, they propagate their species, who are subject to death like other mortal beings.

place of residence. THE place of their residence is said to be in the island of *Andemân*, in the way from *Palliakatta* to *Pegu*; and they are represented as man-eaters; such as the inhabitants of *Andemân* are reported to be⁵.

THE *Dew-etas*, or good angels, are likewise divided into two sorts; for the souls of men, who die in a happy state,

² BALDEUS, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 756.

³ ROGER, ubi sup. p. 175.

⁴ PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabar, p. 34.

⁵ ROGER, ubi sup. p. 185, & seqq.

(Y) Baldeus calls them *Demagals*, or *Dewetas*, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 766.

(Z) Baldeus calls them *Raxi-*

and go into one of the places of bliss (A), which are under *Gods of the* heaven, obtain also the name of *Dewetas*; and after they *1st and 2d* have been there for a certain time, according to the degree of *class*. *of true kinds*. their merits, must return to this world, and be born again: but then there are *Dewetas* who remain always in the lower heavens. Of these there are a great number, among whom are reckoned *Suria*, the sun, and *Shendra*, the moon, with all the stars; to each of whom they ascribe a soul and life; and the two great luminaries are held in high veneration by the sects devoted to *Wistnum*^d. Besides the above-mentioned, all *Evil an-* the governors of the several worlds and paradises, of whom *gels were* *Rajah Inder*, or *Dew-endiren*, is chief, all the guardians of *shipped*. towns and provinces on earth, with the rulers of the infernal regions, and the like, are ranked amongst the gods of this third class (B). These are all worshipped by the *Hindús*, according to their fancy; not excepting the devils; among whom *Ganga*, *Gramma*, and *Gárnatha*, are the chief. There are temples every-where (in *Karnáta*) erected to *Ganga*, who is worshipped in the form of a head and four arms; but *Gárnatha* is not honoured with any, excepting in one place, which, it seems, is against rule^e; the gods of this class being, for the general, such whose images are set up only in the fields or in houses.

THE better to comprehend this system of inferior gods, *System of* it will be proper to set forth the *Indian* notion of the universe; *the uni-* which they say is like an egg, comprehending in it the hea- *verse*. vens, the earth, and the abyss. Of these the earth, or this world, which they call *Bow Lokon*, or *Lugom*, that is, *the place below*, possesses the middle place, between the upper and the lower worlds. The heavens, or upper worlds, are of three kinds; those of the first and highest sort are three in number, *Heavens* *Kaylasen*, *Lila Weykontam*, and *Weykontam*. These are the *first sort*. places where God himself (or the Supreme Being) resides^f. This account needs some farther explanation. The *Brámmans*, that is, those of the sects who make *Wistnum*, or *Isburen*,

^d ROGER, ubi supr. p. 185, & seqq. item, p. 176. • Ibid. p. 245, & seqq. ^e Ibid. p. 148, 181.

(A) Called *Devalogum*; which signifies the place of these gods, or divinities. This word *Dev*, *Dew*, or *Div*, is prefixed to the names of some, as *Dew*, or *Dev-indiren*, mentioned lower down. It is the fourth of the fourteen worlds, lying between those of *Wistnu* and *Brama*; which last is the fifth, according to Mr. Ziegenbalg. See *La Croix. Hist. de Chrétiens des Ind.* p. 464. (B) These contained in the fourth world, and also the (*Rishi* or) prophets, are under *Dewendiren*. *Ziegenb*, *ibid*.

Gods of the the supreme being, assign two sorts of places for the presence
2d and 3d of residence of God; one where he exists as a spirit; the other
class. corporally. And as we find that *Kaylasan* (C) is of this latter
 kind (for there *Eswara*, or *Isburen*, is said to reside bodily
 with his wife *Parvati*²), we presume the other two are re-
 served for his spiritual appearance, especially *Weykontam*, where
 we are told God hath his abode¹. This tradition is doubt-
 less according to the principles of the *Seyvias*, who acknow-
 ledge *Isburen*'s supremacy: but altho' *Wistnum* has not his re-
 sidence in any of these heavens, yet to those who are wholly
 devoted to his service, the privilege is granted of going im-
 mediately to *Weykontam*, which is the-highest heaven of bliss
 from whence souls never return into this world¹.

*Second
fort.*

THE second kind of heaven is immediately under the other
 three, and called *Bramma Lokon*, from the god *Bramma*, who
 resides there.

*Third
fort,*

THE third sort, called by the general name of *Surgan*, or
Sorgam, are rather so many paradises or elysian fields, in-
 cluding the infernal regions, whither the souls of people go
 from this world after death. These, which are eight in num-
 ber, lie between *Bramma Lokon* and *Bow Lokon*, or this earth;
 taking their names from the spirits who govern them. 1. *Indre
Lokon*, where *Indre*, or *Dewendra*, the god of the blessed souls,
 governs immediately under *Bramma*, as his deputy; and the
 seven other chiefs under him; 2. *Akni Lokon*; 3. *Jamna Lo-
kon*, which is hell; 4. *Niruti Lokon*; 5. *Warrunna Lokon*;
 6. *Kubera Lokon*; 7. *Wajowwia Lokon*; 8. *Ifanja Lokon*. Each
 of the last seven chiefs, besides the government of his world
 or place, has also the superintendence of other affairs. *As*
 (or *Vanni* (D) takes care, or is the god, of the fire. *Jamna*
 (or *Padurpati* (E) — *Niruti* (or *Nirurdi*) — *Warrunna* (or *Ve-
rumna*, and *Varrinem*) rules the sea; *Wajowwia* (or *Mari*)
 governs the winds; *Kubera* (called also *Bassironnem*) looks
 after riches. As for *Ifanja*, or *Isbananam*, we are told he is
Isburen himself².

*or para-
dises.*

¹ ROGER, ubi supr. p. 156.

² Ibid. p. 290.

³ Ibid. p. 148. 181. Baldæus, 772. 780. De Faria Portu, *Ala*,
 vol. ii. p. 384.

(C) It is said to be the highest
 of the three heavens; possibly
 by mistake, instead of the lowest;
 which doubtless it ought to be,
 as being the most sensual.

(D) *Baldæus*, after *De Sousa*,
 gives several of these governors,
 or chiefs, different names, which

we have included within para-
 theses.

(E) *Baldæus* makes him king
 of the evil spirits; and *Niruti*
 king of the infernal spirits. By
 the evil spirits must, we pre-
 sume, be understood the *Agnis*,
jas, or *Addiren*.

THE

THIS is the order of the celestial regions. With regard to *Gods of the Bow Lokon*, or this earth, they say also that it consists of seven ^{2d and 3d} worlds, each separated from another by a sea, from whence ^{clasi.} it takes a name. That nearest the center is surrounded with a sea of fresh water; the next to this is inclosed with a sea of milk (F). The sea which environs the third world, consists of butter; that embracing the fourth is of *Tayer*, thick milk, or clouted cream. The fifth world is encompassed with a sea of wine; the sixth with a sea of syrup; and the last, which is this we inhabit, with a salt sea. In the middle of the *Bow Lokon* stands the mountain *Meraw*, or *Meruperwât* often mentioned before; which is so high, that it reaches upwards above the eight celestial worlds, or regions, and downwards, as low as the great abyss, called *Patalam* (or *Padalas*.) Although this mountain is of gold, yet there grow upon it all sorts of fruits, which have the property of preventing the eaters from ever becoming old; but then none have the privilege to eat them, but the *Dêwetâs*. This mountain is as it were the axis of the heavens, round which the sun, moon, and stars, perform their revolutions; so that when the sun is behind it, it is night¹.

*Seven ter-
restrial
worlds.*

As to *Patalam*, or the *Padalas* (G), that is, the abyss, *Patalam*, we are told they are subterranean places, like the purgatory or purgatory, and limbus of the *Romanists*: These are seven in number, *tory*.

¹ ROGER, p. 182, & seq.

(F) In this sea of milk *Wisnû* is said to have his residence.

(G) Our authors speak of these worlds, which are in number fourteen, not very distinctly. Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, in his account of the *Indians*, and their religion, which he left in manuscript, seems to have been more exact. But Mr. *Le Croze* has given from thence the names of only five of those fourteen worlds, in the following order; 1. *Padala Logum* (or *Locum*) or hell, whose king is *Emen*, the god of death. His court is composed of devils [or *Rasbejas*]; and here the damned souls are tormented. 2. *Pa Logum*, which is the earth we inhabit.

3. *Maga* [or *Maba*] *Logum*, where *Wisnû* and his court reside, 4. *Deva* [or *Dewa*] *Logum*, or the world of the Gods, in number 330,000, besides 48,000 prophets, all subject to *Devendiren*, king of this world. 5. *Chaddia Logum*, where *Biruma*, or *Brama*, has his abode. Mr. *Le Croze* forbore giving the names of the other nine worlds, because his manuscript said nothing in particular about them. But we could wish we had either the whole work, or a more complete extract than what has been published by *Le Croze*; to whom the world however is infinitely obliged for that noble abstract which he has presented them.

*Temples
and wor-
ship.*

whose names are *Adala*, *Bidala*, *Sudala*, *Taladalam*, *Sadala*, *Mahadalam*, and *Padalam*; which inferior worlds are inhabited by men, who receive no other light but what certain serpents, carrying very bright stones on their heads, shed them on.

*Ages of
the world.*

WE have already mentioned the four ages, or periods of time, which are ascribed to this world, and to each of which the *Brâhmans* allot a vast number of years, very incompatible with our chronology; for, according to them, the first period consists of 1,728,000 years; the second, of 1,296,000; the third, of 8,064,000 years; and the fourth, of 4,032,000 years. The three first are expired; and of the last, to this year 1752, 4852 are already past, according to the computation of the *Malabarians*; but 4853 according to that of the *Baniyans* of *Surât*.

SECT. IV.

Their Pagods, or Temples, and Way of Worship.

*Pagods,
their struc-
ture.*

THERE are in every town of *Karnâtâ* at least two gods (H), one in honour of *Wishnum*, the other of *Isbura*. These are well built, and higher than those appropriated to the lesser gods; but not so large as *Christian* churches. They are low and flat, but without windows, or any light, excepting what comes in by the doors. The pagod is divided into three parts: the first consists of an arched ile, supported by pillars, beset with statues of animals, and open for all to enter; the second part is shut with a strong gate, which is open by day, but guarded by *Brâhmans*, who suffer none to go in. In this division are seen frightful images; with many heads and hands: the third part is secured also with a strong door; and there the statue of the god is kept to whom the temple is dedicated. Round these temples is a large space of ground, or court, inclosed with walls; on which are built several little pagods: those of *Wishnum* contain the temples of his wife *Lakshmi*, *Garrouda*, and *Anumonta*. The image of *Garrouda* is in the form of a man, with wings on each side; but *Anumonta* has the face of an ape. In the plain, or court, belonging to the pagod of *Esvara*, or *Isbura*, you meet with the lesser temples, or chapels of *Parvati*, his wife, and his sons *Vish-*

^a BALDAUS, ubi sup. p. 814.

^a Ibid. p. 768.

(II) From *Pout Gbeda*, a Persian word; *Pout* signifying an idol, and *Gbeda* a temple. *Or. Voy. to Surat*, p. 159.

Eswara (named also *Pullari* and *Winnaiika*), *Kemarasiwara*, *Temples* and *Pirrepadra*; also that of *Nandi*, or *Bafwa*, the ox, who is and wor-
 the *Wahannam* of *Ishuren*; and of *Suria*, the sun. As for *Ship*.
Shendra, or the moon, she has no chapel; but yet she does not
 lose her veneration, being always placed on the head of *Ishu-*
ren° (I).

It does not appear that the *Brammans* assemble the people *Pagod*
 to the pagoda, or that there are any days set apart for divine *worship*;
 service: only on certain nights, once or twice a month, the
 images of *Wisnum* and *Ishuren* are carried about in procession
 through the streets. The statue is set on a wooden horse, with
 his fore-feet raised in the air, the other two fixed to a square
 floor of planks, which is carried on the shoulders of four *Muk-*
wads, or fishermen. The rider is covered with an umbrella,
 and has a man with a fan to drive away the flies, while a great
 many lights march before. On its return to the pagod, the
 dancers (K), who belong to the same, begin their ceremony;
 and all the while these girls perform their duty, songs are sung,
 and music play'd, in honour of the god.

EVERY one is studious to render honour to, and adorn, the *bow per-*
image, according to his sect; and because *Wisnum* would have *formed*.
 his statue strewed with flowers, and clothed with fine gar-
 ments, richly adorned with precious stones, therefore his de-
 votees spare no cost to please him: on the other hand, *Eswara*
 (or *Ishuren*) likes that his image should be frequently washed
 with water, or some perfumed liquor; and therefore his wor-
 shippers don't fail to oblige him. As a mark of respect also,
 they light lamps, and lay victuals before their images twice a
 day, ushered in with the sound of flutes and drums. This
 is done, in order to sanctify them for the *Brammans*, who
 eat no victuals but what have been thus offered to, or placed
 before, the image of their favourite god. On certain feast-days
 the images both of the gods and goddesses are carried about
 on triumphal chariots, drawn by a great number of men.
 The people reverence them, by raising their hands on high,

° ROGER, ubi supr. p. 204—208.

(I) The commentator of *Re-*
ger supposes that the *Brammans*
 took this practice from the book
 of *Judges*, chap. viii. verse 21,
 26; where we are told that the
 heads of the kings of the *Ishmael-*
ites, or *Moabites*, were always
 adorned with little crescents:
 but we cannot well conceive how

the moon can be said to be placed
 on the head of *Ishuren*, who yet
 is said to be represented in form
 of the *Lingam*.

(K) These dancers are all
 prostitutes, though dedicated to
 the service of the temples. See
 also *Phillip's Account of Malabar*,
 p. 100. 102.

T t 2

joined

*Temples
and wor-
ship.*

joined close together: but none of the lower classes dare so much as touch them. Many are so infatuated, as to lie on the way, or throw themselves under the wheels of the chariot, there to sacrifice themselves, by being crushed to death ^P.

*Divine
service.*

THE *Brâmmans*, when they enter the temples, leave their slippers without the door thereof, and advance with much devotion. The people likewise shew their great esteem for the pagods, by liberally contributing towards maintaining them, and those who belong to them: besides, part of the duties paid for all commodities, both foreign and domestic, are appropriated to the same uses⁹.

DIVINE service is performed chiefly by *Brâmmans*, *Pentaren*, and *Antigol* (three sorts of ecclesiastics). These, getting up early, bathe themselves, and then prepare their drink-offering made of honey, sugar, and juice of cocoa-nut: at the same time they present flowers, and besprinkle all their offerings and images with the powder of sandal-wood (L). Next they proceed to incensing, called *Tubum*, and *Tuberdiney*, which they do with sandal and aghil (M), another odoriferous wood. After this they perform their next offering, 'consisting of rice, pease, beans, butter, and kokonuts; then they set it before the images, and some time after eat it among themselves; repeating, at the same time, several formularies of prayers; and read the praises of the god to whom the sacrifice is made; which sort of worship is performed daily by them¹.

*Females
devotion.*

THE women are great devotees here, as well as in Europe, and begin very early. When a girl is seven or eight years of age, she gives herself a disciple to her parents priest; and when she is married, lists herself in the catalogue of such priest's disciples: from thenceforth she hears their discourses and documents, going into the pagods; and makes her *Shelams*, or salutations, to the images, and to the *Brâmmans*. If she be very young, she goes alone; but if marriageable, is always accompanied with two or three other women, who every now-and-then bestrew themselves with consecrated ashes, and present their offerings; in the mean time repeating the form of prayers, which they had learned of their priests. What they offer in their houses to *Pulleyar* (N) they give to the

^P ROGER, ubi supr. p. 217—225. ⁹ Ibid. p. 209, & seqq. ¹ PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabar, p. 43.

(L) This is the service, doubtless, which is performed in the temples of *Ishuren*.

(M) Or Eagle-wood.

(N) *Pulleyar*, or *Wihien Ishuren*, one of *Ishuren*'s sons. poor:

poor: they likewise observe fastings, vows, and (if of good *Temples* understanding) the ceremonial purifications. Some frequent *and wor-* the pagods much; others pay their devotions to the images in *ship.* the streets, when carried about on festivals; when every one at his doors, with uplift hands, makes a profound *Shalam*. The women carry their censer with them, to make their offering, and are very charitable. When the priest comes to their houses, they first hear his instructions, and then set before him victuals, and all sorts of fruit^{*}.

As the *Brâmmans* have no communication with the class of *Priests of* common people, consisting of husbandmen, mechanics, and *the popu-* the lower populace, these *Hindûs* choose a priest from *lace.* among themselves, and likewise a god, commonly of the two lower classes; whose image they set up in their houses. The whole process of their worship consists in the following particulars: on *Friday* they boil rice with milk; kill he goats, swine, hens, and peacocks: then taking *Suri* for drink, and some new linen, never before used, present them all to their image; at the same time desiring that they may be kindly accepted at his hand; and that whatever they pray for may be granted them. When they have performed all their usual ceremonies, they take away the dishes of meat-offerings, and feed on them; distributing part of it among their friends and acquaintance, who are of the same sect. If any one of them falls sick, they pray the image for his health, in these words; *O god, restore health, and I vow to give thee ten gilders, which shall be spent in meat offering; or I will kill a he-goat, or boil rice, for thy use; or else I will make thee an image, &c.* Beside this, says our *Malabâr* author (who was of the class of merchants) the populace have no other religion but their belly[†].

AFTER all, the *Malabârians* pretend, that wise and un- *Images for* derstanding men among them perform their worship without *the vulgar* images; these being designed (say they, like the *Romanists*) *only.* for children only, and the duller sort of people, who know not what ideas to form of the celestial beings[‡]. And, in reality, we shall find that some even of the *Brâmmans* themselves renounce the use of images; and for that reason do not even frequent the pagods. Many confess the impotency of their images, and acknowledge that the whole system of their divinity is nothing but a perplexed jargon of incomprehensible notions, inconsistent with, and destructive one of another.

^{*} PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabar, p. 236, & seqq. [†] Ibid. p. 60, & seqq. [‡] Danish Letters, p. 20.

S E C T. V.

Religious Ceremonies.

Holy ashes. THE religious worship of the *Hindûs* is attended with a great number of ceremonies; such as observing festivals and fasts, of which they have several in the course of the year. Their washings and purifications, in which sprinkling with holy water, and holy ashes, made of cow-dung, are reckoned of no small efficacy. These ashes are made and consecrated by the priests of different sects, and are strewed upon the images of their gods, as well as the bodies of the people, particularly on their foreheads; as a preservative against misfortunes, as a charm against evil spirits, in which last capacity beads are also used. Pilgrimages likewise are no less frequent in the *Indies* than in *Europe*; and, besides the places of particular resort, several of which are to be found in every country of the *Hindûs*, there are also places of general resort: such as *Kâsi* or *Banârrès*, on the *Ganges*; *Matura*, near *Agra*; *Kajeveram*, in *Karnâtq*; and *Devaraka* (or *Dawarke*) near *Surat*, with two or three more; to which they flock from all parts of *Hindustân* and the hither peninsula.

Penances THIS is reckoned a very meritorious act, and serves as a means to expiate sins. For this end likewise they have penances of several kinds; the most easy of which seem to surpass the most rigid practised by the clergy and laity of the church of *Rome*. Some will sit, others stand, in the same posture for years together. Some carry vast loads, others drag most weighty chains. Some expose themselves to the scorching sun; others are seen hanging before a fire with their heads downwards. In short, the acts which of its nature they perform, are astonishing, and almost incredible, were they not so unanimously attested by travellers*. By such severities inflicted on the body, by good works, and hearty repentance, the *Hindûs* hope to obtain forgiveness of their sins, and work out their salvation. They have no notion of a remission through God's free grace, nor of any redeemer but God alone. They say, no man can release another from sin; not even God's son, who, they say, is not without sin†. For all this, they believe their sins may be remitted at a much easier rate; as by saying a few prayers and the *Vedamantiram*, or prayer of five words, in great

for sins.

* ROGER, p. 263, & seq. BALD. p. 815, & seq. PHILLIPS, p. 6. 63. 105.

† ROGER, p. 258. BALD. p. 81.

PHILLIPS, p. 27. 57. PHILLIPS, *ibid.* p. 155. 156. 163. venerates

eneration with the *Brâmmans*; who also pretend to transfer the sins of the people upon cows. But this imposition costs the people dear; for, on that occasion, they are obliged to provide no fewer than 200 cows, which the *Brâmmans* take or their trouble ². *Religious ceremonies.*

THE *Hindûs* believe a future state, with rewards and punishments. They hold also a purgatory, as hath been observed before. They entertain the same notions of the devil, witches, and apparitions, as prevail in *Europe*. They say, that evil spirits do much mischief in this world; that they kill some men and women, and possess others. In this latter case they are carried to the pagods, where meat-offerings are made to the god intreated to deliver the demoniac. Then they strike the person with a cudgel, to frighten the devil; who, not liking such treatment, marches-off in anger, complaining loudly of the injustice done him to be dislodged. However, among the gang of devils, there are, it seems, three so very obstinate, that they will not go out of the possessed, even though conjured in the name of the One only God, the Supreme Being ³. *Purgatory. Exorcism.*

As for the soul of man, they entertain many different opinions about it. Some hold God to be the soul; others hold it to be a part of God. A third sort will have it, that, at the creation, God created all those souls at once, which were designed for the race of mankind. Others again say, that the soul is begotten by the parents; and a fifth sort believe it to be the product of the five elements (A). The greater number believe all souls to be eternal as well as immortal. Of these some affirm them to be contained in the essence of God; others say they existed out of God, and slept before the world was created. Those who hold they were not from eternity, say they were created before the world, and lodged in the essence of the Deity. Most *Indians* believe, that every person has two souls, a good one and a bad one ⁴, or rather they are thus distinguished: one is called the supreme soul, which is no other than God himself; the second is the animal soul, which is in man the sensitive principle of pleasure and pain. *Several opinions concerning the soul.*

² PHILLIPS, *ibid.* p. 180. BALD. p. 817. ³ *Ibid.* p. 85. 143, & seq. ⁴ Danish Lett. part ii. p. 23. ROGER, p. 192, & seq.

(A) To earth, water, Fire, and air, they add the wind, Perhaps instead of the heaven we may place the ether, or according to Roger, and the æthereal matter. heavens, according to Baldani.

Priests
and sects.

love, hatred, and other affections. Some will have it to be spiritual, others material; which latter make it the eleventh sense in man: for they distinguish the active from the passive organs, or those of sensation; and they reckon ten senses, instead of five^c. Lastly, the *Hindûs* hold the soul both of men and other animals to be the same. As to the difference which appears to be between them, they say, it is not in the soul itself, but is owing to the different structure and organization of the several bodies, which give greater advantages to creatures of different species, as well as of the same species: and hence it is that some have more understanding than others; that some reason well, and others reason ill^d.

Transmi-
gration.

THE doctrine of transmigration is generally held by all the *Hindû* nations; and indeed has spread itself over the greater part of *Asia*. It is hard to say when it first appeared in the world, or to what cause it owes its origin. Some suppose it took its rise from *Wishnum's* tenfold incarnation; others think the prohibition to eat animal food is derived from thence: but, as there is no express command for the belief of the transmigration, nor even mention of it in the *Shaster*, at least in *Lord's* abstract of it, it seems rather to owe its rise to that prohibition, by way of accounting for it; as the alternate destruction and renovation of things seems to have sprung from the transmigration, in conjunction with the notion of the world's being eternal. This state of the soul is a kind of purgatory, and designed as a punishment, not a felicity: for those souls only which are pure go immediately into heaven; the impure transmigrate or pass into several bodies successively, in order to obtain a perfect purification, which requires many regenerations. Sometimes this passage is from a better body or state to a worse: sometimes from a worse to a better; but the souls of very impure persons migrate into venomous (or servile) beasts (as post-horses), or are born in a very abject condition^e.

Kind of
purgatory.

SECTION VI.

Of the Hindû Priests, and their several Sects.

Hindû
clergy.

THERE are among the *Hindûs* three sorts of clergy; the first by birth, who are the *Brâmmans*; the second by adoption, who are of the tribe of *Shudderis*, or the merchants, admitted by the *Brâmmans*; and the third by nomi-

^c P. PONS ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 244. & seq.

^e P. PONS, p. 190. & seq.

^d Ro-
^e Danish Lett. p. 22. & seq.

nation

nation or election, being those chosen by the other tribes, to perform the office of priests among them. *Priests and sects.*

WE have already given an account of the *Brâmmans*, as one of the four tribes into which the *Hindûs* are divided: we shall now consider them in respect of their office; on which occasion it must be observed, that they are a sacerdotal tribe, like that of *Levi* among the *Jews*: like them also, they have been at certain times, and are still in some places, both chiefs and priests. They came originally from the country between the river *Jemui* and the mountain *Hima* or *Imaus*, to the north of *Patna*¹. They pretend to be descended from the god *Brâmma*, or *Brâmma*; and, in virtue of this original, assume to be perfectly pure, and free from sin². Hence it is also that they are esteemed the prime nobility, and enjoy many privileges; and, among the rest, do not prostrate themselves before kings, as other subjects do, but sit in their presence³. The belief of their divine original makes them excessively proud, and look upon the other tribes with contempt: nor will they touch, converse with, or even administer the priestly offices to, the class of the people whom they hold unclean; and yet will receive their alms in money, when purified by water.

It is certain, that the *Brâmmans* are by the other tribes *their privileges*; treated with a profound respect, on account of their pretended descent, and the privileges granted to them by the *Vedam*, or their sacred books. These are first to celebrate the feast called *Jagam*: at what time they do two things, which on other occasions they are forbidden, and to which they seem to have the greatest abhorrence; namely, taking away the life of animals, and eating flesh. For at this feast they sacrifice a beast; but, to avoid shedding its blood, they strangle or stifle it: then, cutting it to pieces, they eat part of the heart, with other *Brâmmans* present; after which they burn the rest. Their second privilege is to teach the *Settreas* (or *Kutteris*) (B) the manner of celebrating the *Jagam*; but they are not allowed to do the same to the other two tribes. The third is to read the *Vedam*; and the fourth privilege is to teach it to their own tribe and that of the *Settreas*; to which they are confined. Lastly, they are allowed the privilege to demand but not to give alms; while the

¹ P. PONS ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 220. ² Danish Lett. part i. p. 20. 22. ³ BALD. ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 812.

(B) That is, those of the tribe of *Râjabs* and *Rajpûts*.

other

*Priests
and sects.*

other tribes may give but not demand them¹. Thus they have the impious policy to free themselves from the obligation of charity by a divine commission.

*never put
death.*

WE must not omit another great privilege which belongs to the *Brâmmans*, and that is, never to be punished with death, for any crime whatever committed by them. Instead of that, they only put out their eyes; it being reckoned one of the five mortal sins to kill a *Brâmmân*. In this case the *Vedas* has ordained, that the offender shall perform a twelve-years pilgrimage, begging alms, with the *Brâmmân's* skull in his hand; and that he shall eat and drink out of it whatever is given to him. At the expiration of the twelve years he is to bestow a great deal of alms himself, and build a pagod in honour of *Eswara* (or *Isburen*). But in case a *Brâmmân* goes to the war, with an intention to kill others, the crime of killing him is not so great, and may be expiated by building a temple only².

*Their of-
fice,*

THE office of the *Brâmmans* is purely to teach others, not only to write, read, and cast accounts, but also to instruct them thoroughly in the principles of their religion; and this is their principal business, which they are obliged to discharge without any reward for their trouble: but, in case they are poor, they may then receive gratuities from their disciples, not to enrich themselves, but barely to maintain them decently. Indeed the kings (or *Râjabs*) are under an obligation to prevent their being beholden for a maintenance to those they teach, by providing for them, and assigning the revenues of certain villages for the support of them and their families: but as their number is so great that the kings cannot provide for them all, therefore the inhabitants of the respective countries are obliged to contribute to their subsistence; and the people say, that although the *Brâmmans* receive more than one third part of the revenue of the land, yet there are still a great number of them so poor that they are forced to beg. Necessity likewise obliges them often to make use of other means, besides teaching, to get a livelihood; as following merchandize, practising physic, and the like. However, they must not put their hands to tillage, painting, or any handicraft trade; neither must they do any servile office for any person, even the king, as to wash his feet, serve him with *betel*, or the like. For such an offence he would be degraded, and expelled his tribe: but they may officiate as secretaries, ambassadors, or counsellors; and in-

*and main-
tenance,*

¹ ROSSA MŒURS des Bram. p. 32.
seq.

² Ibid. p. 3; &

deed few besides them obtain these employments¹. How-
 ever, they often take-up with those of a meaner kind, and
 even serve as guides to conduct travellers. *Priests
and sects.*

THE *Brâmmans* hold their children and their house to be
 unclean for the first ten days after their birth, when great
 ceremony is used to purify both. On the twelfth they make a
 fire, called *Homam*, into which they throw incense, and other
 things, accounting it holy; and when it is consumed give
 the infant its name. After this they bore their ears, not to
 hang jewels in, but to signify their being devoted to *Wisnum*
 or *Isburen*; on which occasion they wish the child much
 holiness. The next thing they do is to invest them with
 the little cord called *Dsandhem*, which is hung on the left
 shoulder, and descends low on the right side. This is done
 when the child is five years old; but as it is attended with
 some little expence, therefore if the parents be poor, it is de-
 ferred till the tenth year. When this cord is put on, they
 are called *Brâmma Sarts* (or the children of *Brâmmans*); nor
 are they till then considered as such. They bear this name
 so long as they remain unmarried; nor can they, during that
 time, either lie with a woman, or chew *betel*, which they say
 excites venery: they likewise are to eat but once a day, and
 to beg for the victuals they eat. These rules are enjoined
 by the *Vedam*, but not exactly observed^m.

THE little cord above-mentioned is of fine thread, and
 consists of three small strings, made by *Brâmmans*. He never
 puts this cord off, rising up or lying down; and if it breaks,
 he cannot eat till he gets another; nor is reckoned of the
 tribe so long as he is without it. For this reason they renew
 this cord every *August*, at which time they give it to children.
 As this cord is not a badge, as some imagine, by which the
Brâmmans are distinguished; those of the other tribes may
 and do wear it often, in imitation of their ancestors, and to
 shew their zeal. When their children are fit to learn, they
 teach them themselves, unless hindered by other occupations;
 in which case they either take a tutor into their house, or
 send them to the *Brâmmans*, who keep school: for none but
Brâmmans must teach *Brâmmans*. And the other tribes, in
 imitation of them, will not suffer their children to be in-
 structed by those of an inferior family: but masters of supe-
 rior tribes will teach those of inferior tribes, excepting the
 children of *Perreas*; who, being esteemed vile, those of the
 fourth and lowest tribe begrudge to teach themⁿ. *The cord.*

¹ ROGER Mœurs des Bram. p. 39, & seq.
 Ibid. p. 43, & seq.

^m ROGER,
 Ibid. p. 47, & seq.

Priests
and sects.

Their
marriage.

Odd cus-
tom.

Polygamy
allowed
them :

IN marrying their sons, the *Brâhmins* take care to chuse a maiden of their own tribe, who has not had her monthly visitations. They are no less careful to provide husbands for their daughters before that time; otherwise no person can marry them : but ways are found to get over this difficulty, by concealing their age. In visiting the family where they propose to chuse a wife for their son, they are careful to observe every frivolous matter, which they reckon an ill sign; and if they meet any such three times running, they drop the pursuit. When they break the affair to the girl's father, he usually asks to see the young man ; and in case he likes him, as well as the portion, which he is to receive, the youth has then liberty to visit the family and see his mistress. The ceremonies observed at the marriages of *Brâhmins* are much the same with those used by the laity of other tribes. When the match is concluded on, and the father has given his daughter's hand to her intended spouse, the latter takes the *Tali*, which is a little girdle, with a golden head of some god fastened to it, and ties it about the neck of his bride, which makes the marriage sure. But it sometimes happens, that when the bridegroom is going to perform that ceremony, and does not give the dowry which the bride's father expects ; one of those present steps in, and offering to give what is demanded, carries off the lady, with her father's consent. When the husband dies, the *Tali* is buried with him ; except the widow burns herself, and then it is burned along with her. The marriage is concluded by erecting a *Pandal*, and making a procession through the city, in the same manner as is done by those of other tribes. When the children of *Brâhmins* are married they are no longer called *Brâhmasaris*, but *Grahastas* ; and then receive the second little cord, which is like the first ; and usually they add a third cord, which serves for an upper garment : for, as the *Brâhmins* are forbidden to go with their breast bare, yet commonly do, if they have their third cord on, they think their breast is covered. Every ten years they are obliged by their *Vedam* to add another string to the former : but they do not all follow its injunctions.

WHEN the young *Brâhmins* are grown more in years, they often take wives out of the other tribes ; and even that of *Soudra* (or *Weyz*), which is the lowest, and held in contempt by the upper classes. But the *Brâhmins* themselves censure this practice, thinking it a great sin to leave children by such a woman ; and believe, that the father of them will be excluded heaven, so long as they, or any of their descend-

ants, remain on earth. However, the *Brâhman*s are careful *Priests* not to marry their children to those who are near of kin to *and sects.* them; for they have an abhorrence to incest, which is one of the five mortal sins, scarce ever to be pardoned. In this case the *Vedam* ordains, that the offender shall be castrated, and left to die with his genitals in his hand. Our author was told of a *Brâhman*, then living, who having, by mistake, lain with his mother, whom he found in his bed, instead of his wife, inflicted that punishment on himself, and would have drowned himself, had he not been hindered. Polygamy *practised to excess.* is carried to great excess often by the *Brâhman*s, as well as the other tribes. *Barthrouherri*, renowned for his proverbs, and other works, had no fewer than three hundred, though his father had only four. The graver sort condemn this custom; but say it is not sinful, because the *Vedam* has not forbidden it. However, they look on it to be a very bad action for one of their tribe who has many wives to keep a concubine. There is no punishment indeed either for this vice or for adultery: yet when a *Brâhman*'s wife is inconstant, he sometimes locks her up in a close place, and gives her victuals while she lives: but, in case he loves her much, and finds the other *Brâhman*s avoid going to his house as before, he makes a feast, and, inviting several of his tribe to it, his wife serves at table; and as the guests receive the victuals from her hand, she is thenceforth looked upon as an honest woman^p.

THE diet of the *Brâhman*s is exceedingly temperate; their *Their diet temperate.* victuals consist solely of rice, fruits, roots, and herbs. Nor is their drink less simple, being nothing but water; except at meals they sometimes take a draught of milk; for which purpose they usually keep a cow. They never make use of any liquor which either hath an agreeable taste (C), or is apt to intoxicate; for they abhor drunkenness, which is one of their mortal sins. This tribe, through pride, will never go to the house of those of other tribes to eat or drink, excepting *Tayer*, or cream; which they believe to be of the same nature with the *Amortam*, or *NeStar*, of the gods, often mentioned before. But nothing will prevail with one of them to eat in such a person's house, or in the house of a

^p ROGER, *ibid.* p. 64—67.

(C) That is for their own private drinking, and in *Karnâta*; but in *East Malabâr* they make their drink-offering of honey, sugar, and the juice of kokoa nut: which offering, doubtless, they afterwards drink themselves.

Brâhman

Priests
and sects.

Bráhmans of a different sect. May, if his wife is of another tribe, she must not eat with her husband; and, as none are permitted, not even the king, to see a *Bráhmán* eat, the wife also is subject to the same law: so that should the husband, through fondness, permit her that liberty, the other *Bráhmáns* would neither eat with him, nor in his house.

Dispute
about

As two of the four tribes, namely, the *Bráhmáns* and *Banyáns*, eat nothing but vegetables: and the other two, which are the *Settáns* (or *Kutteris*), and the *Soudras* (or *Wíse*), feed upon fish and flesh, there is no small dispute among them on this account. The *Bráhmáns* allege, that those two tribes commit a great sin in killing animals: on the other hand, the *Kutteri* or *Rajah* tribe maintain, that in so doing they act better than the *Bráhmáns*: because, say they, to support a great many people, there is no need to kill more than one beast; and in so doing no more than one soul is dislodged from its body: whereas the *Bráhmáns*, to nourish themselves, are obliged to dislodge many souls from their bodies, by plucking up roots and plants. For they believe that all vegetables have souls, as well as beasts; and that the souls of men pass into them equally alike.

Dislodging
souls.

To this the *Bráhmáns* are able only to make the following lame reply, that they do not commit so great a sin as the *Kutteri* in killing a duck; since the souls which are in roots and herbs are in the most abject of all bodies; and that in being dislodged they change their state for the better, as they pass into the bodies of men or beasts. However, they are so grieved on this chapter, that they acknowledge they would refrain from eating vegetables, could they subsist without it: and some are so troubled in mind on this occasion, that they content themselves with plucking leaves and fruit, without pulling up any thing by the roots, in order to avoid dislodging souls.

Ecclesiastical
hierarchy.

THE *Bráhmáns* are as priests both secular and regular: they have likewise a hierarchy among them; but their several orders are not well, if at all, distinguished by authors (D). We have already seen the form of their ecclesiastical degrees though confusedly and imperfectly, among the west Mal-

† ROGER, *ibid.* p. 110, 114.

† *Ibid.* p. 108, & seq.

(D) The *Bráhmáns*, called also *Namburi* in Malabár, are there distinguished into nine classes or kinds. Those of the first four classes wholly devote them-

selves to the ministry: the five others apply themselves also to merchandize. The first of the nine orders are like bishops. *Vinc. Mariu Viagg.* p. 264.

Adrs. In the country between that and *Surât*, we are told they are distinguished into two sorts *Buts*, and *Sinâis*: from which two roots spring the other branches. The difference was occasioned by a famine in the low lands, where the *Sinâis* resided, which obliged them to eat fish, to prevent perishing. For this reason they are greatly despised by the purer *Buts*, who did not violate their law under such pressing circumstances. These latter apply themselves wholly to study, and teach the mysteries of their religion, they also lead an exact regular life, abstracted from all worldly employments, excepting such as contribute to preserve life (E); the chief and most skillful physicians being of this class of *Brâmmans*. These are masters of all their ceremonies, or doctors of their canon law, and instruct the other tribes therein.

*Priests
and sects.
Buts and
Sinâis.*

THE *Sinâis* are more biased to secular offices, and out of them are made their fighting bishops (F); *Desis*, or farmers of the king's revenues; *Pundits*, who are governors of towns and provinces; physicians, accountants, scrivans or secretaries, and interpreters.

THE learned part of the *Brâmmans* [who are those called *Kuru* or *Buts* in some parts of *India*] are of two kinds. The first *priests*, called *Kîrtî* (or *Gauron*), who are of the priesthood; and the *Kinds*, second termed *Sastiriar* (or *Shaftiriar*), who are professors of the different systems in divinity. Of the first kind there are (in *Eastern Malabâr*) three distinct orders, the *Wayramanada Kîrtî*, the *Pamoharsha Kîrtî*, and *Mabully Kîrtî*. Their office is to prepare the offerings for religious worship. Of the second kind, or *Sastiriar*, there are four classes; the *Chefwa Sastiriar*, *Mînatârî Sastiriar*, the *Chidambara Sastiriar*, and *Mogarambura Sastiriar*. These explain severally the different systems of their divine law, and receive the youth into their schools, in order to make trial of their faith: for if in the end they are not found disposed firmly to believe all the mysteries of their religion, their study will be deemed to no purpose. Besides the two kinds of learned *Brâmmans*

* FRYER'S Trav. p. 190.

(E) Among these then we must reckon astrology, in which we are told they are skilled; foretelling many things to come. *Hamilton's New Account of India*, vol. i. p. 276. In short, these *Buts* must be the *Pundits*, or doctors (in divinity), as they are called in the *Mogol's* em-

pire, who cultivate the sciences studied in the *Indies*. See *Bernier's Memoirs of the Mogol Empire*, tom. iv. p. 144.

(F) Some go to the wars, and take the command of armies; as *Romish* bishops have often done in these parts of the world.

before-

Priests
and sects.

before-mentioned, there are many others, not much inferior to them in wisdom and erudition; whose business chiefly it is to instruct youth in those points which relate to the ceremonies used in public worship, and solemn festivals, as they are taught in the glossaries called *Sastirangol*.

Tribes or
families:

THE *Brâmens*, or *Brâmmans*, are divided into eighty-two tribes (or, more properly, families), assuming the names of their respective founders; who were so many wise men or scholars famed among them for learning, and called *Augurs*, or diviners, of certain towns where they resided. Thus the chief of them was called *Vishnâgran-augur*, that is, the *Augur* (G) of *Vishnâgra*; the second *Vulnâgran-augur*, or the *Augur* of *Vulnâgra*; and so of the rest; the disciples of each being termed *Brâmmans* of such an *Augur*.

their func-
tions.

THE ministerial function of the *Brâmmans* consists in praying with the people, and reading their law. In performing which offices they are to observe the following injunctions. 1. To put their bodies into several droll postures, the better to draw the attention of their auditors. 2. To pray with both hands open to heaven, as ready to receive the things they petition for. 3. To pray with their eyes cast downwards, and knees doubled under them, in token of awe and reverence. 4. Never to read out of the book delivered to *Bremaw*, but with a kind of singing and quavering voice: which, they say (H), was not only practised by *Bremaw*, when it was first published, but also enjoined by God, that they might make his law a matter of rejoicing.

How ini-
tiated.

IT belongs also to the *Brâmmans* to educate and instruct the youths of the same tribe, who gradually advance to the priesthood, in the following manner. First, about the seventh year of their age, they are admitted to discipline, being clean washed, to intimate the purity of the tribe which they belong to: then they are received naked, to shew that they have stripped off all other cares, to apply themselves to study.

* PHILLIPS'S Account Malab. p. 9, & seq.

(G) Here we find, perhaps, the origin of the word *Augur*; and *Palliagar* may be a compound of the same term.

(H) One would be apt from hence to think, that this remark is not taken from the *Sbaster*: and indeed Mr. Lord so frequently mixes things of his own with the text, that it is difficult often

to tell what is to be found in the *Sbaster*, and what not: so that he is to be read with very great caution. And this confounding things together, without any distinction, as well as his omissions, makes a new translation or abstract of the *Sbaster* absolutely necessary.

Next

Next, their heads are shaven; only a lock of hair is left behind, to denote that they must not forsake their study; if they do, by that lock they shall be drawn back again. They are likewise bound to a *Pythagorean* silence and attention: they are forbidden to hark, spit, or cough: they are obliged also to wear about their waist a girdle of antelope-skin, and a thong of the same about their neck, descending under the left arm. This may be called their initiation or novitship.

ABOUT the age of fourteen (if capable) they are admitted to be *Brâmmans*, and exchange those leather-thongs for four sealing threads, which pass over the right shoulder, and under the left arm. These they never put off, even when they go to bed; but wear, as the badge of their profession, in honour of God, and the three persons, *Bremaw*, *Vistney*, and *Rudderi*. At the time of this kind of ordination, they are enjoined; 1. Not to change their tribe. 2. To observe all things contained in the law of the *Brâmmans*. 3. Not to communicate the mysteries of their religion to any of a different persuasion. These are most of the principal duties observed by the true *Brâmmans* *.

*Form of
ordina-
tion.*

THE *Brâmmans*, pursuant to the precepts contained in the *Daily Sastirangol*, get-up an hour or two before sun-rise, to perform their daily duty. They first ease nature, and then cleanse themselves carefully. After this, they wash their mouths, and perform that exercise called *Ashamen Kirighey*; which is one of the many parts of their outward worship. Their next business is to lift up their minds to God, and read that part of the law which treats of washing and purification; at the same time washing themselves with water. They read their form of prayer, or liturgy, with all its ceremonies; after which they repeat their *Kiaddiri* (I), humbly beseeching the *Dirumurtigol* (K) to present all their performances to the great Supreme Being, in the place where his majesty dwelleth. Then they give honour and worship to their images, bringing their offerings before them. Lastly, they address themselves to the Supreme Being, as if he was there visibly present. These ceremonies are so tedious in their practice, that sometimes the greater part of the day is taken up with this kind of exercise (L): for every part must be regularly and completely

* LORD'S Account of the Banians, chap. 10.

(I) A form of prayer.

(K) The three inferior gods of the first class; *Brâmma*, *Wisnum*, and *Ruddiren*, or *Isburan*.

(L) You have the whole process of it at length in *Roger*, p. 94; where it appears to be extremely laborious, and even a perfect penance.

MOD. HIST. VOL. VI.

U u

performed,

Priests
and sects.

Service-
priests.

Adopted
Brâm-
mans:

several
classes:

their rules
strict.

performed, and by no means either abridged or interrupted; not even by the presence of the king *.

DIVINE service, we are told, is performed in *Malabar* by *Brâmmans*, *Pântarên*, and *Antigol* †. Whence it should seem, that the two latter orders are not *Brâmmans*; yet none of the missionaries, either protestant or popish, inform us of what tribe they are, though so frequently mentioned by them. Their neglect in this and other matters makes it so difficult to deliver any thing certain, or complete, concerning the several orders and kinds of clergy amongst the *Hindûs*. However, from the very faint lights which they afford us, we shall endeavour to give our readers the best satisfaction we are able.

THE second kind of clergy are those made *Brâmmans* by adoption. These are by the *Baniyans* called *Verteas*, or *Verteas*, and by the *Mohammedans* *Sevrahs*. They are some of the tribe of *Shudderi*, or the merchants, who for devotion take this condition on them; but they are only a few, in comparison of the true *Brâmmans*. The *Vertea*, for his habit, wears a white woollen garment, which reaches to the middle of his thigh; the lower parts being left naked. His head is always uncovered, to testify his perpetual reverence for God above. They shave neither the head nor beard; but pluck out the hairs by the roots, leaving only a lock on the crown.

THIS sort of *Brâmmans* is divided likewise into several classes or families; one is called *Sankas*; and these go not to church, but perform divine service at home. Another is named *Tuppas*; these go to church to pray. A third order are the *Kurthurs*; who pray alone without assistants. A fourth is denominated *Onkeleaus*; and these reject images. A fifth called *Pisbaleaus*, who are the most strict of them all. These *Verteas* have a festival, which is kept once every month, and holds for five days; but betwixt every two days they keep a fast. This feast is solemnized at the houses of the richer people; and commonly at those times a pension is given to prevent the death of cattle and other living creatures.

THESE nominal *Brâmmans* are in many respects more strict than the real. They are forbidden marriage, and are more abstemious in diet: for, of the above-mentioned feasts, they eat nothing but what is given them, and reserve nothing for another meal. They are more careful for the preservation of animals; for they will not so much as drink water till it is boiled; that so the vapour, which they believe to be the life of water, may go out of it: nay, they disperse their very ordure with a broom, lest it should generate worms, which are subject to destruction. They likewise keep hospitals for maimed

* PHIL. ubi supr. p. 5. 43.

† PHIL. ubi supr. p. 43.

mained birds and fowl ; which they redeem from slaughter, *Priests* and endeavour to cure. They have all things in common ; *and see.* and place no faith in outward washings, but rather embrace a life of nastiness ⁷.

WE meet with a class of priests named *Chudders* (or *Chudder-Shudders*) in *East Malabâr*. These, from the name, must be priests belonging to the *Shudderi*, or merchants tribe, commonly called *Baniyans* ; but whether they are real, or only adopted *Brâmmans*, does not appear from our authors. All we find is, that they are an ecclesiastical order ; and have licence only to read the six systems (M) (or *Shasterangol*). They are allowed also to wear the *Lingam*, and carry the *Panchuchoram*, or five letters, composing the words *Nama Chiaya* ; that is, *praise the true God* ².

THE third sort of *Hindû* priests are those belonging to the fourth tribe consisting of the mechanics and commonalty. As the *Brâmmans* will not converse or have any correspondence with these people, they therefore chuse priests from among themselves, as well as gods to worship ³.

NOR are those outcasts, the *Parreas*, who are rejected even by the common people, without their priests ; for among them is a sacerdotal family named *Vallouvers* : nay we are told, that these *Vallouvers* (N) pretend that they were formerly in the *Indies*, the same which the *Brâmmans* are at present. Whence it is conjectured, that the *Parreas* were the antient inhabitants of the southern *India*. However that be, they still apply themselves to the study of astronomy and astrology. There are likewise extant some books of theirs containing moral precepts, which are held in great esteem ⁴. Perhaps these *Vallouvers* are the descendants of those fishermen of *Malabâr*, who are said, in the *Purân*, to have been constituted *Brâmmans* by *Wisnum*, in the shape of *Parasbi Rama*. These used to wear the thread of a fishing-net about their necks, when performing their sacrifices ⁵ ; and hence perhaps it is, that *De Faria* affirms, the *Brâmmans* took their string of three threads from a fishing-net ⁶. Let us now return to the *Brâmmans*.

Elected priests

The Vallouvers.

⁷ LORD, ubi supr. cap. 10.

² PHILLIPS'S Account of

Malabâr, p. 14, 20.

³ Ibid. p. 61.

⁴ P. PONS,

ap. Lettr. Édif. tom. xxvi. p. 219, & seq.

⁵ BALDÆUS,

ap. Church's Col. Trav. vol. iii. p. 780.

⁶ DE FARIA'S

Port Asia, vol. ii. p. 385.

(M) The *Shudderi*, or *Baniyans*, are not allowed to read the *Vedam*, or have it explained to them.

same with the *Shamman*, or *Shammanin*, of whom M. La Croix, p. 474 & 491, gives an account from *Ziegenbalg*.

(N) These seem to be the

Brâhman
sects.

S E C T. VII.

Sects of Brâhmanns.

Sects re-
garding
faith.A sect,
Weist-
nouwa.The Tad-
wadi,and Ra-
manow-
ya.

THE Brâhmanns may be farther distinguished into several sects or orders, both as to their profession and way of living: but of these, authors have treated so very confusedly, as well as imperfectly, that for the general it is very difficult to ascertain which class they belong to. Mr. Roger is almost the only one who has taken care to range them in order, and bring those of each kind together. According to this laborious and judicious writer, with regard to profession, the Brâhmanns are divided into six sects. The first is named *Weistnouwa*, from their attachment to *Wistnum*; whom they hold to be the Sovereign God. When those of the *Soudras* (or *Wife*), which is the tribe of commonalty, agree in sentiments with the *Weistnouwa*, they are called *Dacheri* (A), that is, *Obliged*; which the Brâhmanns say implies being servants to their tribe, which they will have to be an honour to the *Soudras*.

THE sect of *Weistnouwa* is subdivided into two others: one called *Tadwadi*, which signifies *Disputers*; valuing themselves on discoursing profoundly concerning God. They are likewise named *Madwa Weistnouwa*, from one *Madwa Acharia*, the author of their sect. These are marked with a white line from the nose to the forehead; also on the temples, on the place where the arms join the shoulders, and on the breasts, with a circle as large as a half-crown. They say, this is the mark of *Wistnum*; and so strong a charm or defence, that while they wear it, neither the devil, nor *Jamma*, judge of hell, dare lay a finger on them. These *Tadwadi* have a chief, who lives at *Kombekonne*, near *Palliakatta*, on the coast of *Ghoromandel*. This chief wears no strings about his neck, like the other Brâhmanns, nor has any wives; but when he marries he must quit his order. He commonly carries a *Bambou* stick in his hand^a.

THE second branch is termed *Ramanowiya Weistnouwa*. These mark their forehead with a figure like the *Greek Xpsylon*; beginning at the nose, and carrying it upward. This is done with a kind of white chalk. They likewise make another mark with a hot iron, at the joining of the arms with

^a ROGER, ubi sup. p. 17, & seqq.(A) In the original *Daetseri*.

the shoulders. They say, that when once they have devoted Brâmmans themselves sincerely to *Wistnum*, he will not punish them altho' ^{señs.} they commit sin, which none can avoid; like a father, who does not put his child to death for committing a fault. They differ in many other points from the *Tadwadi*. They go bare-headed; and have their hair shaved-off, excepting a lock on the crown, which hangs behind. As the head of this sect is a person of consideration, he resides at *Kanjewaram*, a famous city of *Karnâtika* (or *Karnâta*). He has the privilege to wear a piece of linen on his head, when he speaks to any-body. The *Ramanowya* say, their sect is better than that of the *Tadwadi*, because they never trade, nor enter bawdy-houses; being with-held by rigorous punishments, which are not inflicted on the others.

THE second sect of Brâmmans is called *Seivia*, and also ^{2d sect,} *Aradheya*. They hold *Eswara*, or *Isburen*, to be the sovereign God, and all the rest, even *Wistnum*, to be inferior to him. Those of the family of *Soudra*, who are of the same opinion, are named *Tangam*. This sect mark their foreheads with two or three streaks of cow-dung ashes; and some wear a stone *Lingam* about their necks; others in their hair. They make their children wear it when eight years old, covered with wax and tied to their arms. This badge is to shew their inviolable attachment to *Isburen*, and that they acknowledge no other god. The *Soudras*, who wear the *Lingam*, must abstain from fish, and all other animal food, like the Brâmmans.

THE third sect is termed *Smarta*. These affirm, that ^{3d sect,} *Wistnum* and *Isburen*, although adored under different images, are yet the same being; and have an aversion to their competition for the sovereign godhead. Few of the *Soudra*, or common people, follow this sect, as the doctrine is above their capacity. Besides the Brâmmans make a great mystery of it. One *Sankra Acharia* was the author of this sect; and the Brâmmans, from whom *Abr. Roger* had all his information, was a member of it.

THE fourth sect of Brâmmans by profession is called *Sharwakka*. These are of the *Epicurean* sentiments; denying the ^{4th sect,} immortality of the soul, or any future state or life after this: ^{Sharwak-} and, when others argue with them on that point, they require positive and visible proof of their position. For all this they live very exemplary lives.

THE fifth sect is named *Pasenda*. These say, that the ^{5th sect,} *Hindû* law is not true; and mind nothing but their belly. ^{Pasenda.} Like the former sect, they believe not in a future state; and ask how it is possible, that a man who is burnt to ashes should come to life again? Our author's Brâmmans accused them with

Brâmmann sects. acting like beasts, for that they made no distinction between father and mother, brother and sister; because likewise they will eat with any-body and lie with any-body; saying, that they lay with their own wife, when they lay with another woman. Those of the *Smarta* sect attribute this impiety to their expecting no other life but the present; and disregarding the good opinion of mankind: at the same time they suppose, that the desire of being applauded induces the *Sharwakka* to lead virtuous lives, although they believe in a future state no more than the *Pasenda*. However this be, both sects are afraid publicly to declare their opinion, to avoid the furious zeal of the other sects; who, in times passed, have made several massacres of those who held that opinion.

6th sect, Chektea. THE sixth sect is called *Chektea*. These maintain, that neither *Wistnum* nor *Isburen* is the Supreme God; but one *Chekti*, from whom, they say, those gods and *Brâmma* had their origin: that they exist solely by his power; as does also this world, and every thing in it. This sect also resembles the two former, that they will not submit to the *Vedam*; and expect that every thing which they are to believe should be made evident to their senses. These three last sects are held as heretics by the *Hindûs*, and have but very few followers b.

The Ishuren sects. WITH regard to the sects acknowledging *Isburen* and *Wistnum* for the Supreme Being, we have another account from the *Malabarians*; among whom, we are told, there are several sects of each kind; but principally three attached to the former, and four to the latter. The three sects devoted to *Isburen*, and who all carry the *Lingam* about them, are, first, that of *Chiwawedum*, the followers of which are called *Chayver* and *Chiwawedakkarer*. This sect is subdivided into many others; who only worship *Isburen* and his family. The second sect is named *Wiruchaywam*, and followed by the *Wiruchaywer*: these make a *Lingam* of stone, or crystal, called *Biran Lingam*; which they wear about them, and to which they perform their devotions. It is buried with them; for the bodies of these sectaries are not burned. The third sect is called *Chilamadum*; and its followers, *Chilamadakarrer*. They carry also a crystal *Lingam*, and are buried in a sitting posture, with their hands lifted up, as if at prayers, called *Chimadu*. These likewise dig a well in their houses, where neither sun nor moon can penetrate; whose water only they make use of both in their ceremonial washings and dressing

† ROGER, ubi suprà. p. 21, & seqq.

their

their victuals. These three sects are comprised under the general term of *Chiwamadam*, or *Chiwakalam*. Brâhman sects.

THE four sects devoted to *Wishtnu* (or *Wishtnum*) are first the *Wishtnuwedum*, whose adherents are named *Wishtnuwedakarer*, or *Wishtnupaddikarer*. These always carry on their foreheads, or arms, the name of *Wishtnum*, and worship *Perumal*, which is one of that god's appellations. The second sect *Taddurwadimadam*, and its followers *Taddurwadikarer*. These sprinkle themselves with sandal powder, and worship *Wishtnum* under the name of *Rishtnen* (B). The third sect, *Nama Perumalwedum*, do also carry on their forehead, or arms, the *Dirunamum* (C), and worship *Rishtnen* (or *Kishtna*). The fourth sect, *Chainermadum*, or that followed by the *Chainer*, observe the same way of worship with the former, and eat off a brass-plate. Four Wishtnum sects.

WE come now to the *Brâhman* sects of the second kind; *Sects, as* that is, those distinguished by their course of living. These are denominated *Jaghts* when *Brâhman*s: but when they are of the *Soudra*, or fourth tribe, they are called *Joghts*; which the generality of travellers seem to have confounded together. to living.

THESE *Jaghts* and *Joghts*, so separated from the rest by 1. *The* their manner of life, are of three sorts or sects; *Wanaprasthas*, *Wana-Sanjasti*, and *Avadoutas*. The *Wanaprasthas* retire into the woods with their wives and children; living on such herbs and fruits as they can find there, without working. Some of these are so scrupulous, that they will not pluck up the least root from the ground, for fear of dislodging some soul from its body; and they are reckoned very holy on account of this retired way of living. prasthas.

THE *Sanjasti* (E) renounce all kinds of worldly pleasures, and are more austere than the former sect. These cannot marry, nor take food above once a day; nor must they eat or drink out of copper, but earthen, vessels. They are obliged to live on alms; and wear a red habit, carrying a *Bambû*. 2. The Sanjasti.

c PHILLIPS's Account of Malabâr, p. 34. & seqq.

(I) A mistake, doubtless, of the press for *Kishtnen*, or *Krishtnen*; by others called *Kishtna*, or *Krishtna*; whose shape *Wishtnum* had assumed in his eighth incarnation.

(C) Or ashes of cow-dung prepared by the *Brâhman*s and other priests.

(D) The name *Joght* comes from *Yagam*, or *Jog*, which signifies union. P. Pons, Lettr. Edif. tom. xxvi. p. 245.

(E) Called by others *Sannasthi*, and *Sanias*. P. Pons says these were certainly the antient *Gymnosophists*. Lettr. Edif. tom. xxvi. p. 221.

Brâhman wand or stick in their hand. They must not even touch *seals.* money, or have any fixed abode. They must not so much as lodge more than one night in a place; but must continually shift their quarters; excepting for two months in the year, they are at liberty to abide in one place. On this occasion they chuse out a place which is reckoned holy, and on that account may remain there during life, if they think fit. These *Sanjassi* must conquer six enemies; concupiscence, anger, avarice, pride, love of the world, and revenge, in order to fit them for the contemplation of things divine. The term *Sanjassi* belongs only to those who are *Brâhman*s; when they are of the tribe either of the *Kutteris*, or the *Baniyans*, they are named *Perma amfa* (F); if of the *Soudra*, or tribe of commonalty, they are called *Joghîs*: but these last take more liberty in their way of living than the true *Sanjassi*.

3. The *Avadoutas*. THE *Avadoutas* are still more rigid than the *Sanjassi*. They not only abandon their wives and children, but their earthen vessels for eating out of, the *Bamboû* stick to rest on, and their cloaths; retaining nothing but a piece of cloth to cover their privities: nay some lay even that aside, and go stark-naked, besmearing their bodies with cow-dung. These, when hungry, go into houses, and, without speaking, hold out their hand. Whatever is given them they eat on the spot. Others will not take so much pains for their bread; but retire to the side of holy rivers, and there expect the peasants to bring them victuals; which they accordingly do in abundance, believing it to be a very meritorious act. The *Avadoutas* are reckoned very holy by the *Hindûs*, especially those who go naked; being, for that reason, supposed to have attained the highest degree of perfection. However, there are but few who expose themselves in that beastly manner to public view; for natural shame restrains the major part of them^d. These *Avadoutas* seem to be the same with those whom the *Baniyans* call *Goeghi*^e; that is, when they are of their tribe.

ALL these three sects must be considered as penitents, whom we meet with in *East Malabâr* under different names; such as *Pantaren*, *Antigol*^f, *Guanigol*, and the like. These last, we are told, are more rigid than the *Joghigol* (or *Joghi*). They are a kind of anchorites, living in mountains and caves.

^d ROGER, ubi sup. p. 27. & seqq.

^e Ibid. p. 29, note.

^f PHILL. Account of Malabâr, p. 19, 69, 105.

(F) These seem to be the same called *Tirimimfi*, by *Balders*, *op. Church. Col. Trav.* vol. iii. p. 756.

They

They have no possessions, and never speak to women. As Brâmmans they surpass all the other sects in austerity, so do they like-^{sects} wise in point of wisdom; renouncing the plurality of gods (G), and all the pagod ceremonies.

To one of the three sects above-described may be referred *the Vari-* those *Vartias*, or adopted Brâmmans, who are monastics. *tias*: Mr. De Thevenot, speaking of a convent of these religious Hindûs at Lahûr, in the Mogol's empire, gives the following account of them. They have their general, provincial, and other superiors. They vow obedience, chastity, and poverty; which injunction they strictly observe; and say their order has been founded above 2000 years. They live on alms, and have lay-brothers appointed to beg for them. They eat but once a day, and change their house every three months. They have no fixed time for their noviciate, which some perform in two; while others are three or four years about it, if the superior thinks fit. The main point of their institution is to avoid doing to others what they would not have others do to themselves. This precept they observe so strictly, that, if any-body beats them, they do not return the blows; and if they be reviled, they take it patiently. They are very obedient to their superiors. They are forbidden to look a woman, or maiden, in the face.

THEY wear nothing on their bodies, but a cloth to cover *habut and* their privities; which they bring up to their heads to make *dier*: a kind of coif, like that of a woman. They can possess no money, nor must reserve any part of what they feed on to-day for to-morrow: they patiently wait till their purveyors bring them the alms given by those of their tribe. These lay-brothers, to avoid being troublesome, take but a little from every house; as about a handful of rice, or other eatables: which must be dressed to their hands; for they have no fire in the convent, for fear some insect might be destroyed by it. When the purveyors have gotten provisions enough, they return to the house; and there mingling the rice, lentils, milk, cheese, and the like, all together, an officer distri-

* PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabâr, p. 26.

(G) These *Guanigol*, according to *Ziegenbalg*, are the sages, or philosophers and saints, of the *Indies*. They hold the images and ceremonies of the temples in abhorrence; having, for the sole object of their

adoration, the infinitely perfect being; of whom they have the most sublime and just ideas. Instances whereof are produced by *La Crox. Hist. Christ. Ind.* p. 451, & seqq. also p. 457.

butes.

